

**Media Coverage of
International Climate Negotiations:
Assessing the Ethical Dimension
of the Global Debate**

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requirements of the University of Liverpool for
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by

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List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CO ₂	Carbon dioxide
COP15	The 15 th Session of the Conference of the Parties
COP16	The 16 th Session of the Conference of the Parties
DK	Denmark
DR	Danmarks Radio
EU	European Union
FO	Faroe Islands
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KVF	Kringvarp Føroya
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
US	United States
USA	United States of America

Abstract

This study explores the mediatisation of political challenges involved in addressing climate change, in particular relation to the United Nations framework in place to tackle the issue. Climate change is one of the most urgent issues of our time and extensive international collaboration is required in order to deal with it appropriately. Due to the nature of climate change, this thesis argues that ethical considerations should be at the core of public debates. Addressing climate change will require the implementation of drastic and often expensive measures, which might be particularly challenging to 'western' way of life. The media provides a crucial forum for debating the challenges climate change poses to our societies. This thesis examines how the issue is represented in the television and print media in three European countries: the United Kingdom, Denmark and the Faroe Islands during two global conferences on climate change, COP15 and COP16. This is backed up by examination of the ideal role of the media within liberal democracies and how such a role can be used as a benchmark against which to measure coverage. The thesis applies an ethical lens to the three different national media and their treatment of climate change to explore how the issue is made meaningful to the public. It examines the prominence of different ethical arguments – divided into cosmopolitan and communitarian positions - within public debates on climate change. It develops a comprehensive framework that identifies the key issues in the debate over climate change, and how ethical positions figure within them.

Through the application of this analytical framework, this thesis seeks to shed light on the overall quality of public debate on the main issues around climate change in the respective countries. It also considers the extent to which media coverage in the United Kingdom, Denmark and the Faroe Islands could represent an emerging transnational public sphere on climate change. These questions are addressed through a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of climate change coverage. The approach deployed means that the study is able to examine in a systematic fashion how values underpin the debate on climate change in the respective countries. This thesis also brings a much-needed comparative dimension to the analysis of media coverage of climate change. The findings demonstrate that political ideology plays a stronger role in shaping coverage in the UK context, whilst its role is less significant in Denmark and the Faroe Islands. The analysis also identifies some strong similarities in coverage across the countries, both with respect to the quantity of coverage, the topics and values emphasised. In addition, the thesis concludes that coverage across the three countries could indicate an emerging transnational public sphere on climate change.

*To Sam, my greatest treasure,
for fetching me the Sun, the Moon and the stars.*

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Introduction

“Given the nature and magnitude of the challenge, national action alone is insufficient. No nation can address this challenge on its own. No region can insulate itself from these climate changes. That is why we need to confront climate change within a global framework, one that guarantees the highest level of international cooperation that is necessary.” (Ki-Moon 2007)

The UN secretary General’s Ban Ki-moon’s statement summarises very well the challenges that climate change poses to the world community. Since the emergence of the issue on the political agenda in the 1980s, climate change has been transformed from being only an environmental or scientific issue. These days it “permeates our individual, as well as shared economic, political, cultural and social lives” (Boykoff 2011b: 1).

The consequences of climate change are arguably already experienced across the world. There is a strong scientific consensus that human beings are responsible for these climatic changes through their emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere (IPCC 2007a; Royal Society 2009). The scientific community stresses with confidence that without substantial global reductions of greenhouse gas emissions we can expect a world of increasing droughts, floods, heat waves, tropical storms, species loss, rising seas and displaced human populations (IPCC 2007a; Royal Society 2009). Furthermore, the evidence for “dangerous, long-term and potentially irreversible climate change” has strengthened in the last few years (Royal Society 2009). This makes the issue all the more urgent to address.

