

—~~A~~we are, so shall they...” A re-articulation of the North-South vertical global green communication discourse

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Social Science, in
The Centre for Communication, Media & Society, School of Applied Human
Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Durban, South Africa

By

Henri-Count Evans

215081374

Supervisor: Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli

December 2015

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

Declaration - Plagiarism

I ... Henri-Count Evans...declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
 - b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed inside quotation marks, and referenced.
5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed

.....

Supervisor:

.....

Acknowledgements

My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli, whose timely guidance, comments and constructive criticism have made this work enjoyable and possible. Her scholarly support helped me get through the different stages of putting this work together. I am very thankful for her generous help in providing me with very good references whenever the objectives of this study needed them. I would like to register my acknowledgement and appreciation to the Centre for Communication, Media and Society in particular and the University of KwaZulu-Natal in general for granting me the opportunity to study at this premium university of African scholarship. The work has been strenuous, but the continuous encouragements, critical conversations and moral company of my beloved Rose kept me focused. Finally yet importantly, nothing can describe my indebtedness to my family, but I would like to thank them for their unwavering trust. Overall I glorify our Mighty God for his unfailing love and companionship throughout the course.

Abstract

The emergence of a new global discourse on climate change, a discourse that has become both political and ideological, and the realisation that the global media are the dominant providers of global climate change information motivated this study to examine the manner in which climate change issues of the developing countries (global south) are dealt with in selected newspapers in developed countries (global north). The study sought to investigate the manner in which a sample of quality mainstream newspapers from the global north report on, and represent, issues concerning climate change in the global south. The study also explored, through the structural theory of imperialism, how the media, while covering global climate change, consciously or subconsciously can either reinforce or subvert structural inequalities between the global north and the global south, and investigated the flow of information around issues of climate change as they traverse the global north information economy. In order to achieve the above objectives, the study used four newspapers located in the Northern hemisphere, two from the East Coast of the United States (*The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*); and two from London in the United Kingdom (*The Telegraph* and *The Guardian*).

The study took a qualitative methodological approach rooted in the interpretative research philosophy. The news stories for analysis were downloaded from the newspaper websites' archives using purposive sampling strategies. Twenty stories focussing on climate change issues in the global south (Southern hemisphere) were chosen for analysis with five stories from each newspaper. The newspaper articles analysed were collected from the newspaper websites through keyword searches. The study used news articles published between March 2014 and March 2015.

The study found that the global south is represented in the global north mainstream newspapers as poor countries in need of climate change aid, as barriers to global climate change deals and agreements and also as selfish and insensitive to environmental concerns. The sourcing patterns across all the stories reveal bias towards global north political, scientific and business elites. The stories also sought to advance neo-capitalist interests in dealing with climate change portraying climate change as an opportunity for businesses to harness and not as a threat to humanity.

Acronyms

IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USA/ US	United States of America/ United States
UK	United Kingdom
COP	Conference of Parties
UN	United Nations
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
CEQ	Council on Environmental Quality
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
GCF	Green Climate Fund

Table of Contents

Declaration - Plagiarism	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iii
Acronyms	iv
Table of Contents	v
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Climate change: Severity of the problem	3
1.3 Location of the Study	4
1.4 Objectives	7
1.4.1 The objectives of the study are to:	7
1.4.2 Key questions	7
1.5 Chapter Outline	8
1.6 Conclusion	8
Chapter Two: Review of Literature	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Global Climate Change: A contextual background history	9
2.3 The Media and Climate Change: A history	10
2.3.1 Issue-Attention Cycles and Climate Change Coverage in the Media	12
2.4 The Media and Global Climate Change	13
2.5 Political Economy of the Media and Climate Change	15
2.6 Climate change coverage in the United States and United Kingdom Quality Newspapers	16
2.6.1 Peaks and falls in coverage	17
2.6.2 Ideological Constructions and Framing of Climate Change	18
2.7 Representation of the Global South in the Global North media	22
2.7.1 The media-climate change matrix	25
2.8 Conclusion	26
Chapter Three: Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks	27
3.1 Introduction	27
3.2 Structural Theory of Imperialism	28
3.3 Capitalist Risk Society and Global Inequality	32

3.3.1 Global Climate Change Inequalities	32
3.3.2 Inequality in Vulnerability	34
3.3.3 Inequality in expected clean-up.....	34
3.3.4 Inequality in internal environmental regimes	35
3.3.5 Inequality in international economic regimes.....	35
3.3.6 The Capitalist Risk Society.....	37
3.4 New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).....	42
3.5 Global News Flows	44
3.5.1 Dominant vertical informational and news flows.....	44
3.5.2 News and Informational Counter-Flows	46
3.7 Climate change and the technology flow rhetoric	47
3.8 Representing the other: The Global North and the Rest.....	49
3.8.1 News Values	49
3.8.2 Representing the other.....	51
3.8.3 The Global North and the Rest.....	54
3.9 Conclusion	55
Chapter Four: Research Methods / Approach to Study	56
4.1 Introduction.....	56
4.2 Qualitative Research	56
4.3 Sampling and Data Collection	57
4.4 Data Analysis	59
4.4.1 Inductive Coding	59
4.4.2 Inductive Thematic Analysis.....	60
4.4.3 Inductive Discourse Analysis	62
4.4.4 Textual Level Analysis.....	64
4.4.5 Discourse Level Analysis	68
4.6 Conclusion	69
Chapter Five: Data Presentation	70
5. 1 Introduction	70
5.1 Sample Summary Table	71
5. 3 Conclusion	93
Chapter Six: Data Analysis and Discussion	94
6.1 Introduction.....	94
6.2 Theme One: Poor countries	94
6.2.1 Clean Energy Investments	99

6.2.2 Technology Investments	100
6.3 Theme Two: Securing a global climate deal	103
6.3.2 Does peer-pressure work?	107
6.4 Theme Three: Worsening global warming	107
6.4.1 Increased emissions	107
6.4.2 India worsening climate change	109
6.4.3 Insensitive governments	109
6.4.4 Indians suffering because of poor knowledge	110
6.5 Theme Four: Stalling global climate deal.....	112
6.5.1 Shifting the blame	115
6.6 Theme Five: Climate politics and polarisation in the global north	120
6.6.1 Obama versus the conservatives	120
6.6.2 Spurring, naming and shaming other nations to act	123
6.7 Theme Six: On the road to climate capitalism	125
6.7.1 In celebration of capitalism.....	126
6.8 One-dimensional Media	128
6.9 Conclusion.....	133
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	134
7.1 Introduction.....	134
7.2 Results.....	138
Bibliography	141
Appendices	155
Appendix 1: News Stories.....	155

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

With the emergence of a new global discourse on climate change, a discourse that has become both political and ideological more than scientific, academics within the media and communications field need to focus on the representation of climate change issues of the global south (developing countries) by the global media in developed countries (Anderson 2009: 176, Takahashi and Meisner 2012). Such a paradigm shift needs to base itself on the realities of structural global inequalities (Galtung 1971) that characterise international relations and communication today. This study notes that the global media are the dominant providers of global climate change information and hence seeks to examine the manner in which climate change issues of the developing countries (global south) are dealt with in selected newspapers in developed countries (global north).

This study examined how the quality mainstream newspapers of the global north, through their coverage of climate change issues of the global south promote capitalism and the exploitation of the developing countries by the developed countries. The study's focus on the global media representation of climate change issues of the global south is also an attempt to heed to what was recommended by Anderson (2009: 176) who urged future researchers in climate change communication to —examine the role of the news agencies/wire services since they have been shown to be an important source of information on climate science”. The study sought to investigate the manner in which a sample of quality mainstream newspapers from the global north report on, and represent, issues concerning climate change in the global south. The newspapers selected for this study were chosen from the array of ‘quality’ mainstream papers typically consumed by political and economic elites. It is assumed that the newspapers in question will inform and influence the decisions of policy makers and opinion leaders in the northern countries.

The media remain central to the provision of “public information” and in shaping people’s perceptions, awareness and setting the public agenda regarding climate change (Carvalho 2010: 1). The global news media have become the global public sphere where issues in the international interests are discussed and debated. Climate change, being a worldwide challenge, has the potential to be addressed through an informed global citizenry that is fully informed by the global watchdogs, that is, the global news media. In the same understanding as that of Dorothy Nelkin (1986), the global public gets much of its information from the mass media that have a global coverage. The news media, as argued by Todd Giltin (1980), function as an authoritative version of everyday reality for everyday people and specialise in orchestrating consciousness for the people. This study notes that the global news media, due to their centrality in the provision of information to the global public sphere, their reportage and representation of climate change issues, are able to set the world climate change agenda and influence global climate change decision-making processes and attitudes.

As primary sources of public information and knowledge, the media shape “discourses and imaginaries circulating in [different] cultural and political contexts” (Boykoff 2008: 550). Media coverage has an effect on public perceptions of climate science and policy (Wilson 1993). Maxwell T. Boykoff (2008: 550 citing Noel Castree 2006), argued that the media “are [a powerful] and heterogeneous set of non-nation state actors” acting as channels of formal and informal “discourses and imaginaries within spaces of cultural politics and geopolitics”.

The importance of the media in shaping people’s awareness and action towards climate change is stressed by Carvalho (2010) who advocated for equitable and fair inclusion of diverse interests in the coverage of climate change. The voices which are given audience and that are included in global climate policy decisions are important for climate change solutions. However, Carvalho (2010: 7) noted that the mainstream global north media have not been able to give equitable and fair inclusion of diverse interests as their coverage has been set within the “context of high-profile intergovernmental meetings and advance the notion that the global is the right political space for action”. Carvalho argued further that the constructions “of climate change as a global political [problem creates a rift between] citizens and

decision-makers” and strengthens the view that “climate change politics and action are reserved for the heads of the most powerful states” (2010: 8). She argued further that the “construction of globalisation, which is [rarely questioned] by many of the mainstream media [in the global north neglects the] responsibility for participation choices and narrows the scope for citizen participation and informed deliberation”.

1.2 Climate change: Severity of the problem

Climate assessments published by the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) suggest that the earth’s average temperatures are increasing. The increase in greenhouse gas emissions through continued “burning of fossil fuels, land-use changes and other activities by humans (anthropogenic change) has led to the alteration in the radiative balance between incoming sunlight and outgoing infrared radiation and enhanced the greenhouse effect” (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013: 1). The IPCC (2007: 65) observed that the temperatures had already warmed by 1°C above 1990 levels and any increase of anthropogenic greenhouse gases will worsen the climate change impacts.

The IPCC Fourth Assessment report attributed the increase in atmospheric temperature to increased emissions of greenhouse gases from industrial activities. The IPCC Working Group 1 Fifth Assessment report (2013) further supported the view that climate change is human induced. The report explained that:

Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, and since the 1950s, many of the observed changes are unprecedented over decades to millennia. The atmosphere and ocean have warmed, the amounts of snow and ice have diminished, sea level has risen, and the concentrations of greenhouse gases have increased. The atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide have increased to levels unprecedented in at least the last 800,000 years. Carbon dioxide concentrations have increased by 40% since pre-industrial times, primarily from fossil fuel emissions and secondarily from net land use change emissions. The ocean has absorbed about 30% of the emitted anthropogenic carbon dioxide, causing ocean acidification (IPCC 2013: 4).

The IPCC (2013) observed that the rise in global mean “temperature from 1921 to 2010 was triggered by anthropogenic increases in greenhouse gas concentrations”.

The IPCC (2013:17) concluded that climate change was human-influenced and was responsible for the increase in:

warming of the atmosphere and the ocean, in changes in the global water cycle, in reductions in snow and ice, in global mean sea level rise, and in changes in some climate extremes (IPCC 2013: 17).

The IPCC (2007) Fourth Assessment report indicated that climate change was already affecting livelihoods with negative transformations in agriculture, shifting rainfall patterns and agricultural seasons leading to recurrent droughts, water shortages and famine. ¹Increasing temperatures have destructive consequences (IPCC 2007) and certain impacts will be difficult to avoid especially in the global south countries that have weak adaptive capacity and limited budgetary allocations towards climate adaptation. The IPCC (2007) identified small island nations, Africa, low lying regions and coastal areas, Asian mega-deltas and Himalayan glaciers as the most vulnerable to climate change. Africa stands out as the most susceptible –continent because of the range of projected impacts, multiple stresses and low adaptive capacity” (IPCC 2007: 65). Unn Lakså’ (2013) argued that not only will the consequences in certain parts of the world be most severe, but this coincides with the fact that these areas are less developed.

1.3 Location of the Study

The study uses four newspapers located in the Northern hemisphere, two from the East Coast of the United States (The Washington Post and the New York Times) and two from London in the United Kingdom (The Telegraph and The Guardian). *The New York Times* is a daily newspaper circulating in the United States of America and internationally. *The New York Times* is a daily newspaper published in New York City. It was first published in 1851 and has a wide readership across the world (The New York Times 2015). *The New York Times* (2015) revealed that the newspaper has a global print circulation of 220 000. The newspaper has dedicated newsrooms

¹ The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), defined climate change is causing competition for productive agricultural land and water sources, as well as resulting in socio-economic strife, forced migrations (climate refugees) and even civil and trans-border conflicts (UNFCCC 2000).

in Paris, London, Hong Kong and New York and according to The New York Times (2015) the newspaper is a leading international source for opinion leaders and decision-makers around the globe [...] journalists reporting from all corners of the globe” with a presence in 130 countries across the world. According to comScore.com (2015) the digital version of *The New York Times* (NYTimes.com) had 53 996 000 digital traffic (including both desktop and mobile site visits) from the United States in January 2015.

The Washington Post is a daily newspaper published in Washington D.C and with foreign news bureaus across the world including Cairo, Nairobi, Islamabad, Hong Kong, Bogota (Alliance for Audited Media 2013). The newspaper has both a digital and print edition. According to comScore.com (2015) the newspaper’s online edition reached 47 815 000 unique visits per month from the United States as of January 2015.

The Telegraph is a daily newspaper published in London and with circulation both inside and outside the United Kingdom (News Works 2014). The newspaper has both a print and digital edition. *The Telegraph* is published in London. This study used material from the website www.telegraph.co.uk. The website has content from both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* under the title *The Telegraph* (The Telegraph 2015). Telegraph.co.uk is the online version of the newspapers. According to the Telegraph (2015) the newspaper website was launched under the name —electronic telegraph” on 15 November 1994 and was Europe’s first web-based newspaper. *The Telegraph* (2015) revealed that the online newspaper website has 18, 830, 000 desktop computer readers per month, 9 968 000 mobile readers and 3 337 000 tablet readers per month. comScore.com (2015) revealed *The Telegraph* website reached 16 751 000 unique visits in the United States in January 2015.

The Guardian is also a daily newspaper published in London and has both print and digital editions (Audit Bureau of Circulation 2013). *The Guardian* newspaper has a widespread international readership and has newsrooms in London, New York and Sydney (The Guardian 2015). According to The Guardian (2015), the newspaper’s online edition receives more than 120 million unique browsers every month. The

Guardian (2015) revealed further that more than 40 million unique browsers visit the website every month from outside the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. The newspaper has an online readership of 8 370 243 in the United Kingdom only (The Guardian 2015). The newspaper launched its website in 1999 with the name, The Guardian Unlimited. The website address changed in February 2001 from www.guardianunlimited.co.uk to www.guardian.co.uk. In 2013 the website address was changed again to www.theguardian.com to reflect its growing global audience (The Guardian 2015). According to Pew Research Center (2015) The Guardian website received 28 152 000 unique visits from the United States in January 2015.

These four newspapers are consumed by a well-educated class both locally and internationally and these readers have a great influence on national and international policy decisions (Carvalho and Burgess 2005). Sparks (1987 in Carvalho and Burgess 2005: 1460) argued that these newspapers have an important power through ‘agenda-setting’ for decision-makers, politicians, the public and other media in the United States, United Kingdom and the world”. These selected newspapers have a greater chance of covering world news because of their massive financial and technological resources (Hachten and Scotton 2012). William Hachten and James Scotton (2012: 49) observed that even though the global quality news media institutions have been weakened by the global financial crises and falling audience statistics, they “still have authority and stature to authenticate the serious news for the world and create a consensus for what is considered to be major news from abroad” (Hachten and Scotton 2012: 49). They further argued that all the quality mainstream newspapers in the global north provide content both offline and online which make their audience reach wider and global. The United States and the United Kingdom mainstream quality newspapers wield more influence in terms of global news flows because they have foreign correspondents and are also able to “syndicate and sell (news) to other newspapers locally and internationally and hence still contribute to world news flows” (Hachten and Scotton 2012: 49).

1.4 Objectives

The study sought to investigate the manner in which a sample of quality mainstream newspapers from the global north report on, and represent, issues concerning climate change in the global south. The newspapers selected for this study were chosen from the array of ‘quality’ mainstream papers typically consumed by political and economic elites. It is assumed that the newspapers in question will inform and influence the decisions of policy makers and opinion leaders in the northern countries.

1.4.1 The objectives of the study are to:

1. Examine how the mainstream quality media in the global north report on and represent climate change issues of the developing countries in the global south.
2. Explore, through the structural theory of imperialism, how the media, while covering global climate change, consciously or subconsciously can either reinforce or subvert structural inequalities between the global north and the global south.
3. Investigate the flow of information around issues of climate change as they traverse the global north information economy.

1.4.2 Key questions

1. How do a selected number of quality newspapers in the global north represent issues of climate change in the global south?
 - a) What are the representational patterns of climate change and the global south in the global news media?
 - b) In what ways may the media consciously or subconsciously reinforce or subvert global informational imbalances between the north and the south through their coverage of climate change?
 - c) How does information on climate change issues of the global south flow in the global north information economy?

1.5 Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduces the research topic, outlines the rationale of the study, the location of the study, the research objectives and questions. Chapter Two reviews the literature available on climate change science, the history of climate change communication, climate change coverage in the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) and lastly discusses the representations of the global south in the global news media. Chapter Three discusses the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform the study. Chapter Four discusses the qualitative research paradigms, outlines the major contributions of qualitative/constructivist approaches in examining coverage and representation of climate change issues of the global south in the quality mainstream global north newspapers. Chapter Five provides the connection between the methodology and the discourse analytical chapter. It aims to present not only the findings but to show the process of working with the empirical data in terms of coding and identifying particular discourses that will then be analysed in Chapter Six. The chapter used tables to explicate the themes, sub-themes and codes as they emerged from the data analytical process. Chapter Six presents the results and interpretation of the findings from the 20 stories that were analysed from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*. Chapter Seven provides conclusions and summarises the steps taken in conducting the study.

1.6 Conclusion

Chapter One introduced the research topic, outlined the rationale of the study, the location of the study, the research objectives and questions. The next chapter discusses the literature review that informs this study.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the study, outlined the problem statement, research objectives and the research questions. This chapter reviews the literature available on climate change science, the history of climate change communication, climate change coverage in the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) and lastly discusses the representations of the global south in the global news media.

2.2 Global Climate Change: A contextual background history

Global efforts towards fighting and the institutionalisation of climate change began with the formation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) after the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit of 1992. Following its inception, the UNFCCC managed to reach the Kyoto protocol in 1997 that became operational in 2005 (UNFCCC 2011). The protocol mandated all signatory countries to reduce their carbon emissions by more than 5.2% of the 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012 (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). The Kyoto Protocol and the subsequent Doha Amendments, however, did not stipulate reduction commitments for developing countries (Depledge 2006). The protocol has been ratified by 190 countries, translating to 63.7 per cent of countries responsible for global greenhouse gas emissions (UNFCCC 2011). The United States of America (USA) is yet to ratify the Kyoto protocol together with the Doha Amendments of 2012.

The Kyoto Protocol was weakened by the failure by the industrialised and polluting countries to ratify it. Following the weak adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, the UNFCCC attempted to replace it with the Bali Road Map (India) but again failed to get legally binding compliance and commitments to force countries to lower their emissions. However, the efforts failed and the COP13 only managed to come up with the Bali Road Map. The Road Map included a two-year negotiating process and the signatories agreed to reach an agreement at the Copenhagen COP15 in 2009. The

climate deal was not reached at the COP15 summit (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010).

Joanna Depledge (2006) described the climate negotiations as polarised, characterised by competitive behaviour and marked by differences between the global north and the global south regarding climate finance and historical responsibility for atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations. Depledge summarised some of the key challenges with the United Nations process very well in stating that:

[t]he tendency to competitiveness is also a product of the North- South divide to the negotiations, where the imperative of global cooperation struggles against a history of mistrust and different perceptions of the problem (Depledge 2006: 32).

2.3 The Media and Climate Change: A history

Media attention towards climate change can be traced back to the 1960s. However, the coverage was characterised by lack of sustainability and continuity only reaching peaks during environmental disasters that were taking place, especially in the United States of America (USA). It has been argued by scholars such as David Sachsman (1976) that the media were influential in shaping perceptions and awareness about climate change from the 1960s. Attention to environmental news fluctuated and only reached peaks during major disasters such as oil spills. Sachsman et al (2000: 3) saw the publication of the ‘Silent Spring’ by Rachel Carson in 1962 as the catalyst to increased visibility of environmental issues and shifted public attention towards environmental discourse. However, Mark Neuzil and William Kovarik (1996) described the early forms of environmentalism as limited in nature and approach. Neuzil and Kovarik (1996: xii) noted: —“One key difference was that many green crusades of the past were likely to be local instead of national in scope”. There is an argument that, despite the evolving coverage of climate change in the media, the foundation is based on issues attention, leading to dearth and lack of sustained and continual coverage of the subject. The media (Sachsman et al 2000) gave more attention to acute environmental problems such as oil spills and accidents and negated other critical issues such as shrinking rainforests and leaking underground tanks. The media were accused of looking for timely news pegs on which to hang their stories (Sachsman et al 2000).

The media has been accused of giving climate issues a low profile, poor frequency and scientific inaccuracies regarding the subject (McComas and Shanahan 1999). In 1988 the press started to focus on the phenomenon then known as the ‘greenhouse effect’ (McComas and Shanahan 1999). Katherine McComas and James Shanahan (1999) argued further that between 1988 to approximately 1992 climate change and related environmental issues received relative coverage. However they were quick to caution that the coverage was related to some environmental drama and hence event-based and that coverage faded with the fading of that particular drama.

While McComas and Shanahan (1999) attribute the fall in environmental coverage after 1992 to the lack of sustained environmental drama, Boykoff and Yulsman (2013) and Carvalho and Burgess (2005) explained the peaks and falls in climate change coverage in terms of political importance that the subject received. They all concluded that the coverage of climate change evolved cyclically (Downs 1972) in both the United States and the United Kingdom and that it fluctuated between years in correspondence to the attention given to the subject by political and corporate elites (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013). Carvalho and Burgess (2005) observed that from 1988 to 1992 climate change prominently featured in the news discourse in line with political events and the key discursive strategies of key political figures especially the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and UNFCCC Conference of Parties (COP) summits. The kind of coverage resonated closely with what Bennett (1990) referred to as “indexing” political arguments and debates in news reports. Adopting Carvalho and Burgess (2005) argument, it is possible to explain the peak in environmental coverage and frequent debates about global warming during the period from 1988 to 1992 to the release of the Brundtland Report in 1987 (Böhm et al 2012: 2) that raised key issues on industrial emissions, the Montreal Protocol of 1988 that sought to monitor and reduce carbon emissions and the subsequent Rio de Janeiro Earth summit of 1992 that institutionalised climate change into the United Nations framework. ²

² **Global north- Global south:** These are terms that are used in this study to describe the social, economic and political divide between countries in the Northern hemisphere and those in the Southern Hemisphere. (Mimiko 2012)

2.3.1 Issue-Attention Cycles and Climate Change Coverage in the Media

Scholars undertook research questioning the lack of sustainability or continuity in environmental and climate change news coverage. Several theories and hypotheses were developed to explain the trends and patterns in the coverage of climate change by the media. Of note was the Anthony Downs (1972: 38) hypothesis which argued that environmental news coverage were cyclical and had media “attention because they were new and as people got used to them attention faded”. Downs (1972: 38) stated that social issues undergo a “cycle of interest followed by increasing boredom”. The Downs hypotheses saw environmental news losing media attention after their “dramatic/entertainment value decreases” and when they were not “in the interest of the power holders in society and will involve a major upheaval and costs” (Downs 1972: 38-40).

The Downs (1972) explanation of peaks and falls in media attention to climate change has been criticised by several scholars. Stephen Hilgartner and Charles Bosk (1988) described it as too simplistic. They argued that Downs “ignored the interactions between coexisting problems that help to define problems as meaningful and argued that a problem’s life cycle relates less to public attention than to the problem’s construction in public forums, such as in the media” (Hilgartner and Bosk 1988: 54-55). Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) saw institutional factors such competition for space and the influence of the media organisation as responsible for the fading of climate change and environmental stories in the media instead of a natural decline. Craig Trumbo (1994) explained the fluctuations in media attention to climate change by analysing inter-media agenda-setting relationships and how they influenced climate change coverage. His position was that inter-media collaboration is crucial to frame a story as having a narrative importance. Notwithstanding the differences in explanations, it is clear that climate change coverage still follows a cyclical pattern as hypothesised by Downs (1972: 41), where “after a period of sustained alarmed coverage the issue would fade” and this is analogous to the idea of ‘moral panic’ as theorised first by Stan Cohen in 1973.

2.4 The Media and Global Climate Change

The mass media, through their strategic inter-connectedness with scientific evidence, political economy and climate change, have a better chance of communicating the climate change science as compared to scientific publications and research organisations (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013). Maxwell Boykoff and Tom Yulsman (2013: 2) argued that the majority of citizens do not have direct access to peer-reviewed research that informs our understanding of climate change and rather that citizens more often rely on the mass media to gain access to news and information about climate change". Alison Anderson (2009: 166) argued that the media are actively involved in global climate change politics by framing the scientific, economic, social and political dimensions through giving voice to some viewpoints while suppressing others, and legitimising certain truth claims as reasonable and credible".

Ulrich Beck (1992b) concurred with the above arguments noting that the media is central to addressing climate change issues. He observed that as new problems are generated in society, science is required to provide interpretations that become the basis of political decisions. Science is used by politicians to provide answers to issues raised in the media and hence used to legitimate action or inaction (Carvalho 2007). Anabela Carvalho (2007) saw the media as central in the construction of particular ideological representations with regards to the way they represent particular actors in global climate change politics.

Carvalho (2007: 225) defined ideology as, "a system of values, norms and political preferences, linked to a program of action vis-a-vis a given social and political order" and where "people relate to each other and to the world on the basis of value judgments, ideas about how things should be, and preferred forms of governance of the world" (Carvalho 2007). Seliger (1977: 119-120 cf Carvalho 2007: 225) noted that ideologies involve a vision of an ideal world within which lived existence is confronted, and are therefore used to legitimate 'action for the preservation, reform, destruction and reconstruction of a given order". Carvalho saw the "media discourse" and "ideology" as "mutually constitutive" and that media texts are produced within

preferred ideological standpoints and at the same time the ideologies are also constructed and reinforced through mediated texts (Carvalho 2007).

Media discourses on climate change are influenced by codification operations, perceived interest and socio-political impact of the topic, news values, economic and editorial considerations (Carvalho 2007, Fairclough 1995b). The media produce particular worldviews and exclude others (Bennett 1988). Beck (1992b) argued that the media are players in the interpretation of climate change science and for dialogue between citizens and those in decision-making. The connection between science, the media and the public is crucial and Carvalho warned that the “notion of science as an ‘ivory tower’ exempt from public exposure and debate is increasingly inadequate” (Carvalho 2007:224).

The media acts as the fourth estate that holds governments and the business private sector accountable for their policies and actions (Curran 2005). The media, through its function as a global public sphere (Habermas 1989) inform citizens and enable them to actively participate in democratic processes and help them make informed decisions (Louw 2010, Curran 2005). Anabela Carvalho and Jacqueline Burgess (2005) argued that the media articulate public opinion and influence policy making (Nelkin 1986). Carvalho and Burgess (2005: 1458) saw the mass media as having “a central role in the social construction of risk [...] Different social actors ... [are always involved in] ... discursive competition around how climate change risk is to be framed in the media”.

The global news media have become the global public sphere where issues in the international interests are discussed and debated. Climate change, being a global problem, has the potential to be articulated through an informed global citizenry. In the same understanding as that of Dorothy Nelkin (1986), the global public gets much of its information from the mass media that have a global coverage. The news media, as argued by Todd Giltin (1980), function as an authoritative version of everyday reality for everyday people, and specialise in orchestrating consciousness for the people. This study notes that the global news media, due to their centrality in the provision of information to the global public sphere must give a fair reportage and representation of global climate change issues.

2.5 Political Economy of the Media and Climate Change

Previous studies have established that media representations of climate change are in some instances influenced by the political economic environment within which they operate. Political economic influence on media representations of climate change has been found to be influential on the framing of news stories, with some news stories taking serious ideological standpoints. Boykoff and Yulsman (2013: 2) argued that the “mass media representations arise from large-scale relations” with the media’s political economic environment and small-scale relations and processes such as journalistic practices. The journalistic effort to provide fair and accurate reports has been threatened by large-scale economic pressures exerted on the media by both the proprietors and advertisers (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013). These pressures compromise (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013: 2) the media’s capacity to provide accurate, truthful and objective coverage of “complex scientific, economic and political issues such as climate change”. Carvalho and Burgess (2005) argued that media professionals operate in contexts that are influenced by institutional, economic, political, social and technological demands in their production of texts from source materials.

Boykoff and Yulsman (2013: 2) argued that through their representations of climate change, the news media maintain and reinforce both the ideological and global capitalistic dominance. They noted that “state or corporate control of media through ownership or other means influences media coverage differently in different countries...In western countries, mass media organizations have continued to consolidate power and resources” (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013: 3). In the same line of argument, Robert McChesney (1999:31) concurred that the political economic environment and “profit motivations can go a long way to providing context for understanding the nature of media content”. Carvalho (2005:21) amplified this argument by asserting that, “factors like ownership and the wider political economy of the media can provide significant contributions [to media content]... as well as the press’s relations with established interests and the social distribution of power”. The relationship between global news media and their governments raises key questions about their neutrality in covering news and issues about other countries and promoting viewpoints emanating from their governments. As argued by Lakså‘

(2013), global north governments are not willing to let the global north news organisations fail despite serious financial constraints. The dominance of the global north news media has serious implications on the framing of issues and influences people's understanding.

Climate change coverage in the mass media has also been affected by the massive disinvestment in mass media industries (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013: 3) "through decreases in mass media budgets for in-depth journalism, and the huge cuts in manpower". These developments negatively affect the communication of scientific information through misrepresentation and over-simplification (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013). It has been argued that journalists no longer produce first-hand scientific information but rather rely on second-hand material produced by the public relations and wire services (Davies n.d. cited in Boykoff and Yulsman 2013), most of which flow into newsrooms without being properly checked, reducing journalism to being a mere corporate mouthpiece. Borrowing from the above discussion, it can be argued that the political economy of the media has the potential to strengthen corporate control of climate change communication and culminate in news stories that represent the economic interests of the corporate industrial complex. Through corporate control of climate change news production in the global north, the media may represent global climate change issues in an ideological setup that is meant to promote the industrial interests of the capitalists in the global north at the expense of economically weaker countries in the global south. Anderson (2009: 170-171) argued that "media corporate interests and the vested interests of advertisers" might "discourage criticism of the government's inaction over climate action or industry's role. A dependency on advertising revenue from fossil fuel industries may lead journalists to self-censor their stories".

2.6 Climate change coverage in the United States and United Kingdom Quality Newspapers

In order to understand global north media representations of climate change issues affecting the global south, it is important to understand how climate change coverage in general has evolved both in the United States and United Kingdom media. The study's focus on the global media representation of climate change issues of the global south is an acknowledgement of the realisation (Anderson 2009, Antilla 2005,

Boykoff 2007 and Carvalho 2007)) that the quality mainstream media in the global north influence both the local and global climate change politics, and hence have an impact on global policies about climate change adaptation and mitigation.

2.6.1 Peaks and falls in coverage

The coverage of climate change evolved cyclically (Downs 1972) in both the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) and coverage fluctuated between years in correspondence to the attention given to the subject by political and corporate elites (Boykoff and Yulsman 2013). In North America, despite economic pressures on newspaper journalism, Boykoff and Yulsman (2013) noted that there was an increase in coverage from about twenty articles per month in 2004 to about one hundred in 2007. Boykoff (2007) tracked coverage in the United Kingdom and United States quality newspapers from 2003 to 2006 and found out that in the United Kingdom climate change coverage peaks took place between June to July 2005 and September 2006.

Boykoff (2007) noted that in 2005 coverage increased due to the G8 summit that took place in Scotland. In September 2006 the increase in “coverage of anthropogenic climate change” was linked to the release by the former US Vice-President Al Gore of the documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth*, COP12, the Stern Review and the Richard Branson’s publicised donation of three billion dollars to renewable energy initiatives” (Boykoff 2007: 473). Boykoff also linked the increase in coverage to the fact that the years 1998 to 2007 witnessed the highest temperatures in history according to United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) records, the release of the IPCC Third and Fourth Assessment reports in 2001 and 2007 that sounded the alarm on the rate at which the planet was warming.

Carvalho and Burgess (2005) examined the coverage of climate change by the quality newspapers in the United Kingdom from 1985 to 2003. In their study they found out that during this period climate change prominently featured in the news discourse in line with political events and the key discursive strategies of key political figures especially the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and UNFCCC

COP summits. The kind of coverage resonated closely with what Bennett (1990) referred to as “indexing” political arguments and debates in news reports.

As Boykoff and Yulsman (2013) noted, coverage began to decline in 2007 due to the shifting of media attention towards the global financial crisis that shrunk the news hole for climate stories. A decline in coverage due to the shift in political and economic focus in the United Kingdom was also observed by Carvalho and Burgess (2005: 1464) where coverage dropped between 1991 and 1996 due to the “lower political profile of the environment, and the economic recession in the United Kingdom” that forced shift of attention towards the traditional socio-economic challenges. However, they observed that coverage shot up in 2009 during the COP15 conference in Copenhagen, Denmark and the climate-gate (University of East Anglia email hacking scandal). They further observed that after 2009 United States media coverage of “anthropogenic climate change” went down to about twenty stories per month as compared to the one hundred per month levels reached in 2006 (2005: 1464).

2.6.2 Ideological Constructions and Framing of Climate Change

Carvalho and Burgess (2005: 1467) argued that the news media tend to follow the political agenda of the political elites in society. Unn Lakså (2013) argued that the voices that get to be heard and are given access are of fundamental importance. Through news media sourcing patterns, journalists emphasise certain perspectives over others and give legitimacy to certain actors and not others. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988) argued that source-dependency; especially reliance on official government sources makes the media tow the agenda line of the political elites.

The coverage of climate change in both the United Kingdom and the United States is closely linked to ideological factors that affect media operations and value systems (Carvalho and Burgess 2005). Carvalho and Burgess observed that climate change coverage in the United Kingdom newspapers is polarised along the general division that exists between the mainstream newspapers and the tabloids (2005) and also the ideological orientations of each newspaper. They noted that “newspaper

production and consumption in the United Kingdom are polarised, at national level, there is a smaller number of broadsheets or quality newspapers characterised by extensive political and economic commentary with a relatively small but well-educated and influential readership (*The Times, The Guardian, The Independent* and *Daily Telegraph, Financial Times*, and weekend stable-mates)". The other group consists of newspapers that are often labelled "red-tops with a more populist orientation with emphasis on crime, sex and celebrity news" (Carvalho and Burgess 2005: 1460).

Carvalho and Burgess (2005: 1462) in their analysis of climate change coverage in the British quality newspapers discovered that from 1985-1990 the discursive construction of climate change evolved due to usurping of definitional power from scientists by the then prime minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. They argued that between 1985 and 1988, the newspapers in Britain relied on scientific sources, within this period the scientists remained the key definers of climate change and its processes.

Carvalho and Burgess (2005: 1462) argued that the press "underestimated the risks associated with climate change and refrained from presenting its possible consequences". They observed that the United Kingdom newspapers were silent "about responsibility for the problem, not only leaving unquestioned the economic and social practices that generate greenhouse gases (GHGs) but also omitting references to the role of political institutions". The change in media climate change discourse came in 1988 after Thatcher's speech to the Royal Society where she admitted that humans massively interfered with the system of the planet (Carvalho and Burgess 2005). As argued by Carvalho and Burgess (2005), Thatcher's speech became a "turning point in media" in the representations of climate change. They observed that

The impact of her intervention has been widely commented upon and the sharp rise in the volume of subsequent press coverage on the greenhouse effect clearly indicates the weight of political leadership in the definition of risks (Carvalho and Burgess 2005: 1462).

As climate change became a highly politicised issue, political actors sought to offer their interpretations of scientific claims in a bid to promote their agendas (Carvalho

and Burgess 2005). Climate change was framed by the British government as an “~~ex~~istential threat” (Carvalho and Burgess 2005: 1463). Carvalho and Burgess (2005) noted that as political and economic measures necessary to address climate change became evident, a division in media representation of climate change arose. They argued that *The Times* shifted to a more sceptical position and emphasised the lack of proof and the exaggeration of climate change by the media. The *Guardian* maintained the risks associated with climate change and was very critical of the Thatcher administration proposals of using nuclear energy as an alternative to coal and petroleum (Carvalho and Burgess 2005) and *The Independent* aligned with the government.

Carvalho and Burgess (2005: 1463) observed that “~~the~~ British government was able to set the terms for debate, and that the press discourse on climate change departed from science and was shaped by the discourse framework defined by the government”. They noted that from 1998 onwards there was a resurgence of oppositional language in the media especially within the leftist newspapers such as the *Guardian* and moderate *The Independent*. However, Carvalho concluded that all newspaper representations of anthropogenic climate change remained:

Within the broad ideological parameters of free-market capitalism and neo-liberalism, avoiding a sustained critique of the possibility of constant economic growth and increasing consumption, and the profound international injustices associated with the greenhouse effect (Carvalho 2005: 2).

The ideological ~~lines~~ were drawn between neo-liberal politics, which framed climate change as a global threat that required every country to act and share the burden, and a side of more radical politics which argued that adaptation and mitigation costs should be met by industrialised nations most responsible for the production of greenhouse gases” (Carvalho and Burgess 2005: 1462). As Carvalho and Burgess argued,

The discursive construction of climate change into a public risk was clearly tied to the government’s initiative to situate the risk within a neo-liberal economic program, sharing the costs globally while reaping potential economic benefits nationally (Carvahlo and Burgess 2005: 1464).

Carvahlo and Burgess (2005: 1464) argued that this kind of media framing of climate change highlighted the ~~pro~~found ideological differences between the British quality

newspapers' representation of scientific knowledge claims" when covering climate change. They noted that the media sought to "sustain different value-based positions" with regards to climate change response.

In a study on the coverage of climate change in the United States and the United Kingdom mainstream newspapers, Boykoff (2007: 474) argued that United States "media representations of anthropogenic climate change diverged significantly from the scientific consensus in 2003 and 2004". He found out that in United Kingdom newspapers, "the percentage of coverage giving equal attention to consensus and contrarians was comparatively low" between 2003 and 2006. However, Boykoff observed that between 2003 and 2006, there was "a dramatic increase in the quantity of newspaper coverage of anthropogenic climate change" both in the United Kingdom and United States. Boykoff (2007) explained this shift in United States coverage by looking at the political, scientific and ecological developments that took place within the United States and internationally.

In terms of politics he argued that political movements in climate change policy rhetoric, especially the G8 summit in Scotland were fundamental. Ahead of the summit the then United Kingdom prime minister Tony Blair and the then United States president George W. Bush made strong climate change statements which fed into United States "media speculation about a potential shift in the Bush administration's stance on climate change policy" (Boykoff 2007: 476). In terms of scientific developments, the increase in coverage was fuelled by the news leaked to the *New York Times* regarding drafts of the report by the United States Climate Change Science Program which revealed that "the White House Chief of Staff for the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) had made substantial changes to the draft before publication" (Boykoff 2007: 476).

Boykoff (2007: 477) noted that there is a contrast between climate change coverage and representation in the United Kingdom and United States media. He argued that this contrast in coverage is because in the United States anthropogenic climate change has been a "politically divisive issue" while in the United Kingdom both the Labour and Conservative governments embraced the climate change rhetoric. In the United States, resistance to international climate policy has been a concern of the

Republicans (Boykoff 2007). Boykoff (2007: 477 citing McCright 2007) posited that “despite the fact that carbon-based industry interests have exerted considerable influence over climate change policy in countries, associated scientists and policy actions who have questioned the significance of human contributions have been housed in the United States universities, think tanks and lobby organisations”.

Boykoff and Mansfield (2011) argued that the ideological affiliations of newspapers are influential in determining the level of attention given to climate change. Carvalho and Burgess (2005) found out that in the United Kingdom for instance, climate change is given more coverage in the left-wing newspapers such as the *Guardian*, with a substantial amount of scepticism and denial being found in the right-wing neo-liberal newspapers such as *The Times*.

2.7 Representation of the Global South in the Global North media

This study contends that the portrayal of climate change problems of the global south and its people in the global north media can be understood within a wider historical context of imbalance between the two bi-polars. Previous studies have noted that the global south has been represented in the global north media through stereotypical lenses. Bosah Ebo (1992: 15) argued, for example, that Africa as a continent is portrayed in the global north media as a continent that is backward politically and economically.

The negative representation of the global south in the global north media has been observed even with regards to the way climate change issues of the global south are portrayed by the quality newspapers in the global north. Studies have noted that due to globalisation there is a disparity between where important climate change impacts arise and the actors who address them, that is, the states and individuals (Beck 1999, Lakså' 2013). In this instance the transnational and global public sphere is relevant due to the centrality of global public opinion. Hugh Doulton and Katrina Brown (2009: 191) examined how newspapers linked climate change and international development and concluded that climate change was represented as an impending catastrophe for the developing world that is defenceless without the help

of the West, perpetuating to an extent views of the poor as victims” (Doulton and Brown 2009: 191).

Carvalho (2007: 180) argued that effective climate change politics requires changing some of the key aspects of capitalist economic tendencies by “correcting the imbalances of the global political economic order”. She argued that mitigating change requires worldwide adoption of “significant behavioural and policy changes towards the reduction of greenhouse gases emissions”. In the media, the physically distant places that are to suffer more from climate change, “such as the African continent, are predominantly represented as the stages of despair with the news recurrently offering images of natural tragedy” (Carvalho 2007: 182).

Carvalho observed that in the global north “person’s mental capacity, earthquakes, landslides and tsunamis are usual and expected events in Asia, Africa and South America” (2007: 182). She pointed out that:

The African continent in particular, continues to be largely absent from news reports except for natural or man-made disasters and the kind of citizen agency that is promoted in relation to it is charity rather than anything socially transformative...Africa and the rest of the Global South in their present and future condition as victims of global climate change are significantly less distressing for the Global North than it could be otherwise (Carvalho 2007: 183).

Carvalho (2007: 182) further noted that the global south countries are represented with tourism imagery. The tourism industry sells the global south to the global north “as exotic holiday destinations fit for enjoyment and relaxation and not political engagement”. The global north is constructed in the global north media “into a relation of pity or consumption” with the global south (Carvalho 2007: 183-4).

Hugh Doulton and Katrina Brown (2009) argued that the poor are affected more by the changing climate. They saw the media as “a critical arena for climate change debate and an important source for climate change information for the public” arguing that the news media have the potential to influence “public perceptions and policies”. In their examination of the construction of climate change in Britain, Doulton and Brown (2009: 193-200) found five stances.

The first stance viewed “climate change as beneficial for development”, the second stance argued that climate change was portrayed in the media as “a low priority for

development and it will be better to deal with it as it occurs”, the third stance suggested that “the key to preventing serious consequences for development is mitigation”, the fourth stance was based on crisis “narratives that insisted climate change will have disastrous impacts on development”, and the final stance held that “tackling climate change is an opportunity to achieve clean and sustainable development for the poor”.

Doulton and Brown (2009: 193- 201) argued that there was a discourse within the United Kingdom prestige media that viewed climate change with optimism and that it was beneficial and viewed climate scientists with scepticism and as doomsayers. This discourse, they argued, viewed climate change as beneficial, and hence there was no need to do anything to combat it. The second stance according to Doulton and Brown (2009) discursive hierarchy viewed climate change from a rationalistic point of view. The discourse accepted that climate change is a global problem but that could be dealt with as it occurs and allow focus to go to other developmental concerns. This discourse held that “predictions of climate change impacts are very uncertain so it is difficult to know how to prepare adaptation strategies, whilst attempts to reduce carbon dioxide emissions are pointless”. Doulton and Brown (2009) observed that this discourse advocated for more aid towards fighting poverty in developing countries through aid transfers, investments, trade and markets. This discourse also believed that attempts at climate change mitigation would be expensive and a lot of money will be wasted through unnecessary mitigation efforts.

Doulton and Brown (2009) noted that through representations of climate change and development in the British quality press, some stories hinged on the need for ethical mitigation where the developed countries in the global north must lead all mitigation efforts by cutting emissions and enable the global south to develop their economies in an environmental manner. Within this discourse, Doulton and Brown (2009) found out that there were sections of the media that blamed the United States for blocking climate change negotiations because of selfish economic reasons and being influenced by multinational companies.

Media representations of climate change and the global south were found to be ‘self-righteous’ and blamed the developing countries especially India and China for

stalling climate negotiations because of selfish economic interests. Doulton and Brown (2009) argued that these representations acknowledged that there was a divide between the global north (especially Europe) that was at least trying to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases and the ‘large emitters’ in the global south. Through media constructions of climate change and development, it was argued that the rapid growth of fossil fuel consumption in the global south was terrifying and there was need for the global north to rein in these emitters from the global south if there is to be progress on the climate change response.

2.7.1 The media-climate change matrix

There has been little research focusing on the relationship between the media, “climate change” and the portrayal of the global south within the overall climate change political and ideological discourse (Takahashi and Meisner 2012: 176) and the few studies that have been located are discussed above. No studies have been undertaken to exclusively focus on the portrayal of climate change issues of the global south in the global media. This study, grounding itself in the structural theory of imperialism (Galtung 1971), therefore seeks to close this scholarly gap by examining the representation of climate change issues of the global south in the global media. This means that no study to date has explored the representation and coverage of climate change problems of the global south as they traverse the global north informational economy. This is a significant gap in the literature that this study strives to cover. There has been little research focusing on the relationship between the media, climate change and the portrayal of the developing nations within the overall climate change political and ideological discourse. Whereas other studies focused on climate change impacts on the developing countries, no studies to date have been critical of the structural relationship between global inequalities and the vertical top-down climate change response strategies that are advocated for by the West, and also disseminated by the global media to the developing world as the best solutions to climate change impacts.

The study seeks to investigate the manner in which a sample of quality mainstream newspapers from the global north report on, and represent, issues concerning climate change in the global south. With the emergence of a new global discourse on

climate change, a discourse that has become both political and ideological more than scientific, academics within the media and communications field need to focus on the framing of climate change issues of the developing countries by the global media in developed countries (Anderson 2009: 176, Takahashi and Meisner 2012). Such a paradigm shift needs to base itself on the realities of structural global inequalities (Galtung 1971) that characterise international relations and communication today. This study notes that the global media are the dominant providers of global climate change information and hence seeks to examine the manner in which climate change issues of the developing countries (global south) are dealt with in selected newspapers in developed countries (global north). While discussing the influence of global news agencies in the communication of climate change, Liisa Antilla (2005: 350) observed that the wire service community –si not only an essential but a dominant source of climate change science news”.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the literature available on climate change science, the history of climate change communication, the role of the media in climate change coverage and climate change coverage in the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK). The chapter discussed the history of climate change, examining the debates on the coverage patterns and frequency. The political economy of the media and how it affects media coverage of climate change was also discussed in relation to the representations of the global south in the global news media. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform this study.

Chapter Three: Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the literature on global climate change and climate change communication. This chapter examines the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that help in understanding the general global imbalances and how these imbalances are reinforced by the media. The study adopts the structural theory of imperialism as the main body of explanation towards the geopolitical divide between the global north and the global south. The global news flows, climate change inequalities, the New World Information and Communication Order, and Stuart Hall's theory of representation are discussed.

The emergence of a new global discourse on climate change, a discourse characterised by ideological and political divergences between the developed global north nations and the developing global south nations, justifies the use of the structural theory of imperialism to examine and analyse the reportage and representation of climate change issues of the developing global south in the global north quality newspapers. Such a paradigm choice needs to base itself on the realities of structural global inequalities (Galtung 1971: 81) that characterise international relations and communication today. This study notes that the global media are the dominant providers of global climate change information and hence seeks to examine the manner in which climate change issues of the developing countries (Global South) are dealt with in selected newspapers in developed countries (Global North).

This study selected an array of 'quality' mainstream newspapers in the global north in order to examine how, while reporting and representing climate change issues of the global south, the newspapers perpetuate the unequal relations of existence between the global north and the global south. The mainstream papers being studied are typically consumed by political and economic elites. It is assumed that the newspapers in question inform and influence the decisions of policy makers and opinion leaders in the northern countries.

However, this study does not suggest that the newspapers under study have the same internal structures and ownership patterns. The study only acknowledges their similar locational, operational and ideological standpoints that influence their messages.

3.2 Structural Theory of Imperialism

The structural theory of imperialism by Johan Galtung is used as the theoretical background for this study. It is critical for studies focusing on global green communication systems to take place within an understanding of the global unequal relations of production (Galtung 1971: 81) that shape the relationships between the global north and the global south. The structural theory of imperialism conceptualises the world as geopolitically divided between the developed global north countries and the developing global south countries (Galtung 1971: 81), and views the world as consisting of “centre and periphery nations” (Galtung 1971: 81) that are unevenly paired where ‘centre’ nations exploit the ‘periphery’ nations for socio-economic and political benefit. This study provides new content to update the structural theory of imperialism by focusing on the environmental and climate change discourse. The structural theory of imperialism by Galtung (1971: 81-110) is used in this study to unpack the underlying inequalities between the global north and the global south and to enable one to understand the inherent inequalities in global climate change news representation and flows and to explain the structural relations of dominance. Galtung (1971: 81) defined imperialism as:

A system that splits up collectivities and relates some of the parts to each other in relations of harmony of interest, and other parts in relations of disharmony of interest, or conflict of interest. (Galtung 1971: 81)

Galtung (1971: 81) saw imperialism as “a more general structural relationship” between two unequal polarities, the centre and the periphery. These inequalities, he argued, are in and between nations in all aspects of human life”. Under imperialism, dominance relations cut across nations, basing on structures established by the centre nations (Galtung 1971: 81). In his theory of structural imperialism Galtung (1971: 81-82) developed the concept of ‘conflict of interest’ where the centre and periphery compete for different incompatible goals and dominance. The centre, because of its power, stipulates goals that it imposes on the periphery as ‘true interests’ of the periphery, disregarding their actual values and interests (Galtung

1971: 82). This is done under two major premises. Firstly, it imposes the course of action on the periphery through the “rejection of the dogma of unlimited rationality” (Galtung 1971: 82) where it is assumed that the periphery is passive and lacks knowledge. Secondly, the centre dominance is necessitated by the uneven distribution of rationality, where some may dominate the minds of others and hence produce false consciousness (Galtung 1971: 82).

The global south is the recipient of climate change decisions, decisions that promote the economic and political interests of the global north capitalist countries. The global north media, through their representation of climate change issues of the global south legitimise the decisions made by the global north political elites as the best for the planet. The countries in the global south are unequally yoked to those in the global north, in a relationship characterised by imbalances relating to wealth and information (Galtung 1971: 93) flows. They are the recipients of global news produced in the global north by the global north news media and on the other hand, the global north countries control both the means and relations of material and mental production. They own the global news media and have a direct and indirect control over the content that these media produce (Galtung 1971: 93). The global north countries, through subsidising, their transnational/multinational media conglomerates benefit from this vertical relationship firstly, through profits (Galtung 1971: 91-92) and secondly, through what cultural studies would have called ‘ideological closure’ where only ideological frames of reference from the global north are presented as legitimate, thereby creating room for economic, political, environmental and cultural exploitation.

The dominance of centre culture (global north) in the periphery (global south) legitimises the world-views that favour the economic, cultural and political interests of the global north. The ideological cultures produced by the mainstream elite mass media in the global north hence give representations of the global south from the global north ideological and cultural maps leading to cultural imperialism and synchronisation.

Herbert Schiller defined cultural imperialism as:

the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes even bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system (Schiller 1976:9 cf. Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997:49).

Cees Hamelink (1983:5) described the process of cultural synchronisation (imperialism) as a particular type of cultural development in the metropolitan country that is persuasively communicated to the receiving countries. 'Cultural synchronisation' implies that the traffic of cultural products go massively in one direction and has basically a synchronic mode" (Hamelink 1983:5).

Borrowing from Schiller (1976) and Hamelink (1983), this study contends that the processes of cultural imperialism and synchronisation are achieved through the use of media institutions in the global north that have influence over decision-makers in the global north, who in turn have the privilege to make key global socio-economic and political decisions that affect the global south. The mainstream global north media become central to the establishment, maintenance or destruction of global structural relations of inequality. Because of their sheer dominance of the global communications landscape, the global north mainstream media become instruments in the achievement of capitalist world dominance.

Through their dominance of the global communications space, the mainstream media also have the power to define, set the agenda and determine how global climate change issues are debated and organised. In this instance, these media become imperial themselves, exerting their influence over the global climate course of action. Oliver Boyd-Barrett redefined the concept of media imperialism to mean any media activity, regardless of time and space (geography) that is controlled by any one nation or group at the expense of others (what he called the colonisation of communications space). In his conceptualisation, Boyd-Barrett (2010c: 116-117) argued that the "communications space has no necessary relationship with territory nor technology, but has to do with the resources and fora for human expression". He argued further that this re-conceptualisation of the media imperialism thesis identifies structural relationships with territory, and other "markers of identity", and also

importantly —political and economic power” of those who gain access over such resources. Boyd-Barrett noted that the:

process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected (Boyd-Barrett 1997: 117).

Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (1997: 49) expanded the frame of discussing cultural imperialism by focusing not only on the work of the culture industries (as per the Frankfurt School³ definition) but including other forms of cultural dissemination such as the church, map-making and education systems. While Sreberny-Mohammad pointed out that cultural imperialism must not only be understood from a purely media perspective but also from the work of other social actors such as the church and education institutions (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997: 49), it can be argued that the flow of information and capital remains unbalanced with the United States being the —hub of information flows” (Takahashi and Eisner 2012: 428). Schiller (2010: 248) stressed the need to revisit the original theory of cultural imperialism, arguing that the key elements of capitalism and imperialism are still present and more dominant in this present age. He argued that media-cultural imperialism is a subset of imperialism:

The media-cultural component in a developed, corporate economy supports the economic objectives of the decisive industries- financial sections (the creation and extension of the consumer society); the cultural and economic spheres are indivisible (Schiller 2010: 248).

There is need for studies that examine the role of the media in maintaining global ideological imbalances [between the global north and the global south] and the promotion of the prevailing hegemonic status quo in climate change politics and communications to appreciate that the media industries themselves are not value-free, but rather as noted by Schiller (2010: 248), are governed by their —own political economy. What is regarded as cultural output is also ideological and profit serving to the capitalist system at large”.

³ The Frankfurt School conceptualised the media (culture industries) as “shaping thought and behaviour, influencing politics” and as instruments of power and social control that are used to stabilise contemporary capitalism and the constructions of subjectivities (Kellner 2012: 1).

The media, while operating in the postmodern, that is, the global (Garnham 1993: 252-253), the media and politics are still characterised by all the distinctive features of late modernity, cultural flows and information and communication technology (Golding and Harris 1997). Climate change communication, a paradigm located within the broader media and communication framework, fits well into Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi's (2008:9) argument that media studies, like all other social sciences, are "embedded in the historical experiences of western industrialised capitalism, liberal democracy and bounded nation-states". It is impossible to divorce the climate change communication discourse from the overall discipline of media and communication studies. Situating global climate change communication within the broader communication and media studies discipline enables one to adopt the theories and concepts from the discipline that can help explain the vertical global north-global south relationship in international climate change communication.

This study discusses a small sample of the global north media's coverage and representation of climate change issues of the developing global south countries through the application of critical theoretical and analytical paradigms of structural imperialism and related concepts of global news flows and representation. Few studies (Takahashi and Meisner 2012, Anderson 2009) have given attention to the structural nature of climate change information flows in the global north news media. The study finds it necessary to adopt a methodological and theoretical framework that is able to account for the vertical global north-south climate change informational imbalances. The media are not only definers of reality but are actively involved, consciously or subconsciously in the development of global public opinion (Galtung 1971: 93).

3.3 Capitalist Risk Society and Global Inequality

3.3.1 Global Climate Change Inequalities

This section, guided by the above discussion on the structural theory of imperialism, examines how the global geopolitical divide between the global north and the global south is expanded through climate change inequalities in relation to causing the climate problem, influencing adaptation and mitigation processes, the distribution of climate risks and global climate change decision-making. This study maintains that the global north is able to achieve dominance in global climate change governance

through their historical control of both the means of material and mental production. Through access to and control of the mainstream media institutions domiciled in the global north, the global north political, economic and environmental elites are able to articulate their views on climate change and influence key climate debates and decisions.

The study recognises the imbalances in global climate change governance with global north countries having a more decisive role through their control of key global climate change institutions such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the global news media. The control of key global climate change institutions enables these countries to exert their ideologies on the course of climate change action and promote their neo-liberal profit oriented policies rather than correcting the root cause of climate change, that is, capitalism. Bradley Parks and Timmons Roberts (2008: 621) saw that global inequality is the central problem to international climate change governance. They noted that

Outcomes in international environmental politics are primarily attributable to material self-interest, bargaining power, coercion, domestic environmental values, exogenous shocks and crises, the existence of salient policy solutions, the strength of political leadership and the influence of non-state actors (2008: 621).

Redclift and Sage (1998: 502) described the “—structural processes at work in the international system” as having an ideological orientation especially the framing of the environmental (climate change) problem from a neo-market position of market deregulation, preferring trade liberalisation and the market economy. They argued that the political economy of the environment is governed by “—opposing ideological precepts” that hinder global international climate change cooperation (Redclift and Sage 1998: 502). Drawing from international relations theory, Parks and Roberts (2008: 621) argued that “—inequality dampens cooperative efforts by reinforcing “—structuralist” worldviews and causal beliefs, polarizing policy preferences, promoting particularistic notions of fairness, generating divergent and unstable expectations about future behaviour”.

3.3.2 Inequality in Vulnerability

Parks and Roberts (2008: 626) argued that even though “climate change is described as a global problem” its impacts are scalar and will affect different countries and regions differently. They noted that “some countries and communities will suffer most and earliest, and generally they are not those that caused the problem”. Parks and Roberts (2008: 626) observed that between 1980-2002 “countries in Asia, Africa and Central America” encountered the highest number of displacements and deaths that were climate change related. These inequalities in vulnerability to climate change are also responsible for the resentment that the global south has towards the clearing up of the atmosphere polluted by the industrialised global north (Parks and Roberts 2008: 626). Ulrich Beck (2010a: 257) saw climate change as globalising and radicalising “social inequalities inside national contexts and on a global scale”. Beck took this view further and asserted that climate change and climate politics worsens “existing inequalities between the poor and the rich, between the centre and the periphery” (2010a: 258).

3.3.3 Inequality in expected clean-up

Parks and Roberts (2008: 627) stated that while the developed global north countries tried to encourage countries in the global south to cut their emissions and pursue non-carbon related economic development, most of the global north countries were “not doing so in their own countries”. Kevin Baumert and Nancy Kete (2002: 6 cited in Parks and Roberts 2008: 628) noted that global north countries were doing little to address their greenhouse gas emissions and this caused a “serious credibility” problem and could not morally encourage the developing countries to reduce their emissions.

Parks and Roberts (2008: 629) observed that between 1990 and 2004, greenhouse gas emissions have been increasing throughout the global north industrialised countries and this led to a credibility crisis. They argued that the global south “countries believe that the global north industrialised countries lack credibility” regarding emission reductions. The global north countries embarked on what Parks and Roberts (2008: 629) called “productive emissions displacement” where instead of cutting their emissions at home, they sought to find reduction activities in the

global developing south. Parks and Roberts (2008: 626) further noted that even countries that had reduced their greenhouse gas emissions through adopting ‘service-exporting’ activities [such as banking, product design, procurement and distribution] had become net-importers of carbon-intensive products from the global south”.

3.3.4 Inequality in internal environmental regimes

According to Parks and Roberts (2008: 629), climate change negotiations are ingrained in the “broader geopolitics of north-south relations”. The developing global south “feared restrictions on their economic growth” and pushed for a redistributive programme that would benefit and help them to move towards economic development. From the past climate negotiations, beginning with the Stockholm⁴ international conference on the environment, the global north countries have sought to suppress the discussion on global north consumption at the negotiating table, promote non-binding financial assistance language and put the population growth rate of the global south on the table (Parks and Roberts 2008: 63). The global climate negotiations have been held within contexts of mistrust and suspicion and hence have been a failure ever since (Parks and Roberts 2008: 63). The global south countries have protested (Parks and Roberts 2008: 63) against the “donor-dominance’ and lack of transparency” complaining that most “important decisions affecting the developing countries were being made in non-transparent meetings attended only by the powerful countries” of the global north.

3.3.5 Inequality in international economic regimes

The international climate negotiations are largely affected by the inherent global unequal economic relations (Parks and Roberts 2008). Stephen Krasner (1978 cf. Parks and Roberts 2008: 631) explained that the international climate change political stage is characterised by makers, breakers and takers and the global south in almost every instance are the takers of decisions made in the world economic capitals in the global north. Again Shadlen (2004:6 in Parks and Roberts 2008: 631)

⁴ “The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm (Sweden) from 5 to 16 June 1972 and advocated for principles that inspire and guide people in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment” (UNEP 2015).
<http://www.unep.org/pdf/40thbook.pdf>

argued that in the international economic stage, the least developed countries —most accept rules written by-and usually for – the most developed countries”.

Robert Wade (2003: 622) observed that there was a shrinking of —development space” for the global south countries and observed that the multilateral and bilateral agreements prevented the global south from:

Pursuing the kinds of the industrial and technology policies adopted by the newly developed countries of East Asia and by the older developed countries when they were developing.

The global economic inequalities have had an impact on how the global south approaches global environmental problems (Parks and Roberts 2008). Porter and Brown (1991:121 cf. Parks and Roberts 2008: 632) concluded that the developing countries —perceptions of the global economic structure as unequal have been a factor in their policy responses to global environmental problems”. Inherent global inequalities (Parks and Roberts 2008: 632) make it difficult for both the global north and global south to have shared understandings of appropriate climate change responses.

The global climate change inequalities discussed in this section are established and reinforced through the ideological representation of climate change as represented in the global north mass media. Michael Redclift and Colin Sage (1998: 501) argued that the way environmental issues are represented reflects social and cultural perspectives. —Although most of the mass media are devoid of explicit political argument about the environment, they clearly communicate environmental issues in a variety of ways,” that strengthen the capitalist ideological position of the global north.

Beck (2010a: 260) articulated that the mainstream global north was successful in representing —climate change as a global problem” which requires shared efforts, but still provided solutions that favoured the national interests of the global north countries. Through the —spectacular visualization of climate change,” and the presentation of —dramatic and symbolic scenes collected from around the world,” the global north news media managed to frame climate change as a global problem (Beck 2010a: 261). He argued further that the —presentation and visualization of

manufactured risk make the invisible visible. It creates simultaneity, shared involvement and shared suffering, and thereby creates the relevance for a global public". While the mainstream global north media present climate change as a global problem, Beck (2010a: 262) observed that the international climate change responses and responsibilities —are often reported in and through national news prisms and frames of reference" that promote the neo-liberal market principles of the global north.

Steffen Böhm et al (2012: 4) argued that a neo-liberal response to climate change had the potential to increase —even growth and disparities of income" and the —unequal distribution of economic, social and environmental risks that global markets produce". Emmanuel Kumi et al (2013: 540) noted that the prescription of neo-liberal policies to address climate change were taking place against evidence that such policies were in opposition to the principle of true sustainable development.

3.3.6 The Capitalist Risk Society

This study contends that the development of the industrial capitalist society took place alongside environmental contradictions and created environmental risks that have culminated in irreversible climate change. According to Ulrich Beck (1992b: 21) environmental problems (climate change) are —risks of modernisation" and are a wholesome —product of industrialisation" that are intensified with the global spread of capitalism and industrialism. Felix Guattari (2000) concurred with Beck (1992) noting further that the ecological problems experienced today are a result of capitalist exploitative tendencies. He posited that, —Capitalism that does not exploit resources — be they natural or human — is yet unthinkable. A capitalism that is symbiotic rather than parasitic may never be possible" (Guattari 2000: 15). The development of industrial society (modernity) gradually gave birth to the emergence of what Ulrich Beck (1992b) named the ⁵risk society'. Beck noted that the momentum of innovation associated with the industrial society produced social, economic, political and ecological risks that continue to —elude the control and protective institutions of industrial society" (Beck 1996b: 28). Industrialism saw the over accumulation of

⁵ Beck (1992b: 22) defined risks as "all radio activity, which completely evades human perceptive abilities, but also toxins and pollutants in the air, the water and foodstuffs, together with the accompanying short- and long-term effects on plants, animals and people".

dangerous gases such as carbon dioxide and methane, gases that have led to a sharp increase in global atmospheric and sea temperatures, reduced precipitation and pronounced extreme weather events.

Climate change today affects not only the developed countries but its footprint is more visible in the developing global south countries because of their lack of adequate adaptation capacity. Beck (1992b: 23) observed that environmental risks and hazards affect other people more than others and as a result —social risk positions spring up” and some risks follow the inequalities of class and strata. This has seen the ‘risk society’ affecting the global south more than the global north (the countries responsible for climate change).

In his risk society thesis, Beck (1996) identified two phases that are between the industrial society (modernity) and risk society. Firstly, through industrial development, environmental risks in the form of an increase in atmospheric greenhouse concentrations and pollution are produced but are not subjected to public and political debate. Secondly, the hazards of the industrial society dominate public, political and private debates” (Beck 1992b: 23) and at this stage “industrial society” acknowledges that it is a risk society but still continues to make decisions and act on patterns of the old industrial society.

This study notes that today’s society belongs well to the second phase, where there is global agreement that climate change is a reality. This consensus is found across political, economic and cultural disciplines, however, society through the influence from the global north polluting countries, continues to prescribe neo-market, neo-capitalist climate change response mechanisms in such ⁶carbon markets and emissions trading schemes.

⁶ “Emissions trading, as set out in Article 17 of the Kyoto Protocol, allows countries that have emission units to spare - emissions permitted them but not „used“ - to sell this excess capacity to countries that are over their targets. Thus, a new commodity was created in the form of emission reductions or removals. Since carbon dioxide is the principal greenhouse gas, people speak simply of trading in carbon. Carbon is now tracked and traded like any other commodity. This is known as the „carbon market.“ (UNFCCC 2015)
http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/mechanisms/emissions_trading/items/2731.php

This pattern agrees well with Zygmunt Bauman (1992 cf. Beck 1996: 38) who noted that all attempts at solving the risks brought by the industrial society produce more problems than answers and argued that where risks were identified, only the symptoms were fought and not the causes because:

fighting against the risks of unrestrained business activity has itself become a major business offering a new lease of life to scientific/technological dreams of unlimited expansions. In our society, risk-fighting can be nothing else but business – the bigger it is, the more impressive and reassuring. The politics of fear lubricates the wheels of consumerism and helps to keep the economy going and steers away from the lane of recession. Ever more resources are to be consumed in order to repair the gruesome effects of yesterday's resource consumption. Individual fears beefed up by the exposure of yesterday's risks are deployed in the service of collective production of the unknown risks of tomorrow (Bauman 1992: 25 cf. Beck 1996: 38).

It is important for this study to uphold a critical discussion on the contradictions between capitalist industrial development and the environment. Such a paradigm enables one to articulate better the origins of global structural inequalities with respect to climate change decision making, adaptation and how the inherent capitalist inequalities are carried over by the global north mainstream media into the new global climate change discourse. This study empirically examines the extent to which the notion that the media in the global north, while covering and representing climate change issues of the global south, establish and maintain structural global inequalities, reinforcing the ideological dominance of the global north decisions, policies and economic interests is manifest in the newspaper samples chosen. According to Beck (1992b: 23) risks have the potential to produce and reinforce structural international inequalities –firstly between the Third World and the industrial states, secondly among the industrial states themselves”. The diffusion and commercialisation of risks, Beck argued, goes in line with the logic of capitalist development. Modernisation (the key producer of the world risk society) sees environmental risks as business meaning that –with the economic exploitation of the risks it sets free (modernisation), industrial society produces the hazards and the political potential of the risk society” (Beck 1992b: 23).

Samir Amin traced the genealogy of incessant global capitalism to the end of the Second World War in 1945 and argued that a new phase of capitalism began to develop and took an international institutionalised character (Amin 1997:14-15). This new capitalism was characterised by the rise of the transnational or the multinational companies that operated alongside the restrictive protectionist economic policies in the developing countries (Amin 1997: 15). However, with the end of the cold war, nation-states relaxed their economic policies and opened their markets to liberal market principles, and national production systems were weakened by the removal of barriers to foreign trade through “market de-localisation” (Amin 1997: 15). These developments together with the strengthening of the capitalist ideological systems of privatisation and deregulation of markets globally, gave more power to the multinational conglomerates. Amin (1997: 15) argued that the dominance of the capitalist ideology weakened the effectiveness of national policies and economies in favour of global systems controlled by the global north and its price system. Amin observed that:

The world price system has gradually imposed itself as the system of reference, which in turn has been internalised by all countries and where this geometrical equation has proved impossible, as in many peripheral nations, ‘dollarization’ (Salama, 1989) has replaced local currency as a means of economic calculation (Amin 1997:15).

Rather than uniting the global system and harmonising the global socio-economic conditions, the global capitalist system increased world differences and relations of dominance (Amin 1997: 15). Beck (1992b: 20-21) noted that risks and hazards (environmental risks) adhere to the tenets of the hierarchical system of capitalism with wealth accumulating at the top and risks at the bottom (wealth at the centre and risks at the periphery). He further noted that environmental risks strengthen rather than abolish the class system of capitalism. While noting that the climate change problems affecting the planet today call into action a consolidated global effort, Amin criticised the uneven control of world resources between the global north and the global south, where the linear model and neo-liberal approaches to solving climate change problems favour the interests of capitalists and worsens rather than solves the problems of the global south. Felix Guattari (2000: 15) posited that immediate action to address climate change was unlikely, noting “political action is unlikely when the worst polluting nations continue to insist that “emissions trading” occurs

under free-market principles. In elaborating the contradictions posed by climate change response efforts (Amin 1997) noted that the —awareness” of environmental inter-dependence became part and parcel of the global politics but nevertheless the principles of capital have not been of any use:

This is because the ‘market’ is a set of mechanisms operating on a short term basis (maximum 15 years), whereas environmental effects of the development of productive forces are situated on a much longer-term time-scale. As a result, it is absolutely impossible to avoid catastrophe without first accepting the principle of rational planning which goes against the ‘market’ (Amin 1997: 17).

The media are central to the —processes of risk construction and contestation” (Cottle 1998). Felix Guattari (2000: 15) stated that the —major capitalist countries are also the major polluters of the earth, and the mass media” reinforces this neo-liberal system by —creating a climate of unquestioning passivity”. Beck (1992b: 46) observed that —as the risk society develops, so does the antagonism between those afflicted by risks and those who profit from them”. He noted further that the —social and economic importance of knowledge grows similarly, and with it the power over the media to structure knowledge and disseminate it...The risk society in this sense is also the science, media and information society. Thus new antagonisms grow up between those who produce risks and those who consume them” (Beck 1992b: 46).

Amin (1997: 18) averred that the intensification of communications in the global capitalist system has not been a liberating or democratising factor but rather the opposite. Amin saw this intensification leading to the building of an —integrated” universal mankind arguing that, —the observer who does not see Western life on a daily basis is always struck by the incredible brain-washing of the dominant media” (Amin 1997: 17). Graham Chapman (1997: 183) observed that the media in the global north was in danger of locking global north countries into —ghetto of environmental self-deception,” thereby helping to perpetuate poverty in the global south.

The type of culture that is conveyed by these mass media, operating in the framework of the global capitalist system, is bound to be poor, sometimes even degrading, frustrating and Eurocentric (Amin 1997: 18).

The discourse on climate change has dominated the contemporary science and policy landscapes and has become more visible in the public discourse through the news media. Jaclyn Dispensa and Robert Brulle (2003 cf. Boykoff 2011: 4) noted

that “the news media (can) serve as an important institution for the reproduction of hegemony”. Boykoff (2011) suggested the need to approach climate change through the lens of cultural politics in order to interrogate “how social and political framings are woven into both the formulations of scientific explanations of environmental problems and the solutions proposed to reduce them” (Forsyth 2003 in Boykoff 2011: 5). Boykoff further noted that entrenched cultural preoccupations with free markets in capitalist societies and the concomitant politics of interest groups have resulted in a naturalised consideration of market-led approaches to policy action” based on, “Commitments to economic growth, and deeply entrenched technological optimism, have been significant forces influencing the wider cultural politics of climate change” (2011: 5). This study sees the promotion of neo-liberal and neo-capitalist mechanisms to addressing climate change as having the potential to increase the global inequalities with regards to renewable technology development between the global north and the global south. This study examines the extent to which the neo-liberal and capitalistic climate change discourses have been embedded in the global mainstream newspapers. While criticisms have emerged on “the dangers of emergent carbon capitalism [Cabello 2009, Kumi et al 2012] associated with commodifying the atmosphere, and the fixation with market mechanisms [Liverman 2004: 2008] as primary tools to answer climate questions,” Boykoff (2011) argued that such criticisms are absent from the mainstream media and rather the media is inundated with representations of market-led solutions.

3.4 New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

In order to understand the global communication and information flow inequalities, this study adopts the New World Information and Communication (NWICO) debates on the uneven distribution of information between the global north and the global south. The concept of the NWICO became a serious issue in the 1970s to 1990s from the period of territorial decolonisation up to the end of the cold war. NWICO was basically a concept that sought to re-articulate the global news and information flows from the vertical biased system that was primarily North to South to a model that was balanced. Kaarle Nordenstreng (1984a) argued that NWICO connects the study of media studies to the overall geopolitical struggles between the industrialised global north and the developing global south. The NWICO was a coordinated effort

coming from the members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Soviet-Led Eastern Bloc (Nordenstreng 1984a: 10). These countries questioned the global informational inequalities that were inherent in global communicative terrains. At a NAM Symposium held in Tunisia in 1976, the countries made the observation that “information in the world showed a disequilibrium favouring some and ignoring others. They agreed to work towards the decolonisation of information flows and initiate a new global information order” (Nordenstreng (1984a:10-11).

Within their arguments, NAM countries emphasised the need for socio-economic and political emancipation from what they called the structures of imperialism (Nordenstreng 1984a: 10-11). In 1976 the NAM countries issued the New Delhi Declaration that argued that the linear communication models perpetuated dependency and domination and confined “judgments and decisions on what should be known and how it should be known into the hands of a few corporations” based in the global north (Nordenstreng 1984a: 10-11). In the 1970s NAM got support from the Soviet Union that pushed for the establishment of regulatory relations between international media and the principles of international ethics and international law.

Through the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) the NAM countries and the Soviet bloc formulated the Mass Media Declaration (Nordenstreng 1984a). Subsequently, UNESCO established the McBride Commission that was supposed to examine the problems of communications in order to get towards a new and more efficient world information and communication order (Nordenstreng 1984). The McBride Commission released a report that encouraged among other issues the elimination of inequalities, removal of obstacles to free flow of information, advancement of balanced journalism and plurality of information sources and channels (Nordenstreng 1984a).

This study notes that while the NWICO debate focused on the re-alignment of information systems, there has been less attention towards the underlying structural and contextual factors that necessitate global inequalities. This study examines the global climate change communication patterns by way of analysing the structures and contexts that inform the operations of the global north media and international news flows. This study, for clarity purposes, is not a reception study, but rather a focus on how climate change issues of the global south are covered and represented

in the global north quality news media. While the NWICO debates took place from the 1970s, a continued focus on contemporary global news flows confirms that the global news flows are still vertical and dominated by the dominant global news media domiciled in the global north.

3.5 Global News Flows

Any discussion of the global news flows must be fitted within the contemporary communicative terrain that has been greatly changed by the arrival of new media and communication technologies, the proliferation of cable and satellite television, and the market determinants of deregulation and privatisation (Thussu 2010: 222). Daya Thussu has argued that these changes have remodelled the global informational flows to become multi-vocal, multimedia and multi-directional. These developments in communications also necessitated national media to transcend their national boundaries and take advantage of global citizens (Thussu 2010: 222).

Thussu's (2010) conceptions of global news flows (the global flow of news and information is dominated by the dominant news media operating from the global north) are used in this study to allow for the full exploration of the ideological nature of global dominant news flows and how these flows impact the reporting and representation of climate change issues of the Global South.

3.5.1 Dominant vertical informational and news flows

The vertical North-South flows continue to dominate the global media ecology even much stronger today than ever before. Johan Galtung (1971 cf. Thussu 2010: 223) argued that "information flows maintain and reinforce a dependency syndrome". The centre-periphery relationships that characterise the world informational ecology today serve the interests of the developed global north countries (Galtung 1971: 93). The content produced by the global north news media is consumer-oriented and appeals to cultural consumers across the globe- "not so much because of any regard for national cultures but as a commercial imperative" (Thussu 2010: 223). The global north news media in this instance encompasses "both the transnational and geo-cultural media by co-opting the local in order to maintain the dominant" flows (Thussu 2010: 223).

Zanetta Jansen (2010: 37) argued that the global exchange of information and news flows facilitate the compression of the world. Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Terhi Rantanen (1998:1) described global news media as agents of globalisation and conduits of global capitalism arguing that, —[T]he concept of ‘news’ is at the heart of modern capitalism and illuminates processes of globalisation”.

Global news flows are structured into world conditions in a way that enhance global systems of exploitation (Jansen 2010: 42) and the information disseminated works to preserve the socio-economic system of capitalism. Jansen (2010: 43) noted that the free flow of information reinforces the unequal global relationship created by capitalism because there are discrepancies in terms of access and participation to the information flows. These arguments are used in this study to examine how the reportage and representation of climate change issues of the global south by the mainstream media in the global north promotes the capitalist interests of the global north and hence further reinforce the global unequal economic and climate change governance relationship. Global news flows are pre-determined by the structural relationships that shape the globe where the ‘decision-making centre’ makes decisions that affect the economic, military, cultural and communication patterns of the periphery countries (Galtung 1971: 91). He emphasised that centre nations produce decisions and the periphery nations produce obedience.

The global media from the United States, United Kingdom, and Japan dominate “the global flow of news and current affairs” (Thussu 2010: 228). As noted by Thussu (2007: 11), the “volume of news and current affairs” flowing from the dominant economic countries towards the global south are tremendous, “the US-led Western media, both online and offline, and in various forms- information, infotainment and entertainment- are global in their reach and influence” (Bagdikian 2004, Boyd-Barrett 2006 cf. Thussu 2007: 11). Due to the sheer economic and political power of the United States and its global north look-alikes, the United Kingdom, and Germany, the media operating from these countries are available globally both in English and “dubbed or indigenous versions” (Thussu 2010: 228). These powerful media, in Thussu’s thesis, constitute what he termed ‘dominant media flows’.

The massive proliferation of US-based media (advertising, film, news) contributes to the linear global flow of “consumerist” messages” (Thussu 2010: 228) that help the United States “to use its soft power” to promote its national economic and political interests” (Nyer 2004 cf. Thussu 2010: 228). Giving reference to television, Thussu (2010: 228) argued that the media is central to a “global mass culture” due to “its ability to transcend linguistic and geographical boundaries”.

Galtung (1971: 93) argued that major global news organisations “are in the hands of the centre countries and rely on centre-dominated networks of communication”. He further noted that “centre news takes up a much larger proportion of periphery news media than vice versa” (1971: 93). Galtung (1971:93) stated that:

The Periphery nations do not write or read much about each other, especially not across bloc borders, and they read more about their Center than about other Centers - because the press is written and read by the center in the Periphery, who want to know more about that most “relevant” part of the world-for them.

3.5.2 News and Informational Counter-Flows

According to Daya Thussu (2010), there is a new dimension in the global flow of information due to the emergence of transnational global flows emanating from the semi-peripheries such as India, China, South Africa and some parts of Latin America. These transnational media emerge as both public-state sponsored and also as private institutions. According to Thussu (2010), there is a new dimension in the global flow of information due to the emergence of transnational global flows emanating from the semi-peripheries such as India, China, South Africa and some parts of Latin America. These transnational media emerge as both public-state sponsored and also as private institutions.

In the last category of news flows in Thussu’s thesis are the “geo-cultural” media institutions that cater for “cultural-linguistic” audiences scattered across the globe (Thussu 2010: 223). These “geo-cultural flows are aimed at the diasporic populations which are not necessarily defined by language [for example Zee TV, from India which is watched by second generation British Asians who may not be competent with Hindi]” (Thussu 2010). The geo-cultural flows in the Thussurian thesis represent “contra-flows”. Thussu (2010: 223-224) argued that the development of these contra-flows was necessitated by technological innovations through satellite and the digital

networks alongside the growth of 'Direct-to-Home' broadcasting. He further argued that the geo-cultural media feed into and develop the emergent 'diasporic public sphere' and use regional languages as their dominant languages" (Appadurai 1996 cf. Thussu 2010: 224).

Regardless of the existence of notable counter-flows in the form of transnational and geo-cultural news and information flows, the global media landscape is still dominated by the 'dominant flows' –that is, western media flows to the peripheries (Thussu 2010: 234). He also noted the imbalance in news and information flows between the North and South –reflects the 'asymmetries in flows of ideas and goods" (UNDP 2000: 90 cf. Thussu 2010: 234). The revenues of contra-flows are still very small as compared to those accrued by the dominant flows. Furthermore, their impact globally is also restricted to geo-cultural markets and at best regional transnational consumers (Thussu 2010: 234). In the midst of these developments in global communications, the dominant flows were even becoming stronger and the private/commercial contra-flows cannot be regarded as 'counter-hegemonic' forces (Thussu 2010:235).

3.7 Climate change and the technology flow rhetoric

The climate change discourse is pregnant with 'terms' such as technology transfers from the global north to the global south to enable developing countries to adapt and reduce their emissions. In imposing global north decisions, the global north countries achieve this by way of bilateral technical assistance programs and sometimes by the model-imitator distinctions (Galtung 1971). According to Galtung (1971:92) the distinctions are served by uni-linear concepts of 'development' and 'modernisation' from which the developed global north countries set "some superior kind structure for others to imitate" and which gives legitimacy to an idea coming from the global north.

Previous work, especially Hamelink (1997) discovered that during the post Second World War era into the 1970s there was hope that technology would massively uplift the living standards of the developing countries. It had been noted that technology had led to the massive industrialisation in the global north; hence countries were optimistic that the same would take place in the developing global south countries.

However, as Hamelink (1997: 70) noted, towards the 1970s this optimism had died.

Technology had been transferred albeit mainly in the shape of end-products and often with disadvantageous conditions for the recipients, but sharp disparities in access to and distribution of technology remained and the basic problems of structural poverty and exploitation had not been resolved (Hamelink 1997: 70).

The technologies that found themselves into the developing countries by the 1960s were not explicitly meant to benefit the recipients but rather had largely benefited foreign manufacturers, bankers, military and administrative elites from the centres (Hamelink 1997: 70). He further argued that “in most developing countries the pattern was that advanced technology was not primarily introduced to meet the basic needs of the people, but as the support system for the expansion of transnational business” (Hamelink 1997: 70).

It is important to situate global climate communication within this broader paradigm in order to understand how, in the process of technology transfer discourses, the global north nations determine the course of action to be followed by the developing global south nations and hence reinforce their ideological frames globally. This is intrinsic with the capitalist interest of profits and investments. By provoking the discourse analytical strategies, this study explores the technology and knowledge transfer discourses in politics and the media with an objective of finding out how the media consciously or subconsciously promotes transfers that benefit not the global south but are meant to expand the global north economic and political interests. Overall, the study examines at a micro-level how the capitalist ideology and global structural inequalities are entrenched within climate change news about the global south in the global north news media, and how these news discourses work at the macro-level to perpetuate global economic, climate change, political and cultural inequality.

3.8 Representing the other: The Global North and the Rest

3.8.1 News Values

This study assumes that news values have a bearing on the representation of climate change issues of the global south by the mainstream quality newspapers in the global north. Through news values, particular representations are formulated that fit well into the patterns of the news producers. News values, themselves as institutional and ideological constructions, are determined by relations of existence between the global north and the global south. Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge (1965) argued that the consideration of an event to be 'newsworthy' is culturally determined. With reference to elite nations, Galtung and Ruge (1965) noted that ~~the~~ "the more an event concerns elite nations, the more probable that it will become a news item". They argued that news is elite-centred and the ~~actions~~ "actions of the elite nations are considered more consequential than those of other nation-states". In an elite-centred news communication system ordinary people or nations ~~are~~ "are not given the chance" to represent themselves (Galtung and Ruge 1965). This study, investigates how global north neo-liberal ideas about climate change governance are passively textured into the news and work in a way that conditions the world towards the adoption of global north-based climate change governance conceptions.

The production of news is not value free as per the 'news values' prescription and journalists do not actually report events but produce news (Vasterman 1995). Peter Vasterman further argued that, ~~news~~ "news is not out there, journalists do not report news, they produce news. They construct it, they construct facts, they construct statements and they construct a context in which these facts make sense. They construct 'a reality'" (Vasterman 1995). Leon Sigal (1973 cf. Ginneken 1998: 81) argued that:

News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen. Reporters are seldom in a position to witness events firsthand. They have to rely on the accounts of others... Readers, whether they are attentive citizens or interested officials, tend to lose sight of the fact that news is not reality, but a sampling of sources' portrayals of reality, mediated by news organisations.... Newspapers can do little more than establish some standard operating procedures for sampling potential sources. Whatever procedure they adopt unavoidably biases their selection of content.

Denis McQuail (1994: 270) argued that there is no fixed reality out there which journalists either accept or reject. News selection and representation are ideological structures that work towards the formalisation and operationalisation of an ideology of news (Hall 1973). Stuart Hall (1992) further argued that news values are “a cultural map that is used by journalists to help them make sense of the world”.

Gans (1980 cf. Ginneken 1998: 29) argued that international news in the American news media is presented from a “purely national perspective”. Gans concluded that the American news media “tend to follow American foreign policy, even if not slavishly, but they hew closer to the State Department line on foreign news”. Jaap van Ginneken (1998: 33) noted that what is reported as “news” in the global north quality press represents the interests and ideologies of the producers. Ginneken (1998: 33) argued that the “quasi-consensual ideology of the major western countries...” is represented in the global north news media as “natural and common sense”. Ginneken concluded that,

News production and news consumption can also be seen as a twenty- four hour ideological repair shop for our world order and our world-views. Possible anomalies are identified, checked and ‘normalised,’ so that the ideological machine keeps running smoothly... But the concerns and values of the First World remain central; those of the Second and Third Worlds remain marginal.

This study examines the sourcing patterns adopted by the global north news media in their coverage of global south climate change issues. The sources chosen determine how the issues are represented and also from whose point of view they are covered. Ginneken (1998: 85) noted that “news is based on a selective articulation of certain voices about supposed events, not only the voices of the journalists get articulated but also those of their sources”. Through the selection of global north news sources, the global north news media give advantage to global north ‘experts’ and enable them to define the climate change problems affecting the global south by imposing their viewpoints. Due to this pattern in journalism, the sources tend to have dominant voices that can be heard more loudly while those of the global south are submerged through non-representation.

Benard Cohen (1963: 13) noted that,

The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors and publishers of the papers they read. Perhaps the notion of a map is too confining as it does not suggest the full range of the political phenomena that are conveyed by the press.

3.8.2 Representing the other

This study utilises the concept of representation and how certain aspects of the world are represented/portrayed through discursive practices. Discourse, taken at a macro-theoretical level, legitimate particular ideologies and delegitimise others. Through representation in discourse, certain world views are portrayed as “other”. This study employs the concept of representation and its relationship with discourse to examine how the climate/environmental issues of the global south are represented through the global north quality newspaper discourses.

Norman Fairclough (2003: 87) saw discourse “as ways of representing world views, the structures of material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, and beliefs”. Fairclough (2003: 87) further argued that discourses are ways of representing particular “aspects of the world” differently and that “different discourses are different perspectives on the world”. He argued that discourses are closely linked to “relations people have to the world, their positions in the world, their social and personal identities and their social relationships in which they stand to other people”.

Parks and Roberts (2008) argued that global inequality promotes structuralist world-views (ideologies). Goldstein and Keohane (1993: 12) observed that a world view limits people’s choices “because it logically excludes other interpretations of reality, or at least suggests that such interpretations are not worthy of sustained exploration”. Parks and Roberts (2008: 632) argued that particular worldviews (ideologies) influence the way “actors come up with their own policy agendas”.

Porter and Brown (1991:124 cited in Parks and Roberts 2008: 632) argued that:

the tone and substance of North-South bargaining on environmental issues are influenced by the structure of the global economic system, which exerts indirect pressure on the policies of the developing countries towards their natural resources and constraining the quest for global co-operation to save those resources.

This study is an examination of how climate change issues of the global south are covered and represented by the global north media. In line with the theoretical approach of structural imperialism, it is important to consider how, in the context of news coverage, the global north news media represents the global south in a dichotomous ‘us’ versus ‘them’ relationship. Johan Galtung (1971: 81) conceptualised that global relations are structurally unequal, and that these relations characterise international politics, environmental, communication and economic discourses. This study notes that the global media are the dominant providers of global climate change information and hence it is critical to examine how they represent climate change issues affecting the developing global south countries.

The study seeks to investigate the manner in which a sample of quality mainstream newspapers from the global north report on, and represent, issues concerning climate change in the global south. This study seeks to examine how the global north media, through their representation of climate change issues of the global south, promote capitalism and the exploitation of the developing countries by the developed countries.

In adopting the concept of representation, this study makes use of Stuart Hall's (1992) of the ‘West and the Rest’. Hall (1992: 215) argued that the process of representing the other is based on stereotypes. Hall (1992: 215 citing Hulme 1986: 49-58) noted that the stereotypes are dualised into opposing elements. In this instance the world is split into a dichotomous symbolic representation of ‘good-bad, us-them, attractive-disgusting, civilised-uncivilised, the west-the rest’ (*a priori* bi-polar representation). Hall (1992) argued that ‘the Rest’ is defined as everything that the ‘west’ is not. It is represented as different (the other)’. Sander Gilman (1985 in Hall 1992: 216) in reference to stereotypes argued that these systems are inherently *bi-polar*, ‘generating pairs of antithetical signifiers (i.e. words with apparently opposing meanings)’. He argued further that ‘the deep structure of own sense of self and the

world is built upon the illusionary image of the world divided into camps —us and them. They are either good or bad” (Gilman 1985:17 cf Hall 1992: 216).

Hall (1992: 216) noted that the treatment of the ‘natives’ and the notions of the global south, during the colonial period was directly linked to the image that they occupied in the mentalities of the colonisers, essentially what sort of people and societies that they were, a variant that was dependant on the knowledge of the west on them and how they were represented. Through modernism the global north is the model, the prototype (Hall 1992: 221) and the measure of social progress. The ‘other’ was the dark side—forgotten, repressed, and denied, the reverse image of enlightenment and modernity” (Hall 1992).

For the continuity of terminology, the study will replace “the West” with the “global north” and “The Rest” with “the global south”. It has to be noted the conception of ‘the west’ (global north) and ‘the rest’ is not a simple issue of geographical demarcation but a concept deeply ingrained in the geopolitical and historical divides between the industrialised global north countries and the developing global south. This study also adopts Hall’s definition of ‘the west’ (global north) as those societies that are “developed, industrialised, urbanised, capitalist, circular and modern” (Hall 1992: 186). He further argued “any society that shares these characteristics can be classified as western’ in the same way the word ‘modern’ has been applied to particular societies”. The geopolitical classification of the global south and the global north, as per the conceptualisation by (1992:186), is a “to think with and is a structure of thought and knowledge in motion”.

The notion of the global north in Hall’s (1992) thesis “functions as a part of a language, a ‘system of representation’ and provides a model of comparison”. The same concept also functions as an ideology (Hall 1992:186) as “it produces certain kinds of knowledge about a subject and attitudes towards it”. Hall (1992) argued that once the concept of the “west” (global north) was born; it became a central part of the global power relations. He argued that:

The very notion of the “west” was constructed by Europe’s contact and self-comparison with non-western societies “the rest” that were different in their history, ecologies, patterns of development and cultures (Hall 1992: 186).

3.8.3 The Global North and the Rest

The aspects of how the climate change of the global south are reported on and represented in the global north quality news media is embedded within the unequal discursive structures of inequality inherent within the global north-south geopolitical and economic divides. To study the representation of climate issues of the global south in the global north quality news media is also an exercise in the study of the dominant discourse of 'the west and the rest' (the global north and the global south). Discourse, taken simply, is way of speech, writing / communication but its definition in this study is taken to be a particular way of representing (Hall 1992: 201) particular aspects of climate change of the global south in the global north quality media and the relations between them (Hall 1992: 201). Hall (1992: 201) argued that discourse can be taken to mean "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about, that is, a way of representing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic". Drawing from Michel Foucault, Hall (1992: 201) argued that "discourse does not consist of single statements, but rather several statements that work together to form a discursive formation".

Hall argued that "discourse is about the production of knowledge through language" (1992: 201) and is itself produced by a "discursive practice" - the practice of meaning production. Hall (1992) argued that all social practices have meaning and therefore all aspects of the social are discursive, and therefore discourse enters and influences social practices. In this study for example, to borrow from Foucault, the articulation of the discourse on global green communication through the global north quality news media, is entrenched in the way the global north sees itself in opposition to and behaves towards the global south.

In expanding the 'discursive concept', Hall argued that discourses also function as ideologies that produce knowledge in service of particular group interests in society (Hall 1992: 202). Foucault argued that ideology makes a distinction between what is true and false (science and ideology) and "that the facts about the world help to decide between true and false statements". Foucault argued "that statements about the social, political, moral world are not simply true or false and the facts do not enable us to decide about their truth or falsehood". Hall (1992: 203) argued that the language used to describe the "so-called facts interfere with the decisions to deem a

statement either true or false". Hall argued that "certain descriptions/statements, even if they appear false, can be made true if people act on them believing that they are true". For example, if the global south is depicted negatively in the global news media and whether this is true or false, if the global north acts on that "knowledge" they can in effect become backward, in the eyes of the global north, because they are treated as such. The language, Hall argued, has real impacts on social practices.

Hall argued that knowledge is produced within a competitive struggle between discourses and that each discourse "is linked to a power struggle and the outcome of this discursive struggle" will decide on what is true or false. Hall (1992: 204) argued that discourse is not innocent and is always projected in ways of the "us" versus "them". There is the representation of the "other" (alterity). Foucault (1980) argued that "discourse is one of the systems through which power is reproduced and circulates in society". Foucault (1980:201) noted that those that produce discourse possess the "power to make it true and enforce its validity" and legitimacy.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that help to understand the general global imbalances and how these imbalances are reinforced by the media. The chapter discussed the structural theory of imperialism as the main body of explanation towards the geopolitical divide between the global north and the global south. The global news flows, climate change inequalities, the New World Information and Communication Order, and the Stuart Hall's theory of representation were also discussed. The next chapter outlines the methodology used in this study.

Chapter Four: Research Methods / Approach to Study

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform this study. This chapter discusses the planning and execution of the study and the overall research design. The study adopted a qualitative research design. The qualitative design is a holistic process of inquiry that seeks “to understand a social or human problem” rather than being “based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analysed with statistical procedures” (Creswell (1994: 1-2)). Purposive/theoretical sampling was used to select the newspapers for analysis and also for the selection of the news articles that were examined. The research used two interrelated strategies for data analysis, that is, inductive thematic analysis and inductive discourse analysis.

4.2 Qualitative Research

The study is qualitative and is rooted within an interpretative research philosophy. The study sought to examine the coverage and representation of climate change issues of the global south as they are reported in the global north quality media informational economy. Noting that news discourses are not value-neutral but are a product of social and cultural construction, it is important to employ the qualitative constructivist approach in order to understand how particular representations of the climate change issues of the global south are interpreted and reinforced by the global quality newspaper media. The task of this study was best served by a qualitative design because it enables the researcher “to understand a social or human problem” (Creswell, 1994: 1-2). Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2000) argued that “qualitative research emphasises qualities of entities, processes and meanings that cannot be experimentally tested in terms of quantity, amount, intensity and frequency”.

Qualitative research approaches can be embedded within constructivist approaches where meanings are constructed according to different frames of reference (Cassell and Symon, 1994: 2). According Cassell and Symon (1994: 2) qualitative research techniques emerged from “phenomenological and interpretive paradigms, with the

emphasis being on constructivist approaches where there is no clear-cut objectivity or reality". The constructivist approaches deny the existence of a fixed reality and objectivity and give primacy to the role of language in shaping social knowledge and the construction of discourses and ideologies. "Meaning emerges through interaction and is not standardised from place to place or person to person" (Rubin 1995: 31). The qualitative research paradigm focuses more on interpretation rather than quantification, putting emphasis on subjectivity and not objectivity giving more flexibility in the research process" (Cassell and Symon 1994: 7). The qualitative approach and method is inductive. John Creswell (1994: 107) noted that "qualitative studies, because of the inductive, evolving methodological design, may include few terms defined at the beginning of the plan; terms may be defined as they emerge from the data collection".

4.3 Sampling and Data Collection

The study focused on news media and newspapers that are global in terms of their coverage and audiences. The newspapers chosen are all from the global north. The study selected two main producers of global news, the East Coast of the United States of America (USA) and London in the United Kingdom (UK). The study used two newspapers from the United States and two from the United Kingdom for analysis [*The Washington Post (USA)*, *The Telegraph (UK)*, *The New York Times (USA)*, and *The Guardian (UK)*]. The newspapers were selected because they are mainstream newspapers in the global north. From the array of mainstream newspapers in the global north, these newspapers had a significant coverage of climate change and most likely influence policy makers in the global north.

These newspapers were also selected because they are "quality, elite and mainstream" broadsheet newspapers. They have extensive political and economic comment. This selection was made to enable a discursive analysis of their representations and coverage of climate change issues pertaining to the global south. The newspapers are consumed by a well-educated class both locally and internationally and these readers have a great influence on national and international policy decisions (Carvalho and Burgess 2005).

These selected newspapers have a greater chance of covering world news because of their massive financial and technological resources (Hachten and Scotton 2012). William Hachten and James Scotton (2012: 49) observed that even though the global quality news media institutions have been weakened by the global financial crises and falling audience statistics, they —sti have authority and stature to authenticate the serious news for the world and create a consensus for what is considered to be major news from abroad”. They further argued that all the quality mainstream newspapers in the global north provide content both offline and online which make their audience reach wider and global. The United States and United Kingdom mainstream quality newspapers wield more influence in terms of global news flows because they have foreign correspondents and are also able to —sydicate and sell (news) to other newspapers locally and internationally and hence —sti contribute to world news flows” (Hachten and Scotton 2012: 49).

The news stories were downloaded from the newspaper websites’ archives. For the purposes of this study, 20 stories focusing on climate change issues in the global south (Southern hemisphere) were chosen for analysis; five stories from each newspaper. The newspapers articles analysed were collected from the newspaper websites through keyword searches. The study used news articles published between March 2014 and March 2015. The keywords used were —climate change, developing countries, poor countries”. The keyword search produced many articles in which climate change was a subject but without being specific to climate change and the global south countries. The search was narrowed down to those articles where both —climate change” and the —global south” were core themes and present. This process was complemented by —scan-type reading” (Carvalho 2007) of all the texts to select those that had —climate change” and the global south (poor/developing countries) mentioned either in the headline or had references to these subjects occupying a significant position in the article and were both presented as central themes. A total of 20 (20) newspaper articles were finally chosen for analysis.

The study made use of purposive or judgemental sampling. Lawrence Neuman (1994: 198) described purposive sampling as based on the researcher’s initiative or judgement in identifying —particular types of cases (or individuals) for in-depth investigation”. The purpose and nature of the study took precedence over, for instance, having to avoid the kind of sampling bias or sampling error that quantitative

procedures take into account. Four newspaper publications were used in this study, as previously mentioned. The study applied the subjective/purposive sampling technique in selecting the newspapers, and news stories for analysis. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) purposive sampling is “informed *a priori* by an existing body of social theory on which research questions maybe based” (Miles and Huberman 1994).

4.4 Data Analysis

4.4.1 Inductive Coding

After the data collection process, the researcher moved to the stage of data analysis, and started the coding process. The data was coded thematically and discursively in order to break down the large blocks of data into segments for analysis and interpretation. At this stage, codes were identified. Codes refer to “the most basic segment, or element of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis 1998: 63). Kathy Charmaz (2006: 43) defined coding as “the process of defining what the data are about [...] coding means naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes and accounts for each piece of data”. She further pointed out that qualitative coding “generates the bones of your analysis. Theoretical integration will assemble these bones into a working skeleton” (Charmaz 2006: 45). Following Charmaz (2006), the data was subjected to two phases of coding, that is, initial coding and focused coding. Initial coding involved a close reading of the texts enabling codes to emerge from the data being analysed.

Through initial coding, the researcher was prompted to discover areas that had insufficient data for analysis, and this forced the researcher to gather more data. The close reading of the texts also involved line-by-line coding of the texts following the strategy recommended by Charmaz (2006). Each line of the news text was named. Charmaz (2006: 50) noted that line-by-line coding is helpful as it “forces you to look at the data anew”. After initial codes were developed, the codes were organised along more coherent categories. The most relevant and significant codes were adopted for further analysis. As Charmaz (2006: 50) noted, focused coding “requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorise your

data incisively and completely". At this stage, the different codes were sorted into themes. The most significant codes formed the main themes.

4.4.2 Inductive Thematic Analysis

The inductive thematic analysis strategy was used in the study to develop codes and categories in sorting the data. Richard Boyatzis (1998: vii) noted that thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative information. Thus the researcher develops codes, that is, words or phrases that serve as labels for sections of data to be analysed". Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006: 79) defined thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data". Braun and Clarke (2006: 82) noted that a theme captures some important features about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or something within the data set". They argued that researchers need to exercise flexibility when determining what constitutes a theme. They warned against using quantifiable" measures to make decisions on the fitness" of themes (2006: 82) but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question".

David Thomas (2003: 2) asserted that:

the purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies. Key themes are often obscured, reframed or left invisible because of the preconceptions in the data collection and data analysis procedures imposed by deductive data analysis such as those used in experimental and hypothesis testing research.

Braun and Clarke (2006: 83) argued that in inductive thematic analysis, themes are emergent from the data and are strongly linked to the data set itself. They further noted that, inductive thematic analysis is a data driven process of coding the data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytical conceptions". Within the inductive thematic analytical method, research questions evolve through the coding process.

Thomas (2003:2) developed the three key purposes that inform the development of the inductive approach. They are as follows:

to condense extensive and varied raw text data into a brief, summary format, to establish clear links between the research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data and to ensure these links are both transparent and to develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes which are evident in the text [raw data] (Thomas (2003: 2).

According to Thomas (2003: 2) the inductive approach is premised on the idea that data analysis is determined by both the research objectives and multiple readings and interpretations of the data”.

Following suggestions by Braun and Clarke (2006), prevalence in determining themes in the texts studied was decided by whether a theme was present in each text studied or not and not necessarily how many times the theme appeared in each text. Secondly, prevalence was also determined by the presence of the same theme across all the newspaper articles (*The Washington Post, The Telegraph, The Guardian and The New York Times*).

Drawing from thematic analytical conceptualisations by Braun and Clarke (2006), this study adopted both the semantic and latent thematic analysis strategies. In the first instance, semantic thematic analysis (which overlaps with the denotative textual analytical method), was used to describe the explicit meanings and themes in the data. Secondly, the analysis moved to the latent interpretive level. At this level, an attempt at interpreting the data was taken to understand “the significance of patterns and meanings in the texts” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 84). The latent thematic analytical method examined and identified the “underlying ideas, assumptions and conceptualizations – and ideologies that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 84). Braun and Clarke argued that with latent thematic analysis, the development of themes involves interpretation and the analysis produced is not just a description but some sort of theory”.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 84) the latent thematic analytical approach is constructionist in nature and overlaps with connotative discourse level analysis. With this method, “broader assumptions, structures and meanings are theorised as underpinning what is actually articulated in the data” (Braun and Clarke 2006). Braun

and Clarke (2006) argued that the constructionist thematic analytical approach posits that meaning and experience —aresocial constructs rather than inherent within individuals” (Blurr 1995 cf Braun and Clarke 2006: 85). The —constructionist approach seeks to theorise the socio-cultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provided” (Braun and Clarke 2006).

4.4.3 Inductive Discourse Analysis

This study utilises the concept of representation and how certain aspects of the world are represented/portrayed through discourse practices. Discourse, taken at a macro-theoretical level, legitimates particular ideologies and delegitimises others (Fairclough 2003). As Fairclough (2003: 86) observed, through representation in discourse, certain world views are portrayed as —~~the~~ “the orient” and others as —~~ax~~ “axiant”. This study employed the concept of representation and its relationship with discourse to examine how the climate/ environmental issues of the global south are represented through the global north quality newspaper discourses.

Fairclough (2003:87) saw discourse as a way of representing world views, the structures of material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, beliefs etc. He argued that discourses are closely linked to relations people have to the world, their positions in the world, their social and personal identities and their social relationships in which they stand to other people.

The study examined the structures (linguistic) used by the global north media to construct specific neo-liberal/ neo-global north ideologies through the representation of global south climate change problems. This study scrutinised the —ideological role of language” within the global north news discourses in the construction of representations of global south climate change issues. The study notes that news discourses themselves are not value-free, hence the importance of an investigation into how they create and maintain power relations between the global north and the global south through their ideological properties (Fairclough 1989b). Su Jung Min (1997: 147) noted that news production processes such as selection, interpretation and presentation —construct reality in a manner underlying the ideologies of the producers”.

Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position. A news report imposes a structure of values on whatever

it represents, and so inevitably news reports produce meanings that construct ideological representations of the social world (Jung Min 1997: 147).

Studies on discourse and language (Fairclough 2003, Wodak 1991, Van Dijk 1989b) have shown that the global north news media construct ideological representations of different people and that these representations exercise great power in defining and shaping world relations". Fairclough (1989b) conceived that a discursive analysis of texts reveals the social function of language by exploring the ideological investments inherent in discourses, and how these discourses produce ideologies that help sustain asymmetrical relations of power" in society (Thompson 1984: 4 cited in Jung Min 1997: 148). The method of discursive textual analysis adopted in this study helps to understand the way discourses naturalise the ideologies of the powerful global north (Fairclough 1989b: 129).

This study followed Fairclough's (1989) stages of discourse analysis. Firstly, the news texts were described, secondly the relationship between the texts and interaction was interpreted, and thirdly the relationship between interaction and social context" was explained. The first level of analysis is the textual analytical stage and the last two stages are an attempt to integrate contextual and interpretive analysis. These stages were complemented by the socio-cognitive framework of analysis that is necessary in examining ideological construction within news discourses (Van Dijk 1994:1). Teun van Dijk conceptualised ideologies as a mental schema which define and shape ideologies of certain groups. He argued that ideologies are manifested in discourses through attitudes and values accorded and contained in texts and also the identities that underlie the us vs. them' categorisation (Van Dijk 1994, Jung Min 1997: 149).

By adopting discourse analysis, this study avoided purely classic linguistic formulations which argue that language is an abstract system in isolation from the social, cultural and historical contexts" (Deacon et al 2007: 151). They noted that such approaches are,

sociologically and historically sterile for media studies. Research into any aspect of the media is nothing if not social, so questions of context are of paramount importance.

Discourse governs what is written and how it is written within socially agreed contexts. Discursive formations, as conceptualised by Foucault, are deployed in the

exercise of power, in serving the interests of the existing structures of authority (cited in Deacon et al 2007: 152). Stuart Hall (1992) argued that discourse and ideology are one and the same and Roger Fowler (n.d) noted that discourse embodies the ideologies of its originators, —these beliefs (etc) constitute a way of looking at the world, an organisation or representation of experience” (Fowler n.d cited in Deacon et al 2007: 152). Norman Fairclough (1995b: 16) defined discourse as —an attempt to show systematic links between texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices”. Discourse analysis enabled the researcher to examine how relations and structures of power are entrenched in everyday language use, and thus how language legitimises existing social relations and the hierarchies of authority and power” (Deacon et al 2007: 154).

4.4.4 Textual Level Analysis

This study, drawing from semiotics, appreciates that the world is made of signs and that these signs are in themselves arbitrary and only acquire meaning in relation to their oppositions and the social context within which they are used. As Ferdinand de Saussure noted, concepts have meaning because of their relationship with others and the basic relationship is oppositional (us versus them, I/You). Since signs are arbitrary, the signification and representation of media texts are conventional within —cultural configurations and social order in which they operate” (Deacon et al 2007: 143). Through the study of selected newspaper articles, the texts were analysed for different binary structures or levels of signification and representation (Deacon et al 2007: 143) of the ‘developed/industrialised nations/countries’ and ‘poor/developing countries/nations’. Borrowing from Deacon et al (2007), the first level of signification, that is, ‘developed/industrialised nations/countries’ function within the first order of signification to refer to specific geopolitical regions or countries. The first and second stages of signification and representation are inter-linked. At the second level the signs ‘developed/industrialised nations/countries’ and ‘poor/developing nations/countries’ connect with the ways society regards that which is signified, and these signs —become entangled with certain meanings and values which lie beyond the mode and form of any specific sign-vehicle, and are associated with more general recognitions and expectations of the social identities, roles and relations of the two geopolitical poles” (Deacon et al 2007: 143).

Deacon et al (2007: 143) noted that these expectations and recognitions are mentally institutionalised, shape understanding and in turn exert normative pressure on the mode and form of signification involved. The third level of signification connects well with the first two levels and becomes social consensus, legitimising tradition or social myth (Deacon et al 2007: 143). With reference to arguments put forward by Deacon et al (2007), it can be noted that the 'developed/industrialised countries/nations' and the 'poor/developing countries/nations' are signifiers of the stereotypical representations of the global north and the global south. Deacon et al (2007) noted that these representations are ideological as they render global inequalities as "inevitable and natural" and misrepresent what it means "subjectively" to be the global south. These three levels of signification and representation serve to hide the hierarchical global power structure of dominance and subjectivity, as long as the capitalist system maintains its global hegemony.

Marina Heck (1989 in Hall 1994: 124) noted that in the analysis of ideological meanings, the focus should not only be towards the "core", that is, the content of the message or its "non-manifest" organisation but also the "way" it is said, and what is not said but could be said. Heck noted that ideologies operate at the level of signification which operates by connotation to form "ideological re-presentations". Roland Barthes (1974: 9) explained that,

Denotation is not the first sense, but it pretends to be. Under this illusion, in the end, it is nothing but the last of connotation (where the reading is at the same time grounded and enclosed), the superior myth, thanks to which the text pretends to return to the nature of language....we must keep denotation, old vigilant deity, crafty, theatrical, appointed to represent the collective innocence of language (Roland Barthes 1974: 9).

The study examined both the denotative (manifest content of news articles) and connotative (latent content of news articles) structures of signification and representation of the global south in the global north quality news media. Noting that signs operate structurally, according to codes and conventions, the connotative analysis attempted to deconstruct the social myths and established stereotypes regarding the global south and its relationship with the global north as they are portrayed in the mainstream global north news media. The study examined how these significations and representations are embedded within the seemingly objective scientific discourse of climate change, reinforcing the structures of global

dominance, inequality and dependence. The textual analysis examined how codes and conventions were used in the texts to naturalise the global north and global south inequalities. As noted by Deacon et al (2007: 144), conventions are often taken for granted and hence used in the constructions of particular texts which carry with them heavy ideological connotations. They further argued that codes and conventions in texts —“breed expectations” and that these expectations —“become widely accepted” and hence —“induce a certain degree of conformity”. Conventions inform practices which then inform codes which are,

Interpretive devices, systemised clusters of context- specific meaning, which enable communication to occur within particular cultures, and which impart combinations of signs their cultural and ideological meanings within those cultures (Deacon et al 2007: 145).

The codes which are used in representing climate change issues of the global south in the quality mainstream global north news media indicate ways in which the images that are constructed, and these codes in turn inform the way the global north views the global south in opposition and also the way the global south sees itself in relation to the dominant global north. The discursive textual analytical approach used in this study also examined texts to show how, through the discursive systems of nominalisation and passivisation managed to conceal the agency of the global north in causing climate change and hence their supposed duty to correct their mistakes.

Fairclough (1992: 179) defined nominalisation as the —“conversion of processes into nominals, which has the effect of backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit”. Nominalisation has the effect of obscuring agency and blurs questions of responsibility and culpability (Deacon et al 2007: 155). They also noted that the passive transformation (passivisation) of texts turns verbs into their passive form and at the same time eliminate participants and prioritise the concealing of agency.

Teun van Dijk (1988: 177) argued that passivisation serves to —“dissimulate the negative actions of elite or powerful groups (cited in Deacon et al 2007: 155). The study examined how the climate change responsibility and culpability of the global north is concealed through the deployment of the twin concepts of nominalisation and passivisation, most importantly, how the news texts produced by the quality global

north media about climate change issues of the global south were constructed to make climate change appear universal and require the global north to take the lead in giving prescriptions on how to remedy the problem. The study also examined how the global south were represented, being placed “in a passive role (things are being decided or done, for or against them), unless they are agents of negative actions” (Van Dijk 2000: 39) in which case their agency is over-emphasised (Deacon et al 2007: 155). Through the application of nominalisation and passivisation in discursive textual analysis, it is possible to pay attention to the importance given to agency or lack of it in a text, which agents have power over others, and also who does things as opposed to those who have things done to them (Deacon 1999: 156).

The researcher also examined definitions and labels that are given to the global south in global north quality media texts. These definitions and labels are crucial as they construct identities and the position of those objectified in the text (Deacon 2007: 157) and the overall global climate change politics.

As part of textual analysis, the study also investigated the sourcing patterns manifest in the news story. This study acknowledges the centrality of sources in defining the agenda and promoting particular viewpoints over others. In examining the stories, the researcher analysed how sources were used in news articles and how they were balanced. Jaap van Ginneken (1998: 87) pointed out that if one “has the power to set other people’s agenda, one does to a certain extent have the power to influence what they will think and talk about, to draw attention to certain elements and divert it away from others”. The researcher analysed the sourcing patterns employed in the articles with the view of understanding which sources and ideological viewpoints were privileged over others and how their views were represented along the common sense paradigm (Gramsci 1971). Governments, political, economic, environmental elites have the power to affect the agenda of the press and hence at the same time affect the agenda of the public (Ginneken 1998).

4.4.5 Discourse Level Analysis

Fairclough (1989: 35) argued that discourses operate and are ordered by class structures —determined by the unequal power relations of social institutions and society more broadly”. He posited that language is —both a site and stake in class struggle”. According to Fairclough (1985: 85) texts (media) work to sustain unequal social power relations by exerting what can be called the common sense (Gramsci 1971). The Gramscian notion of common sense asserts that unequal social and power relations are maintained through discourse and achieves this task —smoothly because it works within what is assumed and tacitly accepted to be the case in any particular instance” (cited in Deacon et al 2007: 157). Deacon et al (2007) pointed out that common sense —amounts to a sort of popularisation of conceptions and values which directly or indirectly support existing divisions and asymmetries in the relations of power and authority in society, and which limit the thinking and action of subordinated groups and classes...” in media discursive textual analysis, Hall et al (1978: 61) argued that this involves —the translation of official viewpoints into a public idiom” and invests the viewpoints —with particular force and resonance” and bringing them —common-sensically within the horizons of understandings of various publics” (cited in Deacon 2007: 157). Fairclough (1989: 92) argued that the ideological work of texts has the effect of naturalising unequal social relations. Media texts provide cues for interpretation and by so doing position readers in such a way that it —seems entirely appropriate when they draw on the common-sense assumptions that view those relations as natural, inevitable and taken for granted” (Deacon et al 2007: 157).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the qualitative research paradigms, outlined the major contributions of qualitative/constructivist approaches in examining coverage and representation of climate change issues of the global south in the quality mainstream global north newspapers. The chapter also examined the role of language and discourse in the production of ideologies and the maintenance of global unequal relations. The study used purposive/theoretical sampling to choose both the newspapers and news articles for examination. Inductive data analytical approaches, namely inductive discourse analysis and inductive thematic analysis, were used to examine the data. The data were coded using the inductive coding framework suggested by Charmaz (2006). The following chapter presents the data and provides an analytical framework.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation

5. 1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the constructivist methodological philosophy underpinning this study. This chapter provides the connection between the methodology and the discourse analytical chapter. It aims to present not only the findings but to show the process of working with the empirical data in terms of coding and identifying particular discourses that will then be analysed in Chapter Six. This chapter helps to put the constructivist approach into context where results are grounded within the discourses of the newspapers that comprise the study's research sample. The tables below explicate the themes, sub-themes and codes as they emerged from the data analytical process.

5.1 Sample Summary Table

Item number	Source: newspaper, author date,	Short Headline
1	<i>The Guardian:</i> By John Vidal 07/02/2014	Caribbean Islands promised \$1bn in loans for move to clean energy
2	<i>The Guardian</i> By John Vidal 22/09/2014	Poor nations' climate change budget put health and education funds at risk
3	<i>The Guardian</i> By Suzanne Goldenberg 20/09/2014	US will not commit to climate change aid for poor nations at UN summit
4	<i>The Guardian</i> By Megan Rowling 15/07/2014	Germany pledges \$1Bn to UN Climate Change Fund
5	<i>The Guardian</i> By Suzanne Goldenberg 14/11/2014	G20: Obama to pledge up to \$3bn to help poor countries on climate change
6	<i>The Washington Post</i> By Chris Mooney 17/11/2014	Obama's Following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change. Suddenly that's controversial
7	<i>The Washington Post</i> By Juliet Eilperin 02/12/2014	US climate aid reaches across globe
8	<i>The Washington Post</i> By Angela Fritz	"We have to adapt" - President Obama announces new climate change actions
9	<i>The Washington Post</i> By Joby Warrick and Steven Mufson 21/09/2014	Big Oil's heirs join call for action as climate summit opens
10	<i>The Washington Post</i> By Joby Warrick 12/12/2014	Kerry urges action on climate pact

11	<i>The New York Times</i> By Gardiner Harris 17/11/2014	Coal Rush In India Could Tip Balance on Climate Change
12	<i>The New York Times</i> By Eduardo Porter 09/12/2014	In Latin America, Growth Trumps Climate
13	<i>The New York Times</i> By Coral Davenport 26/08/14	Obama Pursuing Climate Accord in Lieu of Treaty
14	<i>The New York Times</i> By Coral Davenport and Mark Landler 14/11/2014	U.S. To Give \$3 Billion To Climate Fund To Help Poor Nations, and Spur Rich Ones
15	<i>The New York Times</i> by Coral Davenport 14/12/2014	A Climate Accord Based on Global Peer Pressure
16	<i>The Telegraph</i> By Emily Gosden 30/11/2014	One year to save the planet
17	<i>The Telegraph</i> By Geoffrey Lean 19/09/2014	Will capitalism clean up the air?
18	<i>The Telegraph:</i> By Emily Gosden 12/12/2014	John Kerry: Climate change science is <u>screaming at us</u> and poor nations must act to avoid <u>tragedy</u>
19	<i>The Telegraph</i> By Emily Gosden and Harriet Alexander 13/12/14	Frantic efforts to save Lima Climate talks
20	<i>The Telegraph:</i> by AFP 12/12/2014	Deadlocked Climate Talks head for extra time

Table 2 Theme identification Tables

Theme One: Poor countries

Item No	Quotations from news stories	Sub-theme	Concepts
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - -Projects that can be shown to increase energy efficiency or generate renewable energy are now expected to be rapidly approved by the US government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)" (Vidal 2014a). 	Providing loans for adaptation and mitigation	Poor countries rely on aid from developed countries to adapt to climate change
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - -Poor countries have had to divert large chunks of their budget to adapt to climate change and run the risk of crowding out spending on health and education." (Vidal 2014b). 	Adaptation, funding gaps, diverting funds	Poor countries are failing to fund their climate budgets are diverting funds for other social services
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - -highlights how poor countries are overwhelmingly having to finance adaptation to climate change themselves: - In contrast to the minimal help offered to countries that have played no role in man-made climate change, rich countries are already investing heavily in adaptation through strengthened flood-defence systems, coastal protection and other measures..." 	Inadequate funding	There are funding discrepancies between global north and south countries
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - -While richer countries invest heavily in flood-defence systems, coastal protection 	Failure to adapt to climate change, limited funds,	Poor countries are failing to adapt to climate change due to

	and other projects, poorer countries have no choice but to divert scarce resources, potentially reversing the progress made in tackling poverty”.		limited budgets
3	- Barack Obama will not be pledging any cash to a near-empty fund for poor countries”	US not pledging to help poor countries, fund for poor countries	Poor countries will fail to adapt without US assistance
4	- Green Climate Fund, designed to help poor countries deal with global warming, receives boost from Angela Merkel”	Capitalising the GCF, providing funding to help poor countries	The Germany pledge will help poor countries
	- The fund aims to help poor nations pursue clean development and adapt to climate change impacts, including more floods, droughts, heat waves and rising sea levels. It is regarded as a key puzzle in securing a new global deal to tackle climate change due to be agreed in Paris in late 2015...”	Helping poor countries, clean energy, providing funding, agreeing to a global climate deal	Funding to help poor countries mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change
5	- The Green Climate Fund aims to help poorer countries cut their emissions and prepare for the impact of climate change, and is seen as critical to securing developing-nation support for a successful deal on reducing emissions at the UN meeting in Paris next year”	Helping poor countries, cutting global emissions, securing a global climate deal	The GCF will help the poor countries mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change and make them agree to a global climate deal
	- the US plans to pledge a maximum of \$3bn over the next four years to help	Helping poor countries, fighting climate change, helping poor countries invest in clean	The GCF will help the poor countries mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change

	poor countries invest in clean energy and cope with rising seas and extreme weather”	energy, rising sea levels, extreme weather events	and make them agree to a global climate deal
14	- -President Obama announced on Saturday that the United States will contribute \$3 billion to a new international fund intended to help the world’s poorest countries address the effects of climate change”	Helping poor countries address climate change effects, contributions to the GCF	US funding will help poor countries fund climate change adaptation and mitigation
	- -We’re doing this because it is in our national interest to build resilience in developing countries to climate change”	Building resilience, protecting the US national interests	Building climate resilience in poor countries also serves the US national interest
	- -Finance has become the zero-sum game. Put money on the table and we’ll talk; if you don’t put money on the table then we’ll walk”	The need to secure a global climate deal, more funding will make poor countries agree to a global climate deal	Funding is central to securing a global climate deal
6	- -poor countries adapt to climate change and reduce dependence on renewable energy”	Reducing dependence on fossil fuels	US funding will help poor countries adapt and also adopt clean energy
4	- -Green Climate Fund, designed to help poor countries deal with global warming, receives boost from Angela Merkel”	Capitalising the GCF, providing funding to help poor countries	The Germany pledge will help poor countries
	- -The fund aims to help poor nations pursue clean development and adapt to climate change impacts, including more floods, droughts, heat waves and rising	Helping poor countries, clean energy, providing funding, agreeing to a global climate	Funding to help poor countries mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change

	sea levels. It is regarded as a key puzzle in securing a new global deal to tackle climate change due to be agreed in Paris in late 2015...”	deal	
5	- The Green Climate Fund aims to help poorer countries cut their emissions and prepare for the impact of climate change, and is seen as critical to securing developing-nation support for a successful deal on reducing emissions at the UN meeting in Paris next year”	Helping poor countries, cutting global emissions, securing a global climate deal	The GCF will help the poor countries mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change and make them agree to a global climate deal
	- the US plans to pledge a maximum of \$3bn over the next four years to help poor countries invest in clean energy and cope with rising seas and extreme weather”	Helping poor countries, fighting climate change, helping poor countries invest in clean energy, rising sea levels, extreme weather events	The GCF will help the poor countries mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change and make them agree to a global climate deal
	- President Obama will now pledge up to \$3 billion toward the financing of climate change adaptation and clean energy investments for poor countries”	More pledges towards the GCF, climate change adaptation, cleaning energy investments	US funding will enable countries to mitigate and adapt to climate change
	- helping poor countries fight climate change”	Helping poor countries, fighting climate change	US is providing funding to poor countries to help them fight climate
	- constitutes an important piece of the puzzle of how we as people come together to enhance our livelihoods on the planet we are sharing”	Working together, enhancing livelihoods	Climate change can be dealt with if all humanity works together

	- play a central role in shepherding the world towards a global emissions reduction agreement in Paris in late 2015”.	Developed countries lead towards emissions reduction, happiness, transformation	US commitments bring happiness and transformation and leads the world towards change
	- If there’s no money on the table to help developing countries adapt to climate change, then won’t come to the table”.	Helping poor countries adapt, luring poor countries to agree to a global climate deal	Poor countries will only agree to a deal if you offer them money
	- What’s amazing is that this very idea – helping poorer countries or developing countries cope with climate change – came out of the Bush administration”	The history of US funding commitments, coping with climate change,	US funding to help poor countries cope with climate change
	- pledging to help poor countries adapt to climate change”	Helping poor countries, fighting climate change	The pledges to help poor countries adapt to climate change
	- is really meant to be the successor to the climate investment funds”	Climate funding	Developed countries have always funded climate projects
	- expanding the use of clean technologies is one way to address the common challenge of reducing greenhouse gas emissions”	Expansion of clean energy investments, reducing emissions, transcending differences between the developed and developing countries	The use of clean energy will lead to sustainable development
	- the World Bank announced that a number of top industrialized nations; led by the \$2 billion from the United States, had pledged over \$6 billion to Climate Investment Funds”,	Pledges, climate investment funds, clean technologies, climate resilience	Funding to help poor countries adapt to climate change

	- "Obama's following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change"	Helping poor countries, fighting climate change	US policy on funding climate change adaptation and mitigation in poor countries is consistent
	- "More resilient communities are less likely to descend into instability or conflict in the aftermath of extreme climate events",	Resilient communities, extreme weather and climate events, intentions to restore stability and rebuild	Funding will build resilience against climate shocks in poor countries.
	- "At NASA headquarters, part of a map of Kenyan waterways blinks repeatedly in blue-grey, indicating where stream flow is heaviest and likely to cause flooding over the next 72 hours"	Technology transfer and sharing, early warning technology	US early warning technologies helping poor countries
	- "Half-way around the world, officials at Kenya's Ministry of Water and Irrigation one can see the same data, which they use to reduce the loss of life and property from increasingly frequent floods linked to global warming"	Technology transfer to poor countries, protection against climate extreme events caused by global warming	US early warning technologies helping poor countries detect extreme climate events
	- "make sure our investments are getting the biggest bang for the buck"	Clean energy investments, investment returns	Climate funding is part of clean energy investments
	- "One of USAID's most successful programs is the SERVIR satellite-mapping program it has spearheaded with NASA"	Technology transfer success	US technology transfer projects are successful in poor countries
	- "In the flood- prediction mapping, we're providing the data, and our African	Flood prediction technology, providing data	US technology transfer projects are successful in poor

	colleagues are doing all the work”		countries
	- Industrialized countries are obligated to pay for the effects of climate change because “those that are suffering the most have done the least to cause it”	Climate finance, climate responsibility	The global north countries must pay for causing climate change
	- “make sure our investments are getting the biggest bang for the buck”	Clean energy investments, investment returns	Climate funding is part of clean energy investments
8	- “In addition to the plans to help build climate resilience in the U.S., NOAA also plans to focus on helping developing nations grow within the context of changing climate”.	Technology transfer, building climate resilience, expansion of collaborative projects, building private partnerships	US building resilience in poor countries through technology transfer and private investments
13	- “Poor countries look to rich countries to help build dams and levees to guard against coastal flooding from rising sea levels, or to provide food aid during pervasive droughts”	Building adaptation capacity, providing food aid	Poor countries rely on the developed countries for climate resilience and food aid

Theme Two: Global Climate Deal

Item No	Quotations from news stories	Sub-theme	Concepts
6	- "constitutes an important piece of the puzzle of how we as people come together to enhance our livelihoods on the planet we are sharing"	Working together, enhancing livelihoods	Climate change can be dealt with if all humanity works together
7	- "industrialized countries are obligated to pay for the effects of climate change because <u>those</u> that are suffering the most have done the least to cause it"	Climate finance, climate responsibility	The global north countries must pay for causing climate change
13	- "The Obama administration is working to forge a sweeping international climate change agreement to compel nations to cut their planet-warming, fossil fuel emissions, but without ratification by Congress"	Climate deal, cutting emissions	US forging for a climate deal to curb emissions
	- "Without an international agreement that binds us; it's impossible for us to address the threats of climate change... - We are not as capable as the US of facing this problem, and historically we don't have as much responsibility".	Global climate deal, poor countries unable to address climate effects	Poor countries are not able to address climate change without US assistance and leadership
16	- "Agreeing to a global climate deal to cut carbon emissions next year is the only way to protect the <u>way</u> of life we take for granted..."	Global climate deal, reducing emissions, protecting current way of life	Global climate deal will preserve the current way of life

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there is no alternative that will protect our national security, our economy and the way of life we take for granted” 		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developed countries <u>pledged</u> in 2009 to mobilise \$100 billion a year of finance by 2020 to <u>help</u> poor countries tackle and adapt to climate change... - As far as developing countries are concerned their willingness to sign up [to emissions cut] is very much dependent on rich countries doing a lot of cuts but also providing finance” 	Mobilising funds to help poor countries, helping poor countries adapt to climate change, cutting emissions	Climate funding to get poor countries to support the global climate deal
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If we continue down the same path we are on today, the world as we know it will profoundly change, and it will change dramatically for the worse” 	World heading towards destruction, worsening environmental destruction	The planet will be doomed if a climate deal is not reached
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kerry announced Tuesday that he would fly to Lima to try to infuse fresh momentum into talks that appeared to bog down amid squabbling over aid to poor countries that are less able to absorb the costs of switching to renewable energy, such as solar and wind energy” 	Giving life to collapsing climate talks, deadlocked climate talks, switching to renewable energy, poor countries unable to switch to clean energy	Squabbling between rich and poor countries leading to planetary destruction

16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agreeing to a global climate deal to cut carbon emissions next year is the only way to protect the way of life we take for granted... - there is no alternative that will protect our national security, our economy and the way of life we take for granted” 	Global climate deal, reducing emissions, protecting current way of life	Global climate deal will preserve the current way of life
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developed countries ‘pledged’ in 2009 to mobilise \$100 billion a year of finance by 2020 to help poor countries tackle and adapt to climate change... - As far as developing countries are concerned their willingness to sign up [to emissions cut] is very much dependent on rich countries doing a lot of cuts but also providing finance” 	Mobilising funds to help poor countries, helping poor countries adapt to climate change, cutting emissions	Climate funding to get poor countries to support the global climate deal
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legally binding requirements that countries cut their emissions by any particular amount. Instead each nation will agree to enact domestic laws to reduce carbon pollution... - But with no language requiring the significant cuts ... countries can put forth weak plans that amount to little more than business as usual. Countries can even choose to ignore the deal and submit no plan at all... - The hope, negotiators said, is that as the 	Non-binding agreement, cutting emissions, naming and shaming	The proposed climate deal is weak

	<p>numbers and commitments of each country are publicized, compared and discussed, countries will be shamed by the spotlight into proposing and enacting stronger plans”</p>		
19	<p>- In one corner stand the wealthier nations, among whom the United States has played an uncharacteristic leading role, urging all countries to accept the draft now on the table”</p>	<p>US provides leadership in global climate change negotiations</p>	<p>US leading wealthy nations into agreeing to a global climate pact</p>

Theme Three: Stalling climate negotiations

Item No	Quotations from news stories	Sub-theme	Concepts
10	- Some developing countries also have demanded compensation, arguing that the industrialized countries that are chiefly to blame for climate change ...”	Demanding compensation, blame for climate change responsibility, paying for climate change damages, averting climate disasters	Poor countries are blocking global climate deal talks
	- Kerry criticized sceptics who reject the scientific consensus that humans are responsible for the warming of the planet”,	Scientific climate evidence overwhelming, responsibility for climate change	Sceptical poor countries blocking progress in climate talks.
18	- Poorer nations must play their part in tackling climate or the world will remain on a path to <u>tragedy</u> “	World on its way to destruction if poor countries do not change	The world will be doomed if developing countries do not act to reduce their emissions
	- Yet despite more than two decades of climate talks —w are still on a course leading to tragedy”	Deadlocked climate talks, bleak climate future	Developing countries are stalling progress on global climate deal
	- But some developing nations are suggesting they should be subject to less stringent requirements for their pledges than wealthy nations”	Right to pollute, emissions budget	Developing countries think that they have a right to pollute
	- Today more than half of global emissions are coming from developing nations so it is imperative that they cut too”	Cutting emissions, developing countries equally responsible for global emissions	developing countries equally responsible for global emissions
	- He said that the wealthier nations should do more to assist with technology transfer	Assisting poor countries through technology transfer	Developing countries think that rich countries must fund

	to poor nations”		technology transfer
	- Russia — whose economy is deeply dependent on oil and natural gas production – came defiance”	Heavy reliance on fossil fuels, rejecting the climate deal	Developing countries rejecting the climate deal despite their reliance on fossil fuels
20	- A years-old dispute over sharing responsibility for tackling the climate problem drove the 12 –day hagggle towards extra time, darkening prospects for the most ambitious environmental accord ever... ..”	Deadlocked talks	Developing countries deliberately stalling progress on climate talks
	- Negotiators scrambled on the final day of United Nations talks on Friday to break a deadlock between rich and developing countries on forging a world pact to curb climate change”	Deadlocked talks, curbing climate change	Trying to break the deadlock created by developing countries
	- Countries disagree on how ‘differentiation’ will be applied in a process next year of declaring - national pledges for curbing Earth-warming greenhouse gas emissions”	Disagreements on mitigation differentiation, curbing global warming, reducing emissions	Developing countries reject the draft deal over disagreements mitigation differentiation
	- Developing nations insist the West must bear a bigger burden for the carbon cuts, having started decades earlier to pollute their way to prosperity”	Carbon cuts, responsibility for emissions	Developing countries want tdeveloped countries to have more responsibility with regards to reducing emissions

Theme Four: Worsening Climate Change

Item No	Quotations from news stories	Sub-theme	Concepts
11	- "Goal Rush in India Could Tip Balance on Climate Change"	Coal rush, disturbing climate balance	Poor countries are worsening global warming through using fossil fuels
	- "Decades of strip mining have left this town in the heart of India's coal fields a fiery moonscape, with mountains of black slag, sulphurous air and sickened residents"	Poor mining, increased pollutions,	Poor mining and increased coal production worsening global warming
	- "the government is digging deeper in a coal rush that could push the world into irreversible climate change"	Poor environmental management, increased mining activity, pushing the world into catastrophe	Increased coal production pushing the world into destruction
	- "India's development imperatives cannot be sacrificed at the altar of potential climate changes many years in the future"	Selfish economic motives, insensitive government,	Poor countries increasing global warming because they think climate change is a future problem
	- "Mr Goyal promised to double India's use of domestic coal from 505 million tons last year to more than a billion tons by 2019... - On a tour of one huge strip mine, officials said they had recently purchased two mammoth Russian mining shovels to more than triple annual production to 10 million tons"	Increased coal production, increased pollution	Increasing coal production pushing the world into disaster
	- "India's coal mining plans may represent the	India biggest obstacle to reach	Increased coal production threatens the global climate

	biggest obstacle to a global climate pact...”	global climate pact	pact
	- “If India goes deeper and deeper into coal, we’re all doomed”	Increased coal production	India’s coal mining plans will cause planetary doom
	- “India’s mines and power plants directly affect millions of residents. Mercury poisoning has cursed generations of villagers ... - The city of Dhanbad resembles a post-apocalyptic movie set, with villages surrounded by barren slag heaps half-obscured by acrid smoke spewing from a century-old fire slowly burning through buried coal seams”	Increased mining sickening residents, diseased nation, state of hopelessness, pollution	Insensitive government
	- “Suffering widespread respiratory and skin disorders,”	Sickened nation, displacing people, poisoning the environment and the people	Insensitive government
	- “The government wants more coal, but they are throwing their own people away to get it”	Increased coal production, displacing people	Insensitive government
	- “denied neglecting fires and pollution but readily agreed that tens of thousands of residents must be displaced for India to realize coal needs”	Denial, forced displacements	India displacing people to accommodate coal mining
	- “One reason for widespread domestic support for India’s coal rush is the lack of awareness of just how bad their air has already become. Paediatric respiratory clinics are overrun, but parents largely shrug when asked about the	Indians support their government because they are ignorant	Indians are ignorant about environmental management

	cause of their children's suffering".		
	- "People need to wake up to just how awful the air already is"	Ignorance	Indians are ignorant about environmental management
12	- "Brazil doesn't want its environment protected from development. Stunned by an abrupt slowdown in economic growth over the last three years, it urgently wants its environment exploited, whether this means offering cheap gas to encourage driving or investing trillions in developing its oil reserves"	Increased environmental exploitation to facilitate development, investments in fossil fuels	Developing countries pushing economic development at the expense of the environment
	- "Pollution means progress"	In the eyes of poor countries corruption means progress	
	- "On the contrary Brazil believes that it still has the right to some quota of increased emissions"	Increased pollution, right to pollute	Poor countries increasing pollution because they think they have the right to pollute
15	- "There is much speculation about how India, the world's third largest carbon polluter, will respond. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has declared repeatedly that his top priority is economic growth and lifting people out of poverty, even if this means the construction of hundreds of new coal-fired power plants to deliver cheap electricity".	Increasing pollution in the name of economic development, constructing more fossil fuel powered power plants	Increased use of fossil fuels by the poor countries to worsen global warming
	- "In New Delhi, critics have already begun pushing back against the deal"	Resentment towards the global climate deal, opposition to the deal in poor countries	Poor countries stall progress on the climate deal agreement

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The burden of tackling climate change will decisively shift to the developing countries”, 	Tackling climate change, shifting the duties for mitigation, poverty reduction and sustainable development difficult in the context of climate change	Poor countries are now equally responsible for global warming
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “President Vladimir V. Putin has publicly scoffed at the science of human-caused climate change and shown a willingness to defy international opinion” 	Russian president is a climate denialist	Russians are arrogant
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “legally binding requirements that countries cut their emissions by any particular amount. Instead each nation will agree to enact domestic laws to reduce carbon pollution... - But with no language requiring the significant cuts ... countries can put forth weak plans that amount to little more than business as usual. Countries can even choose to ignore the deal and submit no plan at all... 	Non-binding agreement, cutting emissions, naming and shaming	The proposed climate deal is weak
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “John Kerry: Climate change science is ‘screaming at us’ and poor nations must act to avoid ‘tragedy’” 	Enough evidence to prove that climate change is human induced	Russians are arrogant and are against overwhelming climate change science evidence

Theme Five: Capitalist Policies

Item No	Quotations from news stories	Sub-themes	Concept
17	- "But this time almost everything is different from 2009, when the talks failed. Economics are figuring larger than ecology this year"	Neo-liberal policies provide better climate change answers than environmentalism	Neo-liberal policies work better to address climate change
	- "And- though environmentalists don't like admitting it- the world is making progress through adopting a suggestion from the much-reviled George W. Bush..."	Triumph of neo-liberal policies	Neo-liberal policies work better to address climate change
	- "Nevertheless, the buzz is more about expanding economic opportunities than impending ecological disaster, real though that maybe"	Expanding economic growth, ecological disaster	Economic growth is superior to environmental and social concerns
9	- "Entrepreneurs and businesses will promote technology breakthroughs that are making the wind and solar power competitive with more traditional energy sources..."	Promoting technology breakthroughs, more investments in renewable energy	Neo-liberal policies will attract more private capital in renewable energies and solve reduce global emissions
	- "Unlike a renewable energy project, which can attract private capital, almost all the funding that the poor countries need for building more climate-resilient societies must come from governments..."	Attracting private capital in renewable energy investments, building climate resilience	Private capital is more accessible in renewable energy projects and not adaptation

Theme Six: Climate Politics and Polarisation in the global north

Item No	Quotations from news stories	Sub-themes	Concept
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Obama put climate change at the top of his second term agenda, and the administration unveiled a host of new measures in the run-up to next week's meeting" 	Leaving a legacy	The climate deal is part of Barack Obama's legacy
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "This announcement is yet another sign that the president intends to double-down on his job-crushing policies no matter how devastating the impact for America's heartland and the country as a whole" 	Opposition to Obama's climate policies, polarisation,	Obama's climate policies will hurt the economy
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "the Obama administration has spent about \$2.5 billion to help poor countries adapt to climate change and develop clean sources of energy, but Republicans are certain to push against additional funding requests linked to climate change and foreign aid: other leaders to keep their ambitions high and to work for a strong global framework to cut emissions..." 	Climate funding, opposition to the climate deal, fighting climate change	Obama's climate policies will hurt the economy
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "there are concerns that Congressional Republicans may try to thwart some of the new U.S funds through the appropriations process..." - In fact, long before the GOP's triumph in the mid-term elections, House Republicans in early 2011 introduced a continuing budget 	Opposition to Obama's climate policies, polarisation,	Obama's climate policies will hurt the economy

	<p>resolution that would have <u>cut</u> most climate aid' – a sign of the conflict that may be to come....You've got a trifecta for Congress...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - \$3 billion when we're feeling poor; an international fund, when we're not convinced that international anything is a very constructive way to get things done; and climate change” 		
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lawmakers in both parties on Capitol Hill say there is no chance that the currently gridlocked Senate will ratify a climate change treaty in the near future, especially in a political environment where many Republican lawmakers remain sceptical of the established science of human-caused global warming... - Unfortunately, this would be just another of many examples of the Obama administration's tendency to abide by laws that it likes and to disregard laws it doesn't like – and to ignore the elected representatives of the people when they don't agree” 	Opposition to Obama's climate policies, polarisation,	Obama's climate policies will hurt the economy

5. 3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study as they emerged from the data sample. The next chapter is a discursive interpretation of the results presented in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Data Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a tabularised presentation of the empirical results as they emerged from the data. This chapter gives interpretation of the findings from the 20 stories that were analysed from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*. The themes, concepts and sub-themes as they emerged from the data are presented in the Table in Chapter Five. The analysis of online news articles from all the four global mainstream newspapers brought out six key themes with regards to the reportage and coverage of climate change in the global north mainstream media, and the global north approaches to solving climate problems. The results of the qualitative analysis were put into six themes listed below:

1. Poor countries
2. Global climate deal
3. Worsening climate change
4. Stalling climate negotiations
5. Climate politics and polarisation in the global north
6. Capitalist policies

6.2 Theme One: Poor countries

The news articles that were analysed described the global south as poor countries that are dependent on the global north countries for climate change finance to support climate change and adaptation. The global north countries are also portrayed as willing to provide the needed funding to support clean technology development in the global south, especially through the Green Climate Fund and private capital investments in renewable energy. Theme One is present in Item 1 (*The Guardian*: Caribbean Islands promised \$1bn in loans for move to clean energy: by John Vidal 2014). The story portrayed the Caribbean Islands as desperate for climate change finance due to their vulnerability. The global north countries are shown in the story as already providing finance to help these countries fund their

mitigation efforts through renewable energy projects. The central theme in the story is the focus on the loan offer of \$1 billion made by governments and investors in the global north to the Caribbean Islands to enable their transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy.

The loans to be offered to the Caribbean Islands would be approved by global north governments and private investment companies, especially in the United States and Germany:

Projects that can be shown to increase energy efficiency or generate renewable energy are now expected to be rapidly approved by the US government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), US energy giant NRG, the Germany government, and others (Item 1: 1).

The story makes reference to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and its managing director's stating the intention to "approve" over \$250 million towards renewable technologies in the Caribbean for renewable energy investments.

According to Item 2 (*The Guardian: Poor nations' climate change budget put health and education funds at risk: by John Vidal 2014*), due to weak budgets, global south countries were already compromising their health and education delivery obligations by putting some of the funds meant for education and health sectors in climate change adaptation programs. This, the story argued, risked education and health delivery and threatened to derail the progress that the countries had already made in these areas. The story argued that the global south countries could not support their climate activities without risking health and education. The main idea running throughout the story is that the developing global south countries are risking their education and health budgets trying to adapt to climate change. The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) report that was cited in the story provided some of the evidence of the risk being undertaken by the global south countries.

The poverty of the global south countries and their vulnerability to climate change in the absence of assistance from the global north rich countries are captured first in the story headline, "Poor nations' climate change budget puts health and education funds at risk" (Item 2: 1). The inadequacy of capital in the global south is seen through their diversion of funds meant for education and health towards climate change adaptation:

Poor countries have had to divert large chunks of their budget to adapt to climate change and run the risk of crowding out spending on health and education. The report exposes large funding gaps between each country's proposals to address climate change and what is available. Ethiopia's climate change strategy calls for annual spending of \$7.5bn (£4.5bn), but the country is estimated to be able to afford only \$440m per year. Tanzania needs around \$650m a year to address current climate risks and enhance its resilience but can only spend \$383m per year. Uganda's climate policy is estimated to cost \$285m per year compared to current public spending in the region of \$25m per year (Item 2: 1).

The story noted that while the global south (poor) countries are failing to finance climate adaptation, the global north (rich) countries were spending a lot of money on climate change adaptation systems. The story quoted Kevin Watkins (director at ODI) also revealing the extent of the incapacity characteristic of global south countries:

While richer countries invest heavily in flood-defence systems, coastal protection and other projects, poorer countries have no choice but to divert scarce resources, potentially reversing the progress made in tackling poverty. (Item 2: 2)

The representation of the global south as poor countries, that cannot mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change without assistance from the global north is also captured in Item 3 (*The Guardian*: US will not commit to climate change aid for poor nations at UN summit: by Suzanne Goldenberg 2014). The story's central idea is that the United States (US) president, Barack Obama, was not going to pledge any money towards the Green Climate Fund during the United Nations summit on climate change in New York in 2014. According to the story the United States president was doing this against the pleas of the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon for the global north rich countries to make "bold pledges" to the Green Climate Fund – a fund which according to the story is meant to help "poor countries" cope with climate change. This notion is reinforced by a quotation from the United Nations climate envoy and former president of Ireland, Mary Robinson, who commented that the Green Climate Fund "has to be capitalised to a minimum of \$10bn and hopefully between \$12bn and \$15bn" (Item 3: 2).

The global south countries are portrayed as recipients of financial and technological aid from the global north in order to adapt and mitigate the impacts of climate change. The conception of climate aid flowing from the global north to the global

south and the latter's financial dependence on the former is revealed in Item 4 (*The Guardian: Germany pledges \$1Bn to UN Climate Change Fund by Megan Rowling 2014*) starting from the story headline. The headline states that the —Green Climate Fund, designed to help poor countries deal with global warming, receives boost from Angela Merkel” (Item 4: 1). The main story idea is the —pledge” of \$1bn towards the Green Climate Fund made by the Germany Chancellor, Angela Merkel. The actions of the Germany Chancellor are seen as a step forward in assisting the global south in its adaptation to climate change (Item 4). The fund is seen as a just in time‘ adaptation solution:

The fund aims to help poor nations pursue clean development and adapt to climate change impacts, including more floods, droughts, heat waves and rising sea levels. It is regarded as a key puzzle in securing a new global deal to tackle climate change due to be agreed in Paris in late 2015...Wealth governments have provided climate aid worth roughly \$10bn a year since 2010 (Item 4: 1).

As they are represented in Item 5 (*The Guardian: G20: Obama to pledge up to \$3bn to help poor countries on climate change by Suzanne Goldenberg 2014*), the global south countries are poor and dependent on financial aid from the global north in order to address their climate change problems. The story's central idea is the \$3billion pledge towards the Green Climate Fund the United States president Barack Obama was about to make at the G20 summit in Australia. Throughout the story there is a continuous dichotomous representation of the rich global north and the —poor” global south nations with the latter heavily reliant on aid from the former. The pledge would help poor countries adapt to and mitigate climate effects: —The Green Climate Fund aims to help poorer countries cut their emissions and prepare for the impact of climate change, and is seen as critical to securing developing-nation support for a successful deal on reducing emissions at the UN meeting in Paris next year” (Item 5: 3). The funding that the US president would make was going —to help poor countries” adapt to climate change and also fund their clean development pathways. The story positioned the United States as central to the capacity of the global south countries to adapt to climate change:

Barack Obama will make a substantial pledge to a near-empty fund to help poor countries fight climate change. In a one-two punch, the US plans to pledge a maximum of \$3bn over the next four years to help poor countries invest in clean energy and cope with rising seas and extreme weather (Item 5:1).

The pledge by the United States is seen in the story as capable of averting serious climate disasters in the global south and also to avoid local and world conflicts. An anonymous United States government official is quoted in the story reinforcing the centrality of United States aid in helping global south countries arguing that, —~~More~~ resilient communities are less likely to descend into instability or conflict in the aftermath of extreme climate events, needing more costly interventions to restore stability and rebuild” (Item 5:1).

The global south countries, labelled as poor countries, are further represented in Item 14 (*The New York Times: U.S. To Give \$3 Billion To Climate Fund To Help Poor Nations, and Spur Rich Ones*: by Coral Davenport and Mark Landler 2014) as dependent on the global north for climate finance. At the same time, the global north is portrayed as providing climate funding that would help poor countries mitigate and adapt to climate change. This representation is revealed beginning with the story headline and lead: —~~President~~ Obama announced on Saturday that the United States will contribute \$3 billion to a new international fund intended to help the world’s poorest countries address the effects of climate change” (Item 14: 1). An unnamed senior United States government official is cited stating that the pledge was meant to help the poor countries, —~~We’re~~ doing this because it is in our national interest to build resilience in developing countries to climate change” (Item 14: 1).

The story argued that the United States government was already spending more money helping developing countries mitigate and adapt to climate change effects: —~~The~~ Obama administration has spent about \$2.5 billion to help poor countries adapt to climate change and develop clean sources of energy” (Item 14: 2).

Item 6 (*The Washington Post: Obama’s Following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change. Suddenly that’s controversial* by Chris Mooney 2014) further reinforces the dominance of the view that the global south are poor and dependent on financial and technological aid from the global north countries so as to address climate change. The story is on the \$3 billion pledge that was about to be made by the United States president, Barack Obama towards the Green Climate Fund. The story traced the United States climate fund contributions from the time of the then Republican president, George W. Bush when he also pledged \$2 billion towards the

—Clean Energy Investments”. The story argued that the pledge would help —poor countries adapt to climate change and reduce dependence on renewable energy” (Item 6: 2).

6.2.1 Clean Energy Investments

The news articles that were analysed, aside from representing the global south as poor countries dependent on financial aid from the global north in order to address climate change, also portrayed the financial aid as key to clean energy investments from the global north to the global south. Item 6 (*The Washington Post*: Obama’s Following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change. Suddenly that’s controversial by Chris Mooney) saw the aid from the United States as essential in assisting —poor countries” adapt to climate change and use clean energy. The headline of the story reveals this idea: —President Obama will now pledge up to \$3 billion toward the financing of climate change adaptation and clean energy investments for poor countries” (Item 6: 1).

The headline sets the tone of the story by defining the role of the United States in —helping poor countries fight climate change”. The global north, especially the United States is described as having a history of assisting the global south address climate:

As of this writing, over \$7 billion has already been committed, including \$1 billion from France and nearly \$1 billion from Germany, and \$1.5 billion from Japan (Item 6: 1).

The United States pledges to the Green Climate Fund are presented as a step in the right direction in providing the —poor” global south countries with the required money to adapt to climate change and move towards clean technology. —President Obama will now pledge up to \$3 billion toward the financing of climate change adaptation and clean energy investments for poor countries...” (Item 6: 1).

The story revealed that there was consistency in the United States climate change foreign policy, tracing the pledges-tradition back to the George W. Bush government. —What’s amazing is that this very idea – helping poorer countries or developing countries cope with climate change – came out of the Bush administration” (Mooney 2014). The story quoted George W. Bush’s state of the union address in 2008 when he pledged \$2 billion investment in —a new international clean energy technology fund to help confront climate change worldwide” (Item 6: 2).

6.2.2 Technology Investments

The global south is seen a recipient of global aid from the global north, aid that is both financial and technological, and set to benefit from these flows in terms of technology investments, especially through the Green Climate Fund. According to Item 6 (*The Washington Post*: Obama's Following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change. Suddenly that's controversial by Chris Mooney), the Green Climate Fund is meant to facilitate the transfer of clean energy technologies to the global south. The story cited Pete Ogden (United States Climate envoy) arguing that the Green Climate Fund "is really meant to be the successor to the climate investment funds" (Item 6: 2). Richard Lugar and Hank Paulson (Republican Party Senator and Treasury secretary during the Bush government respectively) are quoted supporting the transfer of clean technologies to the global south developing countries arguing that:

expanding the use of clean technologies is one way to address the common challenge of reducing greenhouse gas emissions while transcending the differences here at home and between developed and developing countries (Item 6: 2).

The story further argued that the funding from the developed global north countries was already helping the global south to move towards clean technology:

the World Bank announced that a number of top industrialized nations; led by the \$2 billion from the United States, had pledged over \$6 billion to Climate Investment Funds, one focused on clean technologies, as per Bush's and Paulson's initiative, and the other on other issues such as climate resilience" (Item 6: 2).

The overall theme in the story is that the US is central to the global south countries' adaptation to climate change and their transition towards the use of clean energy technologies.

The story assumes that the United States funding helps to restore stability and rebuild countries devastated by extreme weather events. The story quoted an unnamed official from the United States government putting this claim across: "More resilient communities are less likely to descend into instability or conflict in the aftermath of extreme climate events, needing more costly interventions to restore stability and rebuild" (Item 6: 2).

The transfer of technology from the global north to the global south is represented as key to helping the global south address climate change extreme events. Item 7 (*The Washington Post*: US climate aid reaches across globe: by Juliet Eilperin 2014) supports this perspective by arguing for the prowess of United States early warning system technologies in the global south. The United States technologies are presented as powerful, helping global south countries predict their climate patterns:

At NASA headquarters, part of a map of Kenyan waterways blinks repeatedly in blue-grey, indicating where stream flow is heaviest and likely to cause flooding over the next 72 hours (Item 7: 1).

The story emphasises the point that US technology is part and parcel of global climate change action, an indispensable partner. According to the story the United States technology —helps cash-strapped nations” to predict their climate patterns and prepare for any extreme weather events:

Half-way around the world, officials at Kenya’s Ministry of Water and Irrigation one can see the same data, which they use to reduce the loss of life and property from increasingly frequent floods linked to global warming (Item 7: 1).

The United States early warning systems technologies are depicted as dependable and that Kenya is now able to detect climate patterns:

The mapping technology is part of collaboration by the space agency and the U.S. Agency for International Development that helps cash-strapped nations deal with the challenges of a changing climate [...] Over the past three years, the United States has ratcheted up support for foreign countries to cope with global warming, spending nearly \$1.4 billion. A small size of the total, \$18 million, has transformed the satellite-based mapping program, called SERVIR (Item 7: 1).

The US is presented as a country that has taken the lead in helping developing (poor countries) deal with climate change:

In 2009, the world leaders – including President Obama promised to give \$30 billion between 2010 and 2012 to a ‘fast-track finance’ program to help cut the emissions worldwide and make the most vulnerable nations more resilient in the face of global warming (Item 7: 1).

The US is praised for its leadership in climate change initiatives and in distributing its ‘powerful’ technologies to —cash-strapped nations” to deal with climate change. The funds from the global north are said to be helping —poor countries” in Sub-Saharan Africa respond to climate change.

The United States aid agencies are also shown in the story to be active in providing international aid. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is presented as closing the gap left by the absence of private capital in assisting communities in the global south adapt to climate change. USAID's global climate change coordinator, Kit Batten, was quoted in the story stating that they are assisting least developed, small island nations and those dependent on glaciers for fresh water supplies to —make sure our investments are getting the biggest bang for the buck". The USAID is presented with the responsibility of fostering development. They are presented as providing knowledge and advice to the global south:

USAID's climate programs, which now make up a third of the agency's budget vary widely. One involves sending a Peruvian engineer with expertise in glacial lake outbursts to Nepal to advise officials on managing the same phenomenon there. Another involves advising Jamaica on a national climate-adaptation plan. The agency has funded research for a new program in Kenya and Ethiopia (Item 7: 2).

The leadership of the United States in assisting the global south with climate change finance and technology investments is captured further in Item 8 (*The Washington Post*: "We have to adapt" - President Obama announces new climate change actions by Angela Fritz 2014). The story is based on the statement delivered by United States president, Barack Obama at the United Nations climate summit in New York in 2014. While the story is built on Obama's statement and how climate change was affecting the United States, the story captures the critical component of the US foreign policy on climate change. It details the US's supposed leadership in global climate change, with key United States institutions being presented as leaders in early warning systems. The United States is also presented as the helper of the developing countries:

In addition to the plans to help build climate resilience in the U.S., NOAA also plans to focus on helping developing nations grow within the context of changing climate. The plan to aid developing countries includes not only the expansion of the already successful international meteorologist 'Training Desk' program, but also a plan to build partnerships in the private sector to connect decision-makers in developing countries to actionable climate data and tools (Item 8: 1).

6.3 Theme Two: Securing a global climate deal

Another emergent theme that is common across the stories that were analysed is the on the need to achieve a climate deal. The deal, according to the stories must be reached in order to reduce carbon emissions and promote investments in the renewable energy sector. Item 13 (*The New York Times: Obama Pursuing Climate Accord in Lieu of Treaty* by Coral Davenport 2014) puts the United States government as the ultimate leaders in climate negotiations for a global climate deal expected to be reached at the COP21 Paris 2015 climate summit:

The Obama administration is working to forge a sweeping international climate change agreement to compel nations to cut their planet-warming, fossil fuel emissions, but without ratification by Congress (Item 13: 1).

The global north countries are described as having a leadership role in climate change negotiations while the global south countries depend on the global north for climate change adaptation and mitigation. The story argued that: —Poor countries look to rich countries to help build dams and levees to guard against coastal flooding from rising sea levels, or to provide food aid during pervasive droughts” (Item 13: 3). From the preceding paragraph the developing (poor) nations are represented as incapable and dependent on the developed (rich) countries. The story used a metaphor to express the desperation of these —poor countries”. —Poor countries look to rich countries”. The rich global north countries are presented as father-figures that children in the global south look to for —food aid” during droughts. The story quoted a Tanzanian climate negotiator, Richard Muyungi, making statements that reinforce the dependency of the developing countries on the developed ones. Muyungi’s statement was used in the story to reinforce the metaphor of looking to rich’ countries because —they are not capable” (Item 13: 3) and that:

Without an international agreement that binds us; it’s impossible for us to address the threats of climate change...We are not as capable as the US of facing this problem, and historically we don’t have as much responsibility. What we need is just one thing: Let the US ratify the agreement. If they ratify the agreement, it will trigger action across the world (Item 13: 3).

The representation of the global north countries as leaders in climate change negotiations is also evident in *The Telegraph* newspaper. Item 16 (*The Telegraph: One year to save the planet: by Emily Gosden 2014*) puts the United Kingdom (UK) at the centre of leadership with regards to reaching a climate deal at the Lima

COP20 summit in preparation for the final agreement during the Paris COP21 summit in 2015. The news article is based on the British Energy secretary's remarks ahead of the Lima United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) summit in December 2014. In the story, the British energy secretary, Ed Davey, emphasised the need for an agreement that would enable the countries to have a better deal at the Paris 2015 conference. The central idea running throughout the story is that countries in the global north are eager to see global south countries agree on a global climate deal that would help them reduce global carbon dioxide emissions. Davey is quoted in the story strengthening his position by arguing that:

Agreeing to a global climate deal to cut carbon emissions next year is the only way to protect the way of life we take for granted...there is no alternative that will protect our national security, our economy and the way of life we take for granted". The story presupposes that the United Kingdom, European Union, China and the United States are major stakeholders in global climate change decision-making (Item 16: 1).

While the global north countries were willing to have a global climate deal, their counterparts in the global south could only be lured into agreeing to the deal through increased financing pledges from the former. Davey is quoted in the story reinforcing this belief,

Developed countries 'pledged' in 2009 to mobilise \$100 billion a year of finance by 2020 to help poor countries tackle and adapt to climate change...The question is whether developing countries think there needs to be more at this stage. As far as developing countries are concerned their willingness to sign up [to emissions cut] is very much dependent on rich countries doing a lot of cuts but also providing finance (Item 16: 2-3).

The above perception is again present in Item 14 (*The New York Times*: U.S. To Give \$3 Billion To Climate Fund To Help Poor Nations, and Spur Rich Ones: by Coral Davenport and Mark Landler 2014). The story built the notion that without the pledges from the developed global north countries, the developing countries would not agree to a climate deal. To strengthen this position, the story quoted Rachel Kyte (vice president for sustainability for the World Bank) claiming, "Finance has become the zero-sum game. Put money on the table and we'll talk; if you don't put money on the table then we'll walk" (Item 14: 3). Kyte is put in a position where she spoke for the global south and the language used portrays the global south countries as only interested in money and not climate issues.

Item 6 (*The Washington Post*: Obama's Following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change. Suddenly that's controversial by Chris Mooney 2014) carries the notion further by arguing that the pledges were necessary to bring the global south to the climate change negotiating table. In explaining the significance of the Green Climate Fund, Hela Cheikhrouhou (executive director of the Green Climate Fund) was quoted in the story strengthening this view saying that it —constitutes an important piece of the puzzle of how we as people come together to enhance our livelihoods on the planet we are sharing”. In a paraphrased reference, Cheikhrouhou argued that the pledges from the United States and other global north countries would:

play a central role in shepherding the world towards a global emissions reduction agreement in Paris in late 2015. There are moments in life when you feel like the stars have aligned, things are coming together in a positive way—we may well be on the eve of a truly transformative agreement (Item 6: 1).

Athena Ballesteros (director at the sustainable finance program of the World Resources Institute) is quoted in story to maintain its position:

If there's no money on the table to help developing countries adapt to climate change, then won't come to the table. So it's always a core pillar of any agreement on climate, but particularly for 2015 (Item 6: 2).

These statements by Athena Ballesteros signal that without money pledged, the developing global south countries would not participate in climate change discussions. In this way it is always noble to lure them by making pledges to assist them, and this will make them agree to the climate deal to be tabled in Paris in 2015.

The international climate political scene is fraught with conflicts between the global south and the global north. The main divide between these geopolitical divides is the responsibility for carbon emissions. The global south are seen as not willing to agree to a global deal to cut emissions because of little adaptation finance offered by the global north and the need to develop their economies. Item (3:2) argued that: —Climate finance is a critical part of reaching a deal. Poorest countries did the least to cause climate change, but scientists say they will suffer the worst impacts....Rich countries committed to the Green Climate Fund in 2009, pledging to mobilise \$100bn a year by 2020 to help poor countries deal with climate change”. The global north countries are accused of not fulfilling their climate finance commitments. This is seen

in the comments made by Mary Robinson, a UN climate envoy: —Commitments were made to have \$100bn a year by 2020 but we are still not seeing that fleshed out...” The story further supports this view by noting that: —Developing countries have said they want to see promises of \$15bn for the fund this year”. Item (4:1) quoted Norwegian foreign minister, Boerge Brende also arguing that a capitalised Green Climate Fund is key to securing support from the global south countries towards the global climate deal.

According to Item (7: 2) the developing global south countries criticise the global north countries for causing global warming and climate change and at the same time the lack of funding to support adaptation in the most affected regions, especially Africa and Small Islands Nations. The story quoted an unnamed South African delegate to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) summit in Doha, Qatar, who argued for what she called —restorative justice” and one Bangladesh delegate who argued that —industrialized countries are obligated to pay for the effects of climate change because those that are suffering the most have done the least to cause it”.

The same criticisms are also evident in Item (20: 2): —Developing nations insist the West must bear a bigger burden for the carbon cuts, having started decades earlier to pollute their way to prosperity. And they and want financial help and adaptation aid to shore up their climate defences”. However, there is a counter-exchange of the blame for stalling the agreement of a global climate pact. —Rich countries point the finger at developing giants like China and India furiously burning coal to power their rapid growth. The polarisation on global climate change action was not only between the global south and global north countries but also between the geopolitical camps themselves. Item (19: 2) revealed that there were differences and divisions even amongst the global south countries themselves: —But even amid the developing nations, there were factions: some of the most vulnerable countries, such as the Marshall Islands, are unhappy that the big polluters like China and India would not be forced to do more to cut their own emissions.

6.3.2 Does peer-pressure work?

Weaknesses to implementing the proposed global climate deal are noted in Item (15: 1-3), the deal does not include —egally binding requirements that countries cut their emissions by any particular amount. Instead, each nation will agree to enact domestic laws to reduce carbon pollution...But with no language requiring the significant cuts ... countries can put forth weak plans that amount to little more than business as usual. Countries can even choose to ignore the deal and submit no plan at all”.

The is deal premised on piling pressure on countries who do not submit strong carbon emissions reduction plans: —The hope, negotiators said, is that as the numbers and commitments of each country are publicized, compared and discussed, countries will be shamed by the spotlight into proposing and enacting stronger plans” (Item 15: 3).

6.4 Theme Three: Worsening global warming

The third theme that came out of the news analysis is that the global south countries, because of their pursuit of economic development are accused of being insensitive to the environment by increasing the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Item 11 (*The New York Times: Coal Rush In India Could Tip Balance on Climate Change* by Gardiner Harris 2014) focused on the expanded coal mining activities in India and how such an expansion poses a serious threat to the earth within the context of increasing global warming and climate change. India is depicted as a problematic country because increasing coal mining worsens the global greenhouse gases emissions and leads to temperature increase beyond 2 degrees Celsius making the earth inhabitable. India’s economic considerations are presented as being in contradiction to the need for environmental restoration. As argued in the news article India is the third largest global polluter and the coal it produces is of poor quality and highly toxic, hence any increase in coal production would worsen the global climate problem.

6.4.1 Increased emissions

The headline of story 11 —Coal Rush in India Could Tip Balance on Climate Change” (Item 11: 1) presents idea that the increase in coal production will inevitably disturb the climate balance – a situation that is highly unfavourable at this particular moment

characterised by global warming. The first two paragraphs of the story draw the readers' attention to the fact that India is already a bad example in sustainable coal extraction and production:

Decades of strip mining have left this town in the heart of India's coal fields a fiery moonscape, with mountains of black slag, sulphurous air and sickened residents (Item 11: 1).

This paragraph explains the severity of the already existing problems with regards to coal mining in India, "mountains of black slag, sulphurous air and sickened residents" – signalling that the town (Dhanbad) is already suffering as a result of poor mining. The government is blamed for failing to correct these already existing problems and:

rather than reclaim these hills or rethink their exploitation, the government is digging deeper in a coal rush that could push the world into irreversible climate change" (Item 11: 1).

The story quoted the Indian minister of power, Piyush Goyal, buttressing the point that India will increase its coal production to foster economic development arguing that: "India's development imperatives cannot be sacrificed at the altar of potential climate changes many years in the future" (Item 11: 1). The placement of the quotation after one attribution to Veerabhadran Ramanathan (the director of the Center for Atmospheric Sciences at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography) is meant to disqualify Mr Goyal's claims and present his position as an environmental villain.

The Indian government is presented in the story as supporting an increase in coal production to show their total disregard of international climate change consensus on the need to reduce greenhouse concentrations in order to avoid pushing temperatures beyond 2 degrees Celsius by the year 2100:

Mr Goyal promised to double India's use of domestic coal from 505 million tons last year to more than a billion tons by 2019 [...] The government has signalled that it may denationalize commercial coal mining to accelerate extraction [...] On a tour of one huge strip mine, officials said they had recently purchased two mammoth Russian mining shovels to more than triple annual production to 10 million tons (Item 11: 2).

6.4.2 India worsening climate change

According to the story, increased coal production in India heightens the risks of increasing global temperature and causes “irreversible climate change” (Item 11: 2). The story claimed that while the United States, China and the European Union (EU) were moving in the right direction by reducing their dependence on fossil fuels and adopting renewable energy, India is presented as doing the complete opposite. The story quoted Durwood Zaelke (president of the Institute for Governance and Sustainable Development) condemning India’s coal rush: —India’s coal mining plans may represent the biggest obstacle to a global climate pact [...] India is the biggest challenge in global climate negotiations, not China” (Item 11: 2). The story builds the notion that the global south, in this instance, with India as their perfect representative, are the ones derailing progress in global climate change governance because they pursue developmental needs using fossil fuels at the expense of environmental goodness. They continue to use coal instead of following the developed global north countries in using clean energy technologies.

6.4.3 Insensitive governments

The Indian government is accused of neglecting the needs of its people that are affected by the poor coal mining in the country. Veerabhadran Ramanathan is quoted in the story arguing that if the government continued with its coal extraction plans that would spell out disaster for the world, —If India goes deeper and deeper into coal, we’re all doomed” (Item 11: 1).

The story estimated that about 37 million Indians could be displaced by rising seas by 2050 due to climate change and that their government was increasing carbon emissions. To further show the insensitivity of the government to the health and welfare of its people, the story noted that:

India’s mines and power plants directly affect millions of residents. Mercury poisoning has cursed generations of villagers in places like Bagesati, in Uttar Pradesh, with contorted bodies, decaying teeth and mental disorders [...] The city of Dhanbad resembles a postapocalyptic movie set, with villages surrounded by barren slag heaps half-obscured by acrid smoke spewing from a century-old fire slowly burning through buried coal seams [...] Suffering widespread respiratory and skin disorders, residents accuse the government of allowing fires to burn and allowing pollution to poison them as a way of pushing people off land needed for India’s coal rush (Item 11: 2).

The government is presented as insensitive to the concerns of the people, putting its economic interests at the expense of human life. The citizens are presented as people in a state of despair and hopelessness. Rather than correcting these problems, the government is portrayed as insensitive because it is even moving people away to accommodate coal mining activities. The story quoted Ashok Agarwal (from a civil society organisation, Save Jharia Coal Fields) also blaming the government for their coal expansion plans, “The government wants more coal, but they are throwing their own people away to get it” (Item 11: 3). It is interesting to note how sources were being positioned in the story. A typical oppositional style was used to present the government as the villains who enjoy economic benefits at the expense of their own people, and the civil society on the other hand speaking on behalf of the people, but at the same time legitimising the mainstream discursive stance taken by the reporter. The story then quoted Shri T.K Lahiry (chairman of a government-linked mining company – Bharat Coking Coal) supporting the displacement of people to accommodate coal mining, “denied neglecting fires and pollution but readily agreed that tens of thousands of residents must be displaced for India to realize coal needs” (Item 11: 3). In the story, Lahiry is shown as representing the selfish economic interests of the government at the expense of humanity.

6.4.4 Indians suffering because of poor knowledge

The story went on to blame the Indian communities and their government – citing lack of knowledge as the greatest challenge that has led to the citizens allowing their government to implement wrong policies. The people in India are depicted as unaware of the dangers posed by pollution and climate change:

One reason for widespread domestic support for India’s coal rush is the lack of awareness of just how bad their air has already become. Paediatric respiratory clinics are overrun, but parents largely shrug when asked about the cause of their children’s suffering. Face masks and air purifiers, ubiquitous among China’s elite, are rare here (Item 11: 4).

The story quoted Rajendra K. Pachauri (head of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC]) supporting the view that people lack knowledge, “People need to wake up to just how awful the air already is” (Item 11: 4). The story bemoaned the lack of knowledge among the Indian communities as the bedrock of lack of action and resistance to the coal rush from the people. The constant comparison between India and China is interesting because China had recently

made an emissions deal with the United States and so it was now viewed as a progressive country.

Item 12 (*The New York Times*: In Latin America, Growth Trumps Climate by Eduardo Porter 2014) advances the portrayal of the global south countries as environmental and climate villains who continue to increase global greenhouse gas emissions, push for economic gains and neglect the climate science that calls for reduced emissions. The story is a feature article by a New York Times journalist on the climate talks in Lima, Peru (Conference of Parties 20) in 2014. The author draws the readers into the history of climate change talks held in Rio in 1992, where the global south countries were more concerned with the level of environmental destruction caused by the multinational companies in the global north. However, the central idea developed throughout the story is that the global south countries are now the ones responsible for increasing greenhouse gas concentrations. The global south countries, in this story represented by Latin American countries, prioritise developmental objectives at the expense of the environment. The author promotes the view that the failure of climate change negotiations is a result of the global south developing countries who continue to use fossil fuels without environmental consideration. Brazil is given more prominence in the story and is labelled the fourth largest polluter after the US, China and Russia:

Brazil doesn't want its environment protected from development. Stunned by an abrupt slowdown in economic growth over the last three years, it urgently wants its environment exploited, whether this means offering cheap gas to encourage driving or investing trillions in developing its oil reserves (Item 12: 2).

The story made the assumption that in the eyes of global south developing countries, pollution and increased greenhouse gas concentration are not bad for their progress as long as their activities brought-forth economic development arguing that to them, —Pollution means progress” (Item 12: 2). The global south countries are presented as the barrier to global climate change initiatives and are not willing to reduce their emission levels because to them —pollution means progress [...] Brazilians are very far from understanding that the climate question is an obstacle that slows Brazil's exploitation of natural resources” (Item 12: 3). The story quoted Sergio Leitao (Greenpeace representative in Brazil) castigating Brazilians for their disregard of the

need to protect the environment, —~~Q~~ the contrary Brazil believes that it still has the right to some quota of increased emissions” (Item 3: 3).

The news articles that were analysed portray global south countries as key obstacles to securing a global climate deal. This view is revealed in Item 15 (*The New York Times: A Climate Accord Based on Global Peer Pressure*: by Coral Davenport 2014), a news analysis piece by *The New York Times* journalist focusing on the climate deal proposed by the global north countries. According to the article, the deal would be based on naming and shaming polluters and not put umbrella restrictions on individual country emissions. The story paints speculation on whether the global south countries would agree to the proposal:

There is much speculation about how India, the world’s third largest carbon polluter, will respond. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has declared repeatedly that his top priority is economic growth and lifting people out of poverty, even if this means the construction of hundreds of new coal-fired power plants to deliver cheap electricity. Mr. Modi is also seen as wanting to resist being viewed as caving into pressure from Mr. Obama [...] In New Delhi, critics have already begun pushing back against the deal (Item 15: 4).

The article quoted Sunita Narain (director of the Indian civil society organisation - Centre of Science and Environment) suggesting that developing countries are now the problems in global climate change governance, —The burden of tackling climate change will decisively shift to the developing countries, making their efforts toward poverty reduction and sustainable development difficult and expensive” (Item 15: 4).

The global south countries are portrayed as countries that pose as serious blockades to global climate deals as they were in denial that climate change is real. The story uses Russia as an example: —President Vladimir V. Putin has publicly scoffed at the science of human-caused climate change and shown a willingness to defy international opinion” (Item 15: 4).

6.5 Theme Four: Stalling global climate deal

The global south countries are portrayed in the global north mainstream quality newspapers as responsible for stalling the global climate negotiations and any deals to protect the environment. This, the news stories argued, is because they seek to protect their economic development agenda through the use of fossil fuels that continue to emit carbon dioxide and hence worsen global warming and climate

change. The developing global south is presented as pursuing selfish unsustainable economic development at the expense of environmental concerns.

Item 10 (*The Washington Post*: Kerry urges action on climate pact, by Joby Warrick 2014) focused on the statements made by the United States Secretary of State, John Kerry, regarding the deadlocked climate change talks in Lima in December 2014. The story indirectly blames the global south for the lack of progress in the talks despite widespread climate evidence requiring countries to act together. The story quoted John Kerry indirectly implying that the global south countries were stalling climate progress and that “If we continue down the same path we are on today, the world as we know it will profoundly change, and it will change dramatically for the worse”.

The US Secretary of State’s statement and travel to Lima are portrayed as capable of breaking the impasse in Lima. The story portrays the US as a country with the capacity to convince and lead the world to a better future:

Kerry announced Tuesday that he would fly to Lima to try to infuse fresh momentum into talks that appeared to bog down amid squabbling over aid to poor countries that are less able to absorb the costs of switching to renewable energy, such as solar and wind energy...Participants and observers at the talks acknowledged that the pace of negotiations had slowed down in recent days and some expressed hope that Kerry’s pep talk would help (Item 10: 1).

Lou Leonard (vice president of the World Wildlife Fund) is quoted in the story anticipating that the intervention by John Kerry would help ease the deadlock, —Kerry’s presence here should help to prop up the talks just as they are starting to falter and fall victim to political tunnel vision” (Item 10: 2).

The developing countries are further blamed for blocking progress in climate change negotiations through unnecessary requests:

Some developing countries also have demanded compensation, arguing that the industrialized countries that are chiefly to blame for climate change should pay for the damage inflicted by rising sea levels and more violent storms...Kerry criticized skeptics who reject the scientific consensus that humans are responsible for the warming of the planet, saying the science is screaming at us, warning us, compelling us to act (Item 10: 2).

Item 18 (*The Telegraph*: John Kerry: Climate change science is is screaming at us’ and poor nations must act to avoid is tragedy’ by Emily Gosden 2014) also portrays

the global south countries as villains who must understand climate change evidence and act to avoid climate disaster. The story is centred on the 2014 Lima UNFCCC summit. According to the story, the United States secretary of State, John Kerry, wants the global south (poor) countries to agree on a global climate deal that would help the globe avert the dangers of climate change. The global south (poor) countries are blamed for obstructing progress in the climate talks, rather prioritising their fossil fuels-based economic development at the expense of the environment. The story argued that it was no longer the developed global north countries stalling progress in climate change negotiations but the global developing south.

The story's headline makes it clear that the global south countries must play their part and stop blocking progress in climate talks, —John Kerry: Climate change science is screaming at us' and poor nations must act to avoid tagedy". The implication of this headline is that the climate science is screaming at us" – using a metaphor to show the magnitude of the problem and yet the global south (poor) countries cannot hear the screams' and as a result they are not acting, hence John Kerry who has heard the screams is pleading with them to hear the screams' and act in order to avoid climate tagedy'.

The global south (poor) countries are portrayed as stalling progress by not hearkening to the screams and hence leading the world into disaster. The global south countries are being encouraged to act and cannot escape their duty. Kerry is quoted saying that the global south (poor) countries —are not free to go off and repeat mistakes of the past" (Item 18: 1). It is of interest to note that neither John Kerry nor the news writer mention whose past mistakes are being referred to. This works well with the linguistic device of passivisation where agency is hidden in order to obscure culpability and responsibility. The statement can be interpreted to mean that the global south countries want to repeat the mistakes that they themselves (global north) made in the past. To use the word repat" implies that they are making the same mistake as in the past. How could they repeat something that they never did? Kerry is quoted further arguing that: —Poorer nations must play their part in tackling climate or the world will remain on a path to tagedy" (Item 18: 1. The story concedes in the second paragraph that the industrialised global north countries contributed immensely to global warming but it is impossible" for them to act alone.

—Every nation has a responsibility to do its part. The issue affects every human on the planet” (Item 18: 1).

The story sets the tone that everyone must act to address the climate problems as it —affects every human on the planet”. The intention is to situate the problem within the greater global humanitarian crisis and present the problem as universal where everyone is required to act. The global south (poor) countries are presented as blockades to global climate change policy.

6.5.1 Shifting the blame

The story shifts the blame from the global industrial countries to the global south countries. The developing global south countries are presented as distracting progress towards a deal and leading the world into tragedy. Kerry is quoted again to strengthen this position, —~~at~~ despite more than two decades of climate talks —~~w~~ are still on a course leading to tragedy” (Item 18: 2). The story made the conclusion that the globe is on the road to tragedy because of the global south countries who cannot hear the evidence of climate science that is —screaming at us”. The overall impact of shifting the blame is that the global south countries appear as environmental villains who want to lead the planet into obliteration. This kind of negative representation is synonymous with the other representational patterns given to the global south in the global north news media where the global south is portrayed as insensitive, barbaric and inherently stubborn. —~~But~~ some developing nations are suggesting they should be subject to less stringent requirements for their pledges than wealthy nations” (Item 18: 2). This statement serves to portray the global south countries as irrational by asking for what is impossible. According to the story, since the climate change science is —~~s~~creaming at us” all, it means that everyone must act but still the global south countries continue to make requests that are against the demands of the climate science evidence.

The global south countries are represented as only interested in prioritising economic development through burning coal at the expense of the environment, a situation that can only worsen the already bad climate system. Kerry is quoted in the story shifting the blame for increased greenhouse emissions from the global north industrialised countries to the global south: —~~at~~ day more than half of global emissions are coming from developing nations so it is imperative that they cut too” (Item 18: 2).

The global south countries are depicted as countries that are already contributing more to global greenhouse gas concentrations but yet do not want to act to reduce their emissions. Even though neither the reporter nor Kerry provide the evidence to their claims, the story concluded that the global developing south countries are environmental villains, because they are responsible for the rise in greenhouse gas emissions and yet still stick to fossil fuels rather than moving towards renewable energy. While the global south is presented as insisting on the continued use of fossil fuels, the story accuses this approach as short-term and leading to more problems in the future: —Coal and oil might be cheap ways to power economy today in the short term' but in the long term they would not work out cheaper because of the costly effects of global warming" (Item 18: 2). Since coal and oil will only increase the costs in the long term, Kerry is presented in the story appealing to these developing global south countries to listen to the —screaming" science and move towards adopting renewable energy as this is good for the economy and for employment creation.

The lack of any sources from the global south in the news story is of concern as the countries were not given the opportunity to defend their decisions or to give their points of view. John Kerry spoke for both the industrialised global north countries and also for the global south. The underlying premise in this story is that only the global elite understand climate change science, have the right to speak, to be heard, as well as to prescribe decisions for others while the global south's duty is to listen and abide by these prescriptions.

Item 19 (*The Telegraph*: Frantic efforts to save Lima Climate talks by Emily Gosden and Harriet Alexander 2014) adds to the representation of the global south countries as environmentally insensitive and frustrating efforts to achieve a global climate deal. The story's main focus is the deadlock on the Lima 2014 climate talks in Peru. The story brought out the geopolitical divisions that characterised the climate talks between the global north and the global south. The story structure moves from giving a background to the nature of the divisions and followed by the bid by the United States secretary of State, John Kerry, to convince the delegates at the summit to accept the draft climate deal (proposed by the global north) paving way for a better agreement in Paris 2015. —In one corner stand the wealthier nations, among whom the United States has played an uncharacteristic leading role, urging all countries to

accept the draft now on the table” (Item 19: 2). The first section of the story provides the science evidence that climate change is a critical problem that requires an urgent solution from all countries if they are to avoid temperatures going above 2 degrees Celsius. The third section of the story dealt with the resistance to the climate deal proposed by the global industrialised countries by the global south countries that are portrayed as not alert to the impending climate problems.

In the other stand the developing countries, led by China and India, who rejected the draft deal on Saturday because it did not require the wealthy nations to help their poorer neighbours cut emissions and adapt to climate change (Item 19: 2).

The global south countries are represented as unable to adapt and cut their emissions without the assistance of the global north developed countries. The structure of the story creates the notion that while climate change science is unequivocal and that the planet is fast warming, the developed global north countries with United States leadership, were already working hard to reduce their emissions. However, the problem was with the global south who rejected the deal just because “it did not require” the global north countries to “help” their “poorer neighbours” cut emissions and adapt to climate change.

Discourse constructions involve selection, exclusion and presentation of material. The reporters in this instance simplified the problem by insinuating that the global south countries rejected the deal simply because it did not require the wealthier nations to help their “poor” neighbours. The reporters, consciously or subconsciously did not mention that in 1992, the same global north countries agreed to fund climate adaptation and mitigation in recognition of their responsibility in polluting the atmosphere (under the principle of Common But Differentiated Responsibilities) and in 2009 promised to capitalise the Green Climate Fund to \$30 billion every year up to 2012 and \$100 billion per year by 2020 – but in the draft deal presented in Lima, the global north had not included clauses on how they would fund their obligations to the Green Climate Fund. The deal left it out to individual countries to pledge towards the fund as per their intention. The statement “it did not require the wealthier nations to help their poorer neighbours” (Item 19: 2) makes the developing countries’ rejection of the deal outrageous because the global north is not obliged to help them and only does it out of charity and sympathy, not mandatory duty.

The quoting patterns used in the story especially the placement of quotations from the global south are meant to advance the worldviews of the developed global north. The quotations from the global south are meant to achieve two specific functions. The first one is to make them reinforce the ideas from the global north and secondly to make the people from the global south countries seem as villains: —From Bolivia came the accusation from Rene Orellana, their delegate, that rich countries, including the United States, have an attitude of shirking responsibility of the provision of finance” (Item 19: 3). The writers put it as an accusation, so it can either be true or false and developed countries are not obliged to comply.

Rene Orellana is paraphrased where he indirectly accepted that the funding from the global north was not their responsibility” but rather assistance. He said that the wealthier nations should do more to assist with technology transfer to poor nations”. In this particular paragraph, the phrasing is changed to fit into the language of the writers. It is suspicious if Rene Orellana would have used the words poor nations’.

Further, the story also sees Russia as a potential blockade to the climate deal. The story stated that from Russia ~~whose~~ economy is deeply dependent on oil and natural gas production — came defiance” (Item 19: 3). The language of the story builds the idea of villains from the global south who themselves are bad examples, but are still refusing to accept the deal meant to avert the dangerous” climate change. The statement, ~~whose~~ economy is deeply dependent on oil and natural gas production — came defiance,” (Item 19: 3) presupposes that instead of objecting to the deal and asking for assistance,” countries such as Russia are also to blame and must lead in emissions reduction. The story quoted Oleg Shamanov (Russian delegate at the Lima conference) complaining about the talks deadlock: —~~He~~ added that Russia was already working on its plan to cut emissions, pointedly claiming it was one of the few countries doing that” (Item 19: 3). The use of the word claiming’ shows that the writers do not believe what the Russian delegate was saying and treated his statement with scorn. The story concluded that because of the defiance of Russia, the rejection of the deal by the developing countries led by China and India, the world was headed for destruction. To reinforce this notion, the reporters quoted Oxfam Germany policy adviser, Jan Kowalzig lamenting the stalling of talks, —~~the~~ world headed down a treacherous road towards extreme warming” (Item 19: 4) — and all this was because of global south treacherous countries.

Item 20 (*The Telegraph*: Deadlocked Climate Talks head for extra time by AFP 2014) also brings out the divisions between the global north and the global south in climate negotiations:

A years-old dispute over sharing responsibility for tackling the climate problem drove the 12-day haggles towards extra time, darkening prospects for the most ambitious environmental accord ever... Negotiators scrambled on the final day of United Nations talks on Friday to break a deadlock between rich and developing countries on forging a world pact to curb climate change... Countries disagree on how 'differentiation' will be applied in a process next year of declaring national pledges for curbing Earth-warming greenhouse gas emissions" (Item 20: 1-2).

The global south countries are portrayed as the ones rejecting the deal and pushing the climate talks into extra time: —Developing nations insist the West must bear a bigger burden for the carbon cuts, having started decades earlier to pollute their way to prosperity" (Item 20: 2). The global south countries are cited as stalling progress in the talks because —they want financial help and adaptation aid to shore up their climate defences" (Item 20: 2). Like the other stories in the global north mainstream news media, the reason why the global south countries were blocking climate progress is because they want —adaptation aid" and "financial help". If they are asking for help why are there any deadlocks? Are they entitled to the —help" and "aid"? The story does not provide answers to these questions. Indirectly the story makes a point that they do not have the right to demand because this is just "help" and a beggar cannot be a chooser.

In the same paragraph, the story advances the idea that the developed countries are not obliged to render their "help" and "aid" and can only do so if they want to: —But rich countries point the finger at the developing giants like China and India furiously burning coal to power their rapid growth" (Item 20: 2). The story painted the global south countries as also responsible for global warming and hence must stop rejecting climate deals. Passivisation and nominalisation are used in the story to give agency to the global south because they are deemed to be doing something wrong. Their mistakes are over-emphasised in order to portray them negatively. They are shown as burning coal and therefore must also be part of the draft deal and stop asking for financial assistance and adaptation aid. To prop up the severity of the problem and the need for holistic emissions reduction plans, the story sought a moral

voice by citing Pope Francis when he stated that: —~~time~~ to find global solutions is running out...We can only find adequate solutions if we act together [...] Climate change affects all humanity, in particular the poorest, and future generations”(Item 20: 2) (in a letter to Peru’s Environmental Minister, Manuel Pulgar-Vidal who is also the COP20 president). The voice of the Pope is added as the voice of reason to awaken the troublesome global south countries to accept the draft climate deal.

6.6 Theme Five: Climate politics and polarisation in the global north

The stories that appear to be about climate change issues of the global south are in actual fact rather more about the politics of climate change in the global north. The global south is ensnared in the discourse, not because they are active participants in the discourses but as those who are affected by it. The stories do not discuss climate issues affecting or pertaining to the global south, rather they give space to the debates and ideological differences that characterise global north climate change politics. There is an interesting absence of the global south countries in the stories regardless of the fact that the stories are framed as coverage of climate issues affecting the global south.

6.6.1 Obama versus the conservatives

For the United States president, Barack Obama, climate change is an opportunity to leave a legacy. Item (3:1), —Obama put climate change at the top of his second term agenda, and the administration unveiled a host of new measures in the run-up to next week’s meeting...” Fighting climate change, a moral duty, has been trapped within the power politics of the developed north political elites. While Barack Obama appears to streamline climate change in all his policies in building his legacy, his actions have been met with fierce criticism and opposition from his opponents in the United States, especially the conservative (Republican) lawmakers, who see the policies as going against the key pillars of their economic development and as —~~job-~~job-killing”. (Item 2: 2) quoted house speaker, John Boehner, arguing that, —~~It~~It’s announcement is yet another sign that the president intends to double-down on his job-crushing policies no matter how devastating the impact for America’s heartland and the country as a whole”. The Republicans see Obama’s attempts as defective to the American economic system and meant to cripple their development. The story further notes, —~~the~~Obama administration has spent about \$2.5 billion to help poor

countries adapt to climate change and develop clean sources of energy, but Republicans are certain to push against additional funding requests linked to climate change and foreign aid

The United States, through Barack Obama, seeks to take a leading role in global climate change politics and governance. Pushing the climate agenda for Obama is not just about leaving a legacy in the United States but also to expand his legacy and entrench it within the international United Nations system. Item (2: 1) presented Obama's United Nations speech as a way of encouraging other world leaders to follow his 'progressive' climate ideals by calling on ~~other~~ leaders to keep their ambitions high and to work for a strong global framework to cut emissions... Todd Stern, the state department climate envoy, told the call [press conference] those measures put Obama in a stronger position to help broker an international climate deal next year" in order to extend United States influence and the Obama climate legacy across the world. Item (15: 3) argued: ~~M~~ Obama wants to sign on to the plan because he sees his role in fighting climate change as a cornerstone of his legacy, both he and his advisers say".

According to Item (6: 1-3), the opposition to the Obama climate policies in the United States are more pronounced regardless of the fact that Obama's policies are a continuation of the policies laid before by the former conservative president, George W. Bush. The conservative lawmakers are more sentimental and disagree with Obama regarding his climate policies, especially his contributions towards the Green Climate Fund and the move towards carbon emission cuts. The story noted that: ~~there~~ are concerns that Congressional Republicans may try to thwart some of the new U.S funds through the appropriations process... In fact, long before the GOP's triumph in the mid-term elections, House Republicans in early 2011 introduced a continuing budget resolution that would have ~~cut~~ most climate aid' – a sign of the conflict that may be to come".

The story quoted a conservative strategist, Taiya Smith acknowledging the apparent divisions in the United States congress regarding climate change approaches: ~~You~~'ve got a trifecta for Congress...\$3 billion when we're feeling poor; an international fund, when we're not convinced that international anything is a very constructive way to get things done; and climate change". This shows the lack of

interest by the conservatives to support international initiatives to solve climate change. They have no trust in the international system and feel that there are problems in the United States that are more important than solving climate change.

The international discourse on climate change has been confined within the broader international ideological and power discourse and countries seek to champion their ideals over others regarding climate solution mechanisms. The climate talks are more influenced by the United States, through their president who has taken climate change as part of his political legacy both in the United States and abroad. While the United States government seeks to promote its ideals and encouraging other countries to reduce their emissions and commit more funding towards the Green Climate Fund, the government has opposition from its own lawmakers. The climate deal that the United States government seeks to promote is one that would not give specific emissions cutting targets but rather a deal based on individual countries coming up with their individual emission reduction programs. The main apparatus to ensure reductions is through “naming” and “shaming” the “countries into cutting their emissions” (Item 13: 1).

However, the story noted that the deal had opposition from the conservatives (Republicans) and the difficult political polarisation that characterises United States politics. While it has been argued throughout the stories that the global south countries are responsible for stalling the climate talks and climate deal, this section has shown that the road towards agreeing to a legally binding climate deal is complex and should be understood within the political realms in the global north countries themselves. The prospects of a fully effective global climate deal are thin considering the opposition to international deals within the United States, Canada and Australia. The key challenge to any legally binding climate deal is to be found not necessarily in the global south but rather in the political divisions in the global north countries, especially the United States. For example, Item (13: 1) observed that: “Lawmakers in both parties on Capitol Hill say there is no chance that the currently gridlocked Senate will ratify a climate change treaty in the near future, especially in a political environment where many Republican lawmakers remain sceptical of the established science of human-caused global warming”.

The story argued further that: —“The Obama administration’s international climate strategy is likely to infuriate Republican lawmakers who already say the president is abusing his executive authority by pushing major policies without congressional approval”. To cement the resentment towards the climate policies of the Obama government, Mitch McConnell (Republican senator), criticised the push by the government saying, —“fortunately, this would be just another of many examples of the Obama administration’s tendency to abide by laws that it likes and to disregard laws it doesn’t like – and to ignore the elected representatives of the people when they don’t agree”.

6.6.2 Spurring, naming and shaming other nations to act

Item (5:2), a story that is according to the headline about funding climate activities in the global south, actually overshadows the global south and rather presents a more complex geopolitical divide in line with climate change governance. The pledge that the United States president intended to make was conditional upon other countries also making stronger commitments towards the Green Climate Fund. The pledge was to be made at Group of 20 (G20) summit (a meeting of the twenty most influential countries in the world). Read in context, it can be argued that the United States pledge was a political move that was meant to stimulate and catalyse more action from the most influential global leaders gathered for the summit in Australia. The United States government arguably sees climate change deals as —“good for US national security” and preserving their investments: —“More resilient communities are less likely to descend into instability or conflict...Building resilience also helps safeguard our investments in many areas” (Item 5: 1).

The pledge can also be seen as part of the more political agenda of the Obama administration to make climate change its legacy. The pledge was meant to send: —“a powerful signal of Obama’s determination to act on climate change despite the Republican takeover of Congress in midterm election”. The article puts the Obama climate pledges within the wider United States climate change ideological warfare between the progressives and the more conservatives: —“The Republican party leadership this week denounced the US-China deal as a ‘charade’, and have threatened to defund Obama’s climate measures”.

The climate pledges (Item 5: 1-2) by the United States government can also be placed within the context of global peer-pressure politics where the United States made the move in order to spur or incite other countries to make commitments towards the Green Climate Fund: —The pledge from Obama could also help spur Britain and other countries to pay into a fund that so far has raised just under \$3bn, well short of its initial \$10bn target” (Item 5:2). The United States also used the G20 gathering to further its climate change political agenda and as noted by Jake Schmidt (Natural Resources Defence Council) the United States sought to use —G20 as a way to put pressure bilaterally and otherwise for countries to put their targets and their financing on the table”(Item 5: 2). And the strategy seemed to be working: —There were early signs the strategy was paying off. The Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe, was expected to announce a pledge of up to \$1.5bn to the fund at the Brisbane summit...”

The discussions of climate change issues in the global north, even though primed as concerning the global south, are seldom about the global south countries themselves but rather a more complicated discourse of international divergences on solving climate change. While the pledges from the United States and Japan were seen as moving towards funding the Green Climate Fund, Australia (the host of the summit) and Canada are seen as retrogressive as they are framed as anti-climate action. Canada and Australia are presented in opposition to climate action because they are either sceptics or denialists and afraid that reducing industrial production will thwart economic development: —The financial commitments from the US and Japan are in strong contrast with Canada’s and Australia’s positions, which have said they will not contribute to the climate fund...Indeed again, the announcement could again embarrass the G20 host country, Australia, which has been fiercely resisting climate change discussions distracting from its desired focus on —economic growth and jobs” (Item 5: 2). The Australian prime minister is quoted in the newspapers arguing that Australia would not contribute towards the Green Climate Fund: —Nothing the current government will ever do is to say one thing at home and a different thing abroad. We are committed to dismantling the Bob Brown bank [the Clean Energy Finance Corporation] at home so it would be impossible for us to support a Bob Brown bank on an international scale” (Item 5: 2).

The refusal by Australia to fund the Green Climate Fund reveals the level of disagreement over the climate finance, not only between the global north and the global south, but rather even within the global north powerful countries themselves. Some countries in the global north rather argue that funding the Green Climate Fund would disturb economic development. Noting the concerns raised by the global south for the rich countries to provide climate funding in line with historical responsibility for global emissions, the refusal by some global north countries to honour their responsibilities only works not only to derail the prospects of a global climate deal but also entrenches the historical mistrust and divisions that characterise international relations and politics between the global north and the global south.

They argued further that, “The Australian government was caught off guard when Obama and his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping unveiled climate pledges on the eve of the summit”. For the United States government, climate funding is an opportunity to bankroll their climate agenda across the world. The funding pledges by the United States are part of a broader plan to focus the attention of world leaders on climate change. Item (5: 3) quoted, Peter Ogden (former White House) advisor arguing that the United States was seizing all opportunities that present themselves to market their climate ideals. He said about the United States president: —“He is seizing the opportunities that come his way to demonstrate to the world that the US is not going to backtrack on the progress he has made...he is firmly committed to getting a strong deal in Paris...I think this is certainly about him showing that he is making no apologies for helping to build up an effective domestic climate policy and he is making no apologies for wanting to help lead global efforts to combat climate change”.

6.7 Theme Six: On the road to climate capitalism

While discussing climate change issues affecting the global south and the global climate change politics, the stories analysed also advance the neo-market principles of solving climate problems. The stories are laden with statements that point towards a world of renewable energy investments and a global climate deal that is anchored upon the capitalist interests of profit. Item 17 (*The Telegraph: Will capitalism clean up the air?* by Geoffrey Lean 2014) is a feature story that is in celebration of neo-liberal and neo-market policies for addressing climate change. The story made a

comparison between the Copenhagen climate change summit in 2009 and the New York United Nations climate summit in 2014. The author celebrated the triumph of neo-market ideals of capitalism in dealing with climate change over the ideas coming from activists and scientists.

6.7.1 In celebration of capitalism

Geoffrey Lean (2014) argued that global climate change deals are no longer anchored on the ecological prescriptions from environmentalists but rather on capitalist policies of profit and opportunity: —~~But~~ this time almost everything is different from 2009, when the talks failed. Economics are figuring larger than ecology this year” (Item 17: 2). Implicitly, Lean implied that the Copenhagen talks in 2009 failed because ecological considerations were more prominent, and this time around the talks are a success because of the adoption of neo-market principles of profit and investments in green projects. The story argued further, —~~And~~ though environmentalists don’t like admitting it- the world is making progress through adopting a suggestion from the much-reviled George W. Bush [...] Nevertheless, the buzz is more about expanding economic opportunities than impending ecological disaster, real though that maybe” (Item 17: 2-3).

According to the article the climate deal was no longer anchored on the needs of the environment, but now economics played a more pivotal role in shaping global climate change policy:

The key report published this week in preparation for the summit was not from Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth or any of the usual suspects but rather by leaders of IMF, Bank of England, OECD, China Development Bank, World Bank and businesses usually treated as enemies by greenies. Its message? Tackling climate change can help, not harm, economic growth (Item 17: 2).

The article is in total celebration of capitalism. According to the article, the real threat to climate was not business but rather population growth in Africa where the global leaders must focus their attention to:

Now new research – published in *Science* – concludes it could reach as high as 12.3 billion in 2100, not far off double the present figure. This is largely because birth rates have not been declining as fast as expected in Africa; the study by the UN and the University of Washington, fears its population may quintuple to five billion...Contraception is still needed and a quarter of the global demand for it is not being met...Development and –especially the education of women dramatically reduce the desire for lot of children and improve the lives of people (Item 17: 3).

The neo-liberal approach to addressing climate change is again captured in Item 9 (*The Washington Post*: Big Oil's heirs join call for action as climate summit opens by Joby Warrick and Steven Mufson 2014). The story reveals that there is growing interest from the capitalist moguls in the global north to take advantage of climate change and invest in renewable energy businesses. Climate change is no longer treated as a threat but rather an opportunity to expand the capitalist interest across the world. The story focused on the announcement by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation to divest from coal and move into renewable energy investments.

According to the story, this is a significant shift in the movement from coal based capitalism to green capitalism:

Entrepreneurs and businesses will promote technology breakthroughs that are making the wind and solar power competitive with more traditional energy sources [...] And investors and foundations with collective holdings in the tens of billions of dollars will formally join a global 'divest-invest' movement that seeks to shift capital from fossil-fuel to renewable energy. New participants in the movement, such as the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, say their decision reflects not only concerns about the environment but also a belief that renewable are becoming an increasingly sound investment at a time of growing uncertainty about the future of fossil fuels such as coal (Item 9: 1).

In addition Item 1 (*The Guardian*: Caribbean Islands promised \$1bn in loans for move to clean energy by John Vidal) latently advanced the business interests of the global north investors in the Caribbean. The over emphasis on the need to move towards renewable energy through private global north companies promotes neo-market policies of responding to climate change. The global north countries have taken a lead in advocating for neo-market policies in response to climate change and these policies at the end promote the capitalist interest of the dominant global north

countries, strengthening the business position of their multinational companies operating in the global south (manufacturing renewable technologies).

According to Item 7 (*The Washington Post*: US climate aid reaches across globe: by Juliet Eilperin) private companies from the global north were not interested in sponsoring climate adaptation programs in the global south but rather were looking for opportunities to expand their investments in the renewable energy sector. The story quoted Kaya Chatterjee (director international climate policy for World Wildlife Fund) buttressing this point saying:

Unlike a renewable energy project, which can attract private capital, almost all the funding that the poor countries need for building more climate-resilient societies must come from governments [...] It's very, very hard to believe you're going to get private money to go into the communities that will be most devastated (Item 7: 2).

6.8 One-dimensional Media

All the stories analysed used a total of 92 sources. And from the 92, 74 of them were from the global north, especially government officials, business people, academics, experts and politicians. Only 18 of the sources were from the global south and these included civil society representatives, government officials, business people and politicians. A selected number of stories were selected for an examination of the sourcing patterns employed by the journalists.

Global North	Global South	Total
74	18	92
80.43%	19.56%	100%

Table 3: Distribution of sources between the global north and global south

From the above themes, it can be argued that the news stories analysed, due to biased sourcing patterns sought to promote the ideological viewpoints of the global north countries that were given more prominence. Through sourcing patterns and discourse constructions the global south is represented as poor, insensitive to

environmental and climate change concerns, worsening global warming and diminishing the prospects of reaching a global climate deal. The selection of sources and the placement of their quotations is done in a way that reinforces the superiority of the global north especially in funding and making decisions for the global south.

Through inductive textual and thematic analysis of the news stories, this study revealed that the global south countries are consistently represented across all the four newspapers as poor countries that heavily rely on the financial aid from the global north countries in order to adapt to climate change and move towards clean energy mechanisms. While the global south is represented as poor, the global north is presented as the Good Samaritans' who are already assisting these countries with climate finance through the Green Climate Fund and through private capital investments in renewable energy.

The stories portrayed the global south countries as dependent on the global north for both funding and technology in order to mitigate and adapt to climate change impacts. The discourse that is constructed by the news articles advances the notion that the global north countries are there to help global south countries in their transition from coal to renewable energy. It is important to note that the wealthier countries are regarded as shepherds' who carry with them the responsibility of leading the world. The constant use of the word pledge" throughout all the newspapers overshadows the responsibility of the global north industrialised countries in causing global warming and climate change. What is interesting from this analysis is that whereas the money is presented as a pledge (meaning that the global north countries are providing the money with no strings attached), the story also described the pledges as investments" meaning that the money was given upon fulfilling certain business/profit conditions in the clean technology business sector.

The global south countries are represented as countries in dire need of help' from the global north rich countries, without which they cannot adapt to climate change and worse still will not accept the global climate deal proposed by the global north countries. The global north countries are portrayed as having the responsibility to fund and help' the global south (poor) countries adapt to climate change.

This elevation of capitalist interests is worrisome for environmental protection. The adoption of capitalist policies allows politicians and business elites in the global north to push for policies that are pro-business, against the environment and that threaten to worsen the global inequalities between the global north and global south. The hijacking of the global climate change dialogue by capitalists can only have one purpose, to entrench their pro-economic interests at the expense of the environment and this in turn will allow them to perpetuate their dominance across the globe.

By privileging global north sources, the reporters presuppose that only global north voices can speak authoritatively about business and climate change even if the subjects under discussion affect people in the global south. The use of outside sources on stories that concern the global south undermines the global south concerns and reinforces the notion that the Others cannot appreciate their problems or if they do, they cannot communicate them accurately to the outside world. The privileging of global north sources also works to privilege at the same time their particular worldviews which are based on the need to promote their neo-market capitalist interests of technology transfer and to promote renewable energy business flowing from the global north to the global south.

The global south is presented as dependent on the global north for financial support and technology to “help them from coal to renewable energy” without which they cannot do it on their own. Overall the stories present a neo-liberal, capitalist and neo-market worldview on how global south countries can transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy. They are only able to achieve this with financial and technological support from the global north. The global north is presented as the fathers that have a moral obligation to help these poor countries migrate from fossil fuels to renewable energy.

The global course of action is set between the problems of the global south and their solutions that are manufactured in the global north. The global north worldviews on global north politics and climate change are privileged. The global south countries appear in the stories as countries that are in need of help from the global north. The climate funding, technology and knowledge on dealing with climate change all come from the global north and are to be implemented in the global south. The deliberate lack of global south sources is an attempt to look at them as incapable of anything

except receiving aid and investments from the global north. The global north countries set the global climate agenda and are given the free global platform to define the global course of climate action.

Where global south sources were used, their purpose was to give legitimacy to the worldviews of the global north or to reveal their negative perceptions and actions towards climate change. When the same claims of technology transfer and renewable energy are articulated by someone from the global south, they become legitimate and appear common-sensical.

The environmental, political and economic elites in the global north, through being given first choice privilege as news sources, shape the global environmental ideologies for the rest and perpetuate belief systems that favour the global north worldviews. By this same privilege, they also help in shaping how the global polars (north and south) are represented in the media and how this representation reinforces the capitalist interests of the global north and fosters global south dependence on the global north. As a result of their privileged positions in news articles, the global climate elites in the global north have a lot of influence on the global climate change agenda, global public climate change opinion and at the end exert their worldviews as legitimate and binding. The preponderance of the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and French politicians and business elites in the stories gives them more power and credibility over any other worldviews that may seem to contradict them. The one-dimensional sourcing pattern across all the four newspapers legitimises the global north worldviews, builds preferred reading positions (ideological closure), strengthens their positions during global climate change discussions and puts them ahead of all others.

The findings reported in this chapter concur with arguments made by Jaap van Ginneken (1998: 87-88) when he argued that the United States government has —~~its~~ power, more than any other institution in the world, but the British, French and some other governments also have some of this power”. The sources used in all the stories were authoritative people. There is no story that quoted ordinary people from either the global north or global south. All the sources represented governments, civil society organisations, and business elites. This confirms the arguments by Ginneken (1998) when he noted that in most cases journalists prefer sources that are deemed

to know, especially authorised spokespersons. The sources used were deemed credible since journalists believe some sources and not others. In this study the sources used had something to do with climate change in government, civil society or business. The opinions expressed by the global north sources were never questioned by the journalists and the information they supplied was presented as legitimate and true. The sourcing patterns revealed in this study (80% global north and 20% global south) also concur with observations made by Ginneken (1998: 91) that, —western journalists have the tendency of giving prominence to western official sources...the limits of acceptable discourse are judged by western majority standards, thereby marginalising other voices...The left is always left out”.

Ginneken (1998: 100) also observed that —Almost every issue is covered by an extremely limited number of experts, who appear and reappear time and again. In foreign policy matters, a rather small range of area and security experts cover most of the ground. Where academic sources are used —There is a general tendency to consider middle-aged white male westerners to be the supreme experts on almost anything under the sun”.

While the global north quality press quoted both the sources from the global north and the global south, they were never presented as equal. Sources from the global south were used in instances where they had to provide statements that legitimised claims by the global north and the journalists themselves. This was achieved through strategic placement of the quotations from the global south. In most cases they were put at the end of the story or in the middle of other quotations from global north sources. This way, the particular global south quotations either served to validate claims from global north sources or were meant to make the owners of the statements appear as villains.

Another strategy that was used to legitimise or delegitimise particular claims was through the keynoting of the actual quotations. The strategy of keynoting a quotation works in giving the readers clues on the trueness or falseness of the statement in the quotations (Hartley 1989: 108) drew attention to the concept of keynoting of quotes in the writing of news stories. Sources are identified just before or after the quote. The keynoting of quotes establishes the status of the sources as —expert”, —witness” and their right to speak on the topic in question — establishing their

proposed degree of credibility within the discourse (Hartley 1989: 108 citing Morney 1978). For example in Story 12 the keynoting was done to two of the sources. The first quotation is from Shri T.K. Lahiry (Chairman of the government owned Bharat Coking Coal) when he was supporting the displacement of villagers to pave way for coal mining. He was quoted as saying, ‘We need to shift these people to corporate villages far from the coal fields,’ said Mr. Lahiry during an interview in his large office”. The keynoting —said Mr. Lahiry during an interview in his large office” shows that he is someone who insensitive, enjoys life and has the privilege of having a very big office but at the same time wants to evict people from their homes because he wants to pave way for coal mining. The second keynoting is on the quotation from Mr. Goyal, the Indian minister of Power. —M Goyal said with a tight smile”. This works well to question the legitimacy of what he is saying in the quotation.

The findings in this chapter further confirm what was discussed in the literature review chapter where Alison (1997) argued that that the news media tend to follow the political agenda of the political elites in society. This view is also supported by Chomsky (1988) when he argued that reliance on government and official sources make the media tow the agenda line of those in power and help them shape discursive parameters. Hall *et al* (1978) also argued that official sources tend to get advantaged access to the news media and become primary definers of key issues.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter presented and discussed 20 stories that were analysed from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*. The study found that the global south is represented in the global north mainstream newspapers as poor countries in need of climate change aid, as barriers to global climate change deals and agreements and also as selfish and insensitive to environmental concerns. The global north countries are portrayed as progressive in opposition to the barbaric global south. The sourcing patterns across all the stories reveal bias towards global north political, scientific and business elites. The stories also sought to advance neo-capitalist interests in dealing with climate change portraying climate change as an opportunity for businesses to harness and not as a threat to humanity. The next chapter provides a conclusion to the study.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented and analysed the results of the study. This chapter provides a summary of the overall purpose of the study, how the study was carried out and the key findings identified. The study noted that the global media are the dominant providers of global climate change information and hence sought to examine the manner in which climate change issues of the developing countries (global south) are dealt with in selected newspapers in developed countries (global north).

The study sought to investigate the manner in which a sample of quality mainstream newspapers from the global north report on, and represent, issues concerning climate change in the global south. The study also explored, through the structural theory of imperialism, how the media, while covering global climate change, consciously or subconsciously can either reinforce or subvert structural inequalities between the global north and the global south, and investigated the flow of information around issues of climate change as they traverse the global north information economy.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the study used four newspapers located in the Northern hemisphere, two from the East Coast of the United States (*The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*); and two from London in the United Kingdom (*The Telegraph* and *The Guardian*). *The New York Times* is a daily newspaper circulating in the USA and internationally. The newspaper has a print and digital edition. It has ten news bureaus in the New York region, eleven national news bureaus and twenty-six foreign news bureaus (*New York Times*, 2011). *The Washington Post* is a daily newspaper published in Washington D.C and with foreign news bureaus across the world including Cairo, Nairobi, Islamabad, Hong Kong, Bogota (Alliance for Audited Media 2013). The newspaper has both digital and print editions. *The Telegraph* is a daily newspaper published in London and with circulation both inside and outside the UK (News Works 2014). The newspaper has both a print and digital edition. *The Guardian* is also a daily newspaper published in London and has both print and digital editions (Audited Bureau of Circulation 2013).

These four newspapers are consumed by a well-educated class both locally and internationally and these readers have a great influence on national and international policy decisions (Carvalho and Burgess 2005). The newspapers have an important power through agenda-setting for decision-makers, politicians, the public and other media in the United States, United Kingdom and the world (Sparks 1987, Carvalho and Burgess 2005).

Through the literature review chapter the study noted that the representation of climate change in the global north mainstream media has closely followed political and economic preferences of the global north countries. Furthermore, the previous studies have revealed that the global south has been represented in the global north media through stereotypical lenses. The global north media in this instance dominate the global flow of news, being able to set what people of other nations could hear, read and view about their own countries (Mowlana 1988).

The negative representation of the global south in the global north media has been observed even with regards to the way climate change issues of the global south are portrayed by the quality newspapers in the global north. Media representations of climate change and the global south were found to be ‘self-righteous’ and blamed the developing countries especially India and China for stalling climate negotiations because of selfish economic interests.

As its theoretical departure, the study adopted the structural theory of imperialism as the main body of explanation towards the geopolitical divide between the global north and the global south. The structural theory of imperialism conceptualise the world as geopolitical divided between the developed global north countries and the developing global south countries (Galtung 1971: 81) and views the world as consisting of “centre and periphery nations” that are unevenly paired where ‘centre’ nations exploit the ‘periphery’ nations for socio-economic and political benefit.

The study noted that the global south is the recipient of climate change decisions, decisions that promote the economic and political interests of the global north capitalist countries. The global north media, through their representation of climate change issues of the global south legitimise the decisions made by the global north political elites as the best for the planet. The ideological cultures produced by the mainstream elite mass media in the global north hence give representations of the

global south from the global north ideological and cultural maps leading to cultural imperialism and synchronisation. Daya Thussu (2010) conceptualised global news flows of news and information as unequally structured and as dominated by the mainstream news media operating from the global north.

This study assumed the negative and unequal representations of the global south in the global north mainstream media is influenced by news values. Through news values, particular representations are formulated that fit well into the patterns of the news producers. News values, themselves as institutional and ideological constructions, are determined by relations of existence between the global north and the global south. With reference to elite nations, Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge (1965) noted that the more an event concerns elite nations, the more probable that it will become a news item. They argued that news is elite-centred and the actions of the elite nations are considered more consequential than those of other nation-states. Jaap van Ginneken (1998: 33) noted that what is reported as “~~news~~” in the global north quality press represents the interests and ideologies of the producers.

Furthermore, the study utilised the concept of representation in trying to understand how certain aspects of the world are represented/portrayed through discursive practices. Discourse, taken at a macro-theoretical level, legitimate particular ideologies and delegitimise others and promote inequalities. Through representation in discourse, certain world views are portrayed as “~~the~~”. Norman Fairclough (2003: 87) saw discourse “~~as~~ways of representing world views, the structures of material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, and beliefs”. In adopting the concept of representation, this study made use of Stuart Hall (1992) concept of the “~~West and the Rest~~”. Hall (1992: 215) argued that the process of representing the other is based on stereotypes. Hall (1992: 215 citing Hulme 1986: 49-58) noted that the stereotypes are dualised into opposing elements. In this instance the world is split into a dichotomous symbolic representation of good-bad, us-them, attractive-disgusting, civilised-uncivilised, the west-the rest (*a priori* bi-polar representation). Hall (1992) argued that “~~the~~Rest” is defined as everything that the “~~west~~” is not. It is represented as different (the other). The aspects of how the climate change of the global south are reported on and represented in the global north quality news media is embedded within the unequal discursive structures of inequality inherent within the

global north-south geopolitical and economic divides. To study the representation of climate issues of the global south in the global north quality news media is also an exercise in the study of the dominant discourse of 'the west and the rest' (the global north and the global south).

The study took a qualitative methodological approach rooted in the interpretative research philosophy. Noting that news discourses are not value-neutral but are a product of social and cultural construction, the study employed the qualitative constructivist approach in order to understand how particular representations of the climate change issues of the global south are constructed, interpreted and reinforced by the global quality newspaper media. The news stories for analysis were downloaded from the newspaper websites' archives using purposive sampling strategies. For the purposes of this study, twenty stories focussing on climate change issues in the global south (Southern hemisphere) were chosen for analysis with five stories from each newspaper. The newspapers articles analysed were collected from the newspaper websites through keyword searches. The study used news articles published between March 2014 and March 2015. The keyword search produced many articles in which climate change was a subject but without being specific to climate change and the global south countries. The search was narrowed down to those articles where both "climate change" and the "global south" were core themes and present.

After the data collection process, the researcher moved to the stage of data analysis. The data was coded thematically and discursively in order to break down the large blocks of data into segments for analysis and interpretation. Following Charmaz (2006), the data was subjected to two phases of coding, that is, initial coding and focused coding. Initial coding involved a close reading of the texts enabling codes to emerge from the data being analysed.

The inductive thematic analysis strategy was used in the study to develop codes and categories in sorting the data. Braun and Clarke (2006: 83) argued that in inductive thematic analysis, themes are emergent from the data and are strongly linked to the data set itself. Drawing from thematic analytical conceptualisations by Braun and Clarke (2006), this study adopted both the semantic and latent thematic analysis strategies.

The study examined the structures (linguistic) used by the global north media to construct specific neo-liberal/ neo-global north ideologies through the representation of global south climate change problems. This study scrutinised the ideological role of language within the global north news discourses in the construction of representations of global south climate change issues. The study noted that news discourses themselves are not value-free, hence the importance of an investigation into how they create and maintain power relations between the global north and the global south through their ideological properties (Fairclough 1989). This study followed Fairclough's (1989) stages of discourse analysis. Firstly, the news texts were described, secondly the relationship between the texts and interaction was interpreted, and thirdly the relationship between interaction and social context was explained.

7.2 Results

Chapter five presented the themes that emerged from the data. The study found that the global south is represented in the global north mainstream newspapers as poor countries in need of climate change aid, as barriers to global climate change deals and agreements and also as selfish and insensitive to environmental concerns. The global north countries are portrayed as progressive in opposition to the global south. The sourcing patterns across all the stories reveal bias towards global north political, scientific and business elites. The stories also sought to advance neo-capitalist interests in dealing with climate change portraying climate change as an opportunity for businesses to harness and not as a threat to humanity.

The coverage of the global south in the global north mainstream newspapers is prevalent during major international events such as climate change summits organised by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), funding pledges made by global north countries and announcements by the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The stories cover the global south countries only as they appear in the speeches and reports of global north elites. The global south countries are represented as voiceless and their concerns are only addressed by the global north experts and elites who are deemed to know and understand their problems better.

Through inductive textual and thematic analysis of the news stories, this study revealed that the global south countries are consistently represented across all the four newspapers as poor countries that heavily rely on the financial aid from the global north countries in order to adapt to climate change and move towards clean energy mechanisms. While the global south is represented as poor, the global north is presented as the 'Good Samaritans' who are already assisting these countries with climate finance through the Green Climate Fund and through private capital investments in renewable energy.

The global south countries are portrayed in the global north mainstream quality newspapers as environmental villains who always stall global climate deals, thereby engendering the environment. The developing global south is presented as pursuing selfish unsustainable economic development at the expense of environmental concerns.

The study also noted that stories that appear to be about climate change issues of the global south are in fact rather more about the politics of climate change in the global north. The global south is ensnared in the discourse, not because they are active participants in the discourses but as those who are affected by it. The stories do not discuss climate issues affecting or pertaining to the global south, rather they give space to the debates and ideological differences that characterise global north climate change politics. There is an interesting absence of the global south countries in the stories regardless of the fact that the stories are framed as coverage of climate issues affecting the global south.

While discussing climate change issues affecting the global south and the global climate change politics, the stories that were analysed also advance the neo-market principles of solving climate problems. The stories are laden with statements that point towards a world of renewable energy investments and a global climate deal that is anchored upon the capitalist interests of profit.

All the stories that were analysed used a total of 92 sources and from the 92 sources, 74 of them were from the global north, especially government officials, business people, academics, experts and politicians. Only 18 of the sources were from the global south and these included civil society representatives, government officials, business people and politicians.

The environmental, political and economic elites in the global north, through being given first choice privilege as news sources, shape the global environmental ideologies for the rest; perpetuate belief systems that favour the global north worldviews. By this same privilege, they also help in shaping how the global bi-polars (north and south) are represented in the media and how this representation reinforces the capitalist interests of the global north and fosters global south dependence on the global north. As a result of their privileged positions in news articles, the global climate elites in the global north have a lot of influence on the global climate change agenda, global public climate change opinion and at the end exert their worldviews as legitimate and binding. The preponderance of the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and French politicians and business elites in the stories give them more power and credibility over any other worldviews that may seem to contradict them. The one-dimensional sourcing pattern across all the four newspapers legitimises the global north worldviews, builds preferred reading positions (ideological closure), strengthens their positions during global climate change discussions and puts them ahead of all others.

The opinions expressed by the global north sources were never questioned by the journalists and the information they supplied was presented as legitimate and true. While the global north quality press quoted both the sources from the global north and the global south, they were never presented as equal. Sources from the global south were used in instances where they had to provide statements that legitimised claims by the global north and the journalists themselves.

Bibliography

- Amin, S. (1997). Reflections on the international system. *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication & the New International Order*. London: Sage, 10-24.
- Anderson, A. (2009). Media, politics and climate change: Towards a new research agenda. *Sociology Compass*, 3(2), 166-182.
- Antilla, L. (2008). Self-censorship and science: a geographical review of media coverage of climate tipping points. *Public Understanding of Science*.
- Barthes, R. (1974). Delay and The Hermeneutic Sentence. *The Poetics of Murder: Detective Fiction and Literary Theory*. San Diego, 119-120.
- Bauman, Z. (1992). A sociological theory of postmodernity. *Modernity, critical concepts*, 4, 84-97.
- Baumert, K., & Kete, N. (2002). Will the Kyoto Protocol Drive Industry to Developing Countries. *Earth Trends*. World Resources Institute.
- Beck, U. (1992). Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity, Published in association with Theory, Culture & Society: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Beck, U. (1996). Risk society and the provident state. *Risk, environment and modernity: Towards a new ecology*, 31.
- Beck, U. (1999). World risk society. *Cambridge: Polity*.
- Beck, U. (2010). Climate for change, or how to create a green modernity? *Theory, Culture & Society*, 27(2-3), 254-266.
- Bell, A. (1994). Climate of opinion: public and media discourse on the global environment. *Discourse & Society*, 5(1), 33-64.
- Bennett, W. L. (1990) Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 103 - 125.

- Bernstein, L., Bosch, P., Canziani, O., Chen, Z., Christ, R., Davidson, O., Kattsov, V. (2007). IPCC, 2007: climate change 2007: synthesis report. Contribution of working groups I, II and III to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Geneva. < <http://www.ipcc.ch/ipccreports/ar4-syr.htm>
- Böhm, S., Misoczky, M. C., & Moog, S. (2012). Greening capitalism? A Marxist critique of carbon markets. *Organization Studies*, 33(11), 1617-1638.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). Thematic analysis and code development: Transforming qualitative information. *London and New Delhi: Sage Publications*.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (1997). Global news wholesalers as agents of globalization. *Media in Global Context. A Reader. London/New York*, 131-144.
- Boyd-Barrett, O., & Rantanen, T. (1998). *The globalization of news: Sage*.
- Boykoff, M. T. (2007). Flogging a dead norm? Newspaper coverage of anthropogenic climate change in the United States and United Kingdom from 2003 to 2006. *Area*, 39(4), 470-481.
- Boykoff, M. T. (2008). The cultural politics of climate change discourse in UK tabloids. *Political geography*, 27(5), 549-569.
- Boykoff, M. T. (2011). *Who speaks for the climate?: Making sense of media reporting on climate change: Cambridge University Press*.
- Boykoff, M. T., & Mansfield, M. (2008). 'Ye Olde Hot Aire': reporting on human contributions to climate change in the UK tabloid press. *Environmental Research Letters*, 3(2), 024002.
- Boykoff, M. T., & Yulsman, T. (2013). Political economy, media, and climate change: sinews of modern life. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 4(5), 359-371.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

- Brossard, D., Shanahan, J., & McComas, K. (2004). Are issue-cycles culturally constructed? A comparison of French and American coverage of global climate change. *Mass communication & society*, 7(3), 359-377.
- Bulletin, E. N. (2009). Summary of the Copenhagen climate change conference: 7 - 19 December 2009. Copenhagen: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Bulletin, E. N. (2010). Summary of the Cancun climate change conference: 29 November - 11 December 2010. Cancun: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Cabello, J. (2009). The politics of the Clean Development Mechanism: Hiding capitalism under the green rug. *In Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets*, edited by S. Böhm, and S. Dabhi, 192-202.
- Carvalho, A. (2005). Representing the politics of the greenhouse effect: Discursive strategies in the British media. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 2(1), 1-29.
- Carvalho, A. (2007). Communication global responsibility? Discourses on climate change and citizenship. *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 3(2): 180-183.
- Carvalho, A. (2007). Ideological cultures and media discourses on scientific knowledge: re-reading news on climate change. *Public Understanding of Science*, 16(2), 223-243.
- Carvalho, A. (2008). Media (ted) discourse and society: Rethinking the framework of critical discourse analysis. *Journalism studies*, 9(2), 161-177.
- Carvalho, A. (2010). Media (ted) discourses and climate change: a focus on political subjectivity and (dis) engagement. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 1(2), 172-179.
- Carvalho, A., & Burgess, J. (2005). Cultural circuits of climate change in UK broadsheet newspapers, 1985–2003. *Risk analysis*, 25(6), 1457-1469.

- Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (1994). Qualitative research in work contexts. *Qualitative methods in organizational research*, 1-13.
- Castree, N. (2006). From neoliberalism to neoliberalisation: consolations, confusions, and necessary illusions. *Environment and Planning A: international journal of urban and regional research*, 38(1), 1-6.
- Chapman, G. (1997). *Environmentalism and the Mass Media: The North--South Divide*: Psychology Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative research. *Sage Publications Ltd, London*.
- Cohen, B. C. (1963). The press and foreign policy. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Cohen, S. (1973). Deviance and panics. *Critical Readings: Moral Panics and the Media*, 29-40.
- Cottle, S. (1998). Ulrich Beck, 'Risk Society' and the Media A Catastrophic View? *European Journal of Communication*, 13(1), 5-32.
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). Research Design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Curran, J. P. (2005). What democracy requires of the media. *The Institutions of American Democracy: The Press*, 120-140.
- Davis, A. (2003) Whither mass media and power? Evidence for a critical elite theory alternative. *Media Culture & Society*, 25(5), 669 - 690.
- Deacon, D. (2007). *Researching communications: A practical guide to methods in media and cultural analysis*: Hodder Arnold.
- Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P., & Murdock, G. (2007) *Researching: a practical guide to methods in media and cultural analysis* (2nd ed.). London: Hodder Arnold.

- Denzin, Norman K., & Lincoln, Yvonna S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp.1-28). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Depledge, J. (2006). The opposite of learning: ossification in the climate change regime. *Global environmental politics*, 6(1), 1-22.
- Doulton, H., & Brown, K. (2009). Ten years to prevent catastrophe?: Discourses of climate change and international development in the UK press. *Global Environmental Change*, 19(2), 191-202.
- Downs, A. (1972). The issue–attention cycle. *The public interest*, 28, 38-50.
- Ebo, B. (1992). American media and African culture. *Africa's media image*, 15-25.
- Fair, J. E. (1993). The women of South Africa weep: explorations of gender and race in US television news. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 4(4), 283-294.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London and New York: Longman
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis: *Discourse and Society*, 3(2), 193-217.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). Orders of discourse. *Education Australia*, 30, 27-28.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*: Psychology Press.
- Forsyth, T. (2004). *Critical political ecology: The politics of environmental science*: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*: Pantheon.
- Galtung, J. (1971). A structural theory of imperialism. *Journal of Peace Research*, 81-117.

- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64-90.
- Garnham, N. (1993). The mass media, cultural identity, and the public sphere in the modern world. *Public Culture*, 5, 251-251.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*: Univ of California Press.
- Golding, P. (1994). Telling stories: sociology, journalism and the informed citizen. *European Journal of Communication*, 9(4), 461-484.
- Golding, P., & Harris, P. (1996). *Beyond cultural imperialism: Globalization, communication and the new international order* (Vol. 26): Sage.
- Golding, P., & Harris, P. (1997). Beyond cultural imperialism. *Globalization, Communication and the New International Order*. London: Thousand Oaks, California, Sage.
- Golding, P., & Murdock, G. (1991). Culture, communications and political economy. *Mass Media and Society*, 2, 15-32.
- Goldstein, J., & Keohane, R. O. (1993). Ideas and foreign policy: an analytical framework. *Ideas and foreign policy. Beliefs, institutions, and political change*, 3-30. Cornell University Press
- Gramsci, A., Nowell-Smith, G., & Hoare, Q. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci: Ed. and Transl. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith*: International Publishers.
- Group, G. M. (2000). Media organisations in society: Central Issues. In J. Curran (Ed.), *Media Organisations in Society*. London: Arnold.
- Guattari, F. (2000). The Three Ecologies, trans. *Paul Sutton*. London: Athlone.

- Habermas, J. (1989). The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, trans. Thomas Burger. *Cambridge: MIT Press*, 85, 85-92.
- Hachten, W. A., & Scotton, J. F. (2011). *The World News Prism: Challenges of Digital Communication*: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hall, S. (1978). Racism and reaction. *Five views of multi-racial Britain*, 23-35.
- Hall, S. (1980). Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms, *Media, culture and society* 2(1), 57-72
- Hall, S. (1992). The West and the Rest: Discourse and power. *The Indigenous Experience: Global Perspectives*, 165-173.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (Vol. 2): Sage.
- Hamelink, C. (1997). MacBride with hindsight. In P. G. a. P. Harris (Ed.), *Beyond cultural imperialism: Globalization, communication & the new international order* (pp. 69-93). London: Sage.
- Hamelink, C. J. (1983). *Cultural autonomy in global communications: planning national information policy*: Longman.
- Heck, M. C. (1974). *The ideological dimension of media messages*: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Herbert, G. (1980). *Deciding what's News. A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*: New York: First Vintage Books Editions.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *The Political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Herman, E. S., & McChesney, R. W. (1997). *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism*. London: Cassell.

- Hilgartner, S., & Bosk, C. L. (1988). The rise and fall of social problems: A public arenas model. *American journal of Sociology*, 53-78.
- Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- IPCC, 2013: Summary for Policymakers. In: Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [Stocker, T.F., D. Qin, G.-K. Plattner, M. Tignor, S.K. Allen, J. Boschung, A. Nauels, Y. Xia, V. Bex and P.M. Midgley (eds.)]. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA
- IPCC. (2007) Summary for Policymakers. In: Climate Change 2007: Mitigation. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [B. Metz, O.R. Davidson, P.R. Bosch, R. Dave, L.A. Meyer (eds)], Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.
- Jansen, Z. L. (2010). *Global News Flows: News Exchange Relationships Among News Agencies in South Africa*. Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Jansen, Z. L. (2013). International Media and Cultural Flows: A Critical Political Economy of Media Organisations in the 21st Century, A case of the Reuters News Agency. *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(1), 87-110. *Journal of Communication*, Volume 39(Issue 3), 180-195:142-155.
- Kellner, D. (2012). The Murdoch Media Empire and the Spectacle of Scandal. *International Journal of Communication*, 6, 32.
- King, N., Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (1994). Qualitative methods in organizational research: A practical guide. *The Qualitative Research Interview*.
- Krasner, S. D. (1978). *Defending the national interest: Raw materials investments and US foreign policy*: Princeton University Press.

- Kumi, E., Arhin, A. A., & Yeboah, T. (2014). Can post-2015 sustainable development goals survive neoliberalism? A critical examination of the sustainable development–neoliberalism nexus in developing countries. *Environment, development and sustainability*, 16(3), 539-554.
- Laksa, U. (2013). *Media coverage of international climate negotiations: assessing the ethical dimension of the global debate*. University of Liverpool.
- Lawrence, N. W. (1997). *Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Allen and Bacon (London).
- Lewis, J., & Ritchie, J. (2003). Generalising from qualitative research. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, 263-286.
- Liverman, D. (2004). Who governs, at what scale and at what price? Geography, environmental governance, and the commodification of nature. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94(4), 734-738.
- Louw, E. (2010). *The Media and Political Process*: SAGE Publications.
- Louw, P. E. (2010) *The media and political process*: 2nd edition. London: Sage.
- Marisa Dispensa, J., & Brulle, R. J. (2003). Media's social construction of environmental issues: focus on global warming-a comparative study. *International Journal of sociology and social policy*, 23(10), 74-105.
- Mathur, A., & van Aalst, M. K. (2004). *An adaptation mosaic: a sample of the emerging World Bank work in climate change adaptation*: World Bank Global Climate Change Team.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach: An interactive approach* (Vol. 41): Sage.
- McChesney, R. W. (2000). *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times*. New York: New York Press

- McChesney, R. W. (2000). The political economy of communication and the future of the field. *Media, Culture & Society*, 22(1), 109-116.
- McChesney, R. W. (2004). The political economy of international communications. *Who Owns the Media*. London: Zed, 3-22.
- McComas, K., & Shanahan, J. (1999). Telling stories about global climate change measuring the impact of narratives on issue cycles. *Communication Research*, 26(1), 30-57.
- McCright, A. M. (2007). Dealing with climate change contrarians. *Creating a climate for change: Communicating climate change and facilitating social change*, 200-212.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory. An introduction!*: London: SAGE Publication.
- Mimiko, O. (2012). *Globalization: The Politics of Global Economic Relations and International Business*. Durham
- Min, S. (2001). *Constructing ideology: a critical linguistic analysis of the Korea Herald*. The Three Circles of English. Edited by Edwin Thumboo. Singapore: UniPress, 115-132.
- Mowlana, H. (1988). *Communication and cultural development: A report from Iran*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Institute of Communications, Washington, DC.
- Murdock, G., & Golding, P. (1977). Capitalism, communication and class relations. In J. Curran, M. Gurevitch & J. Woolcott (Eds.), *Mass communication and society*. London: Routledge.
- Nelkin, N. (1986). Pains and pain sensations. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 129-148.
- Neuman, W. Lawrence (1997). *Social research methods, qualitative and quantitative approaches* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

- Neuzil, M. a. K., W. (1996). *Mass Media & Environmental Conflict: America's Green Crusades*. California: : Sage Publications.
- Nordenstreng, K. (1984). Bitter lessons. *Journal of communication*, 34(1), 138-142.
- Parks, B. C., & Roberts, J. T. (2008). Inequality and the global climate regime: breaking the north-south impasse. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 21(4), 621-648.
- Parks, B. C., & Roberts, J. T. (2010). Climate change, social theory and justice. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 27(2-3), 134-166.
- Pew Research Center. (2015) State of the Media. *Pew Resaerch Center* [Online]. 29 April <http://www.journalism.org/2015/04/29/newspapers-fact-sheet/> [Accessed 02 October 2015].
- Redclift, M., & Sage, C. (1998). Global Environmental Change and Global Inequality North/South Perspectives. *International Sociology*, 13(4), 499-516.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and selecting samples. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, 77-108.
- Rubin, J., & Rubin, S. (1995). *Qualitative Interviewing, The Art Of Hearing Data*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Sachsman, D. B. (1976). Public Relations Influence on Coverage of Environment in San Francisco Area. In *Journalism Quarterly*, Volume 53(Issue 11), 54-60.
- Sachsman, D., Ungar, S., Chalecki, E. L., & McKenzie, H. (2000). Influences on Pulic Understanding of Climate Change.
- Schiller, H. (1976). *Communication and Cultural Domination*. White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press Inc.
- Schiller, H. (1991). *Not yet the post-imperial era*: In Thussu, D.K (ed) (2010) *International Communication: A Reader*, pp 247-261. London: Routledge

- Seliger, H. W. (1977). Does practice make perfect?: a study of interaction patterns and competence. *Language learning*, 27(2), 263-278.
- Sparks, C. (1987). The readership of the British quality press. *Media, Culture & Society*, 9(4), 427-455.
- Sreberny, A. (1997). The Many Faces of Cultural Imperialism: In Golding, P. and Harris, P. (ed) *Beyond Cultural Imperialism, Globalisation, Communication and the New International Order*: pp 43-57. London: Sage
- Sreberny, A. (2008). The analytic challenges of studying the Middle East and its evolving media environment. *Middle East journal of culture and communication*, 1(1), 8-23.
- Takahashi, B., & Meisner, M. (2012). Climate change in Peruvian newspapers: The role of foreign voices in a context of vulnerability. *Public Understanding of Science*, 0963662511431204.
- Team, C. W., Pachauri, R., & Reisinger, A. (2007). IPCC 2007: climate change 2007: synthesis report. *Geneva: IPCC*.
- Team, C. W., Pachauri, R., & Reisinger, A. (2007). *Contribution of working groups I, II and III to the fourth assessment report of the intergovernmental panel on climate change*. Geneva: IPCC
- The Daily Telegraph. 2015. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Available from <http://global.britannica.com/topic/The-Daily-Telegraph> [Accessed 02 October 2015].
- The Guardian. (2015) *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Available from: <http://global.britannica.com/topic/The-Guardian-British-newspaper> [Accessed 02 October 2015].
- The New York Times. (2015) International Media Kit. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nytmmediakit-intl.com/newspapers/international-new-york-times/audience-circulation.aspx> [Accessed 03 October 2015].

- The New York Times. (2015) *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Available from: <http://global.britannica.com/topic/The-New-York-Times> [Accessed 02 October 2015].
- The Telegraph. [2015] Our audience. *The Telegraph* [Online] Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/advertising/audience/> [Accessed 06 October 2015].
- The Washington Post. (2015) *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Available from: <http://global.britannica.com/topic/The-Washington-Post> [Accessed 02 October 2015].
- Thomas, D. R. (2003). *A general inductive approach for qualitative data analysis*. School of Population Health, University of Auckland. *New Zealand*.
- Thussu, D. K. (2010). *International communication: A reader*. Routledge 1–10. Abingdon.
- UNDP (1994) Human Development Report 1994. Oxford.
- UNFCCC (1998) Kyoto protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. *UNFCCC*. [Online] Available from http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php [Accessed 29 April 2015]
- UNFCCC (2011) Status of ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. *UNFCCC*. [Online] Available from http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/status_of_ratification/items/2613.php [Accessed 29 April 2015].
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1989a). Mediating racism: The role of the media in the reproduction of racism. *Language, power and ideology: Studies in political discourse*, 199-226.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1989b). Structures of discourse and structures of power. *Communication yearbook*, 12, 18-59.
- Van Ginneken, J. (1998). *Understanding global news: A critical introduction*: Sage.

- Vasterman, P. (1995). *Media Hypes: A Framework for the Analysis of Publicity Waves*: septembre.
- Wade, R. H. (2003). What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The World Trade Organization and the shrinking of 'development space'. *Review of international political economy*, 10(4), 621-644.
- Weingart, P., Engels, A., & Pansegrau, P. (2000). Risks of communication: discourses on climate change in science, politics, and the mass media. *Public Understanding of Science*, 9(3), 261-283.
- Wilson, K. (1993). *Learning about Global Warming from the Media: A Study of Print and Electronic Media as Sources of Geographic Knowledge*. Colorado: University of Colorado.
- Wodak, R. (1991). Turning the tables: antisemitic discourse in post-war Austria. *Discourse & Society*, 2(1), 65-83.

Appendices

Appendix 1: News Stories

Vidal, J. (2014) Caribbean islands promised \$1bn in loans for move to clean energy. *The Guardian*. [Online] 7th February. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/feb/07/caribbean-islands-loans-clean-energy-richard-branson>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Vidal, J. (2014) Poor nations' climate change budget puts health and education funds at risk. *The Guardian*. [Online] 22nd September. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/sep/22/poor-nations-climate-change-budget-health-education>. [Accessed 23 March 2014].

Goldenberg, S. (2015) US will not commit to climate change aid for poor nations at UN summit. *The Guardian*. [Online] 20th September. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/sep/20/us-climate-change-aid-poor-nations-un-summit>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Rowling, M. (2014) Germany pledges \$1bn to UN climate change fund. *The Guardian*. [Online] 15th July. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/jul/15/germany-pledges-1bn-to-un-climate-change-fund>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Goldenberg, S. (2014) G20: Obama to pledge up to \$3bn to help poor countries on climate change. *The Guardian*. [Online] 14th November. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/nov/14/barack-obama-to-pledge-at-least-25bn-to-help-poor-countries-fight-climate-change>. [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Fritz, A. (2014) "We have to adapt" — President Obama announces new climate change actions. *The Washington Post*. [Online] 23rd September. Available from: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/capital-weather-gang/wp/2014/09/23/we-have-to-adapt-president-obama-announces-new-climate-change-actions/>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Eilperin, J. (2012) U.S. climate aid reaches across globe. *The Washington Post*. [Online] 2nd December. Available from: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/us-climate-aid-reaches-across-globe/2012/12/02/81380ebe-3812-11e2-8a97-363b0f9a0ab3_story.html. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Mooney, C. (2014) Obama's following Bush in helping poor countries fight climate change. Suddenly that's controversial. *The Washington Post*. [Online] 17th November. Available from:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/11/17/obama-wants-to-give-poor-countries-3-billion-to-fight-climate-change-republicans-might-block-him/>. [Accessed on 28 April 2015].

Warrick, J. and Muffson, S. (2014) Big Oil's heirs join call for action as climate summit opens. *The Washington Post*. [Online] 21st September. Available from: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/big-oils-heirs-join-call-for-action-as-climate-summit-opens/2014/09/21/ab27b1ce-40ea-11e4-b0ea-8141703bbf6f_story.html. [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Warrick, J. (2014). Kerry Urges Action on Climate Pact. *The Washington Post*. [Online] 12th December. Available from <https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-37478418.html>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Davenport, C. (2014) Obama Pursuing Climate Accord in Lieu of Treaty. *The New York Times*. [Online] 26th August. Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/27/us/politics/obama-pursuing-climate-accord-in-lieu-of-treaty.html?_r=0. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Harris, G. (2014) Coal Rush in India Could Tip Balance on Climate Change. *The New York Times*. [Online] 17th November. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/18/world/coal-rush-in-india-could-tip-balance-on-climate-change.html>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Porter, E. (2014) In Latin America, Growth Trumps Climate. *The New York Times*. [Online] 9th December. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/10/business/in-latin-america-growth-trumps-climate.html>. [Accessed 28 April 2015].

Davenport, C. and Landler, M. (2014) U.S. to Give \$3 Billion to Climate Fund to Help Poor Nations, and Spur Rich Ones. *The New York Times*. [Online] 14th November. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/15/us/politics/obama-climate-change-fund-3-billion-announcement.html>. [Accessed 16 October 2015].

Davenport, C. (2014) A Climate Accord Based on Global Peer Pressure. *The New York Times*. [Online] 14th December. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/15/world/americas/lima-climate-deal.html>. [Accessed 16 October 2015].

Gosden, E. (2014) One year to save the planet from climate change disaster, Ed Davey warns. *The Telegraph*. [Online] 30th November. Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/environment/climatechange/11262835/One-year-to-save-the-planet-from-climate-change-disaster-Ed-Davey-warns.html>. [Accessed 29 April 2015].

AFP. (2014) Deadlocked climate talks head for extra time. *The Telegraph*. [Online] 12th December. Available from:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/environment/11291637/Deadlocked-climate-talks-head-for-extra-time.html>. [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Gosden, E. (2014) Frantic efforts to save Lima climate change talks. *The Telegraph*. [Online] 13th December. Available from:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/southamerica/peru/11292469/Frantic-efforts-to-save-Lima-climate-change-talks.html>. [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Gosden, E. (2014) John Kerry: climate change science is 'screaming at us' and poorer nations must act to avoid 'tragedy'. *The Telegraph*. [Online] 12th December. Available from:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/environment/climatechange/11289136/John-Kerry-climate-change-science-is-screaming-at-us-and-poorer-nations-must-act-to-avoid-tragedy.html>. [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Lean, G. (2014) Will capitalism clean up the world? *The Telegraph*. [Online] 19th September. Available from:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/environment/climatechange/11109214/Will-capitalism-clean-up-the-world.html>. [Accessed 29 April 2015].