The consequences of climate change hit various parts of the world differently (IPCC 2007a) with the effect that countries most vulnerable to climate change are also those least able to cope with the consequences and least responsible for causing it (Schneider & Lane 2006). Additionally, climate change will also impact future generations, who have played no part in creating the problem, the hardest (Gardiner 2010a; Page 2006; Shue 2010a). This means that there is an obvious moral dimension to the problem of climate change, a facet which has been recognised by the global institutions addressing the issue (UNFCCC 1992). As Dr. Pachauri, the chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) stated: “The impacts of climate change are going to be inequitable, unequal, and

severe in many parts of the world [...] We have to think at a much higher level. And I think this is where ethics comes in so critically as the missing dimension in this debate" (One Country 2009). This thesis acknowledges that climate change is by its very nature an ethical issue and develops from a position that "...a nuanced understanding of ethics is essential for the development of effective and legitimate policies to manage climate change" (Page 2006: 3). By 'ethics', this thesis refers to well-founded standards of right and wrong that deal with what people ought to do in terms of rights, obligations, benefits to society or fairness (Andre & Velasquez 1987). As such, ethics is concerned with the evaluation of our own moral beliefs and conduct, and ensuring that we and the institutions we shape, live up to those standards (Andre & Velasquez 1987; Page 2006).

In view of the above, it is essential that the countries of the world collaborate in reaching a global agreement on reducing global carbon emissions substantially. In this context the media have a critical task on their hands - they play a crucial role in societal deliberations on how best to resolve common problems. The annual United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) conferences are at the heart of such negotiations. Exploring media coverage of these is of fundamental importance since these climate summits, in their capacity as the main forum for addressing climate change at the global level, represent 'critical discourse moments' (Chilton 1987; Gamson 1992). As such, they bring issues to public attention. They represent an opportunity for actors to re-impose existing frames or provide new frames for those issues (Chilton 1987; Gamson 1992), and are crucial in the construction of debates (Carvalho 2008). This thesis focuses on media performance, in its coverage of climate change, during two such conferences – COP15 which took place in Copenhagen in December 2009 and COP16 which took place in Cancun in December 2010 – in three countries (UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands). It does this by developing a methodology which seeks to examine the ethical dimension of this coverage. Whilst the Copenhagen conference catapulted climate change from the periphery of politics into the mainstream, the following conference in Cancun exemplified the diminishing political attention world leaders dedicated to the issue (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009, 2010). Although neither conference managed to reach a legally binding deal, these conferences were arguably key moments in the internationalised development of the issue.

It has already been suggested that the media have a crucial role to play within public debates. As an essential component of the public sphere, the media play an important role in communicating ideas and connecting civil society and political institutions (Habermas 1996). A healthy and broad-reaching public debate is considered crucial for the democratic process (Dahlgren 1995). According to a Habermasian understanding of deliberative forms of democracy, a public debate which partially (or perhaps completely) overlooks the ethical aspects of climate change, would be inadequate and would represent a dereliction of one of the media's most crucial functions. Arguably, the possibility of reaching a fair climate agreement partially depends upon the media's ability to sustain a comprehensive debate on the issue that incorporates conflicting ethical perspectives - thereby contributing to the arrival at solutions leading to effective action. For those in developed countries who believe that urgent action is required, convincing a sufficient majority of citizens poses a challenge for several reasons. Firstly, because the most serious consequences happen to people in distant places, or to future generations and secondly, since addressing climate change requires the implementation of drastic and often expensive measures, which might be challenging to western way of life. Therefore how the issue is presented in the media becomes crucial to public debate and deliberation. The role of the media, then, exceeds that of a mere conduit of information. The media set the parameters for debate by selecting a "...few elements of a perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation" (Entman 2007: 164).

How can we evaluate or measure the performance of the media when it comes to addressing climate change? This question pre-supposes assumptions about the ways and extent to which the media fulfil their functions in a democratic society (See, for instance: Anderson & Ward 2007; Graber 2003), which this thesis will explore. Considering the global nature of climate change, there is an additional issue in terms of how the national links to the international. Overly parochial debates that focus on national interests are unlikely to help in the goal of securing coordinated action across the world. If we accept this, then there is either: 1) a need for a more internationalised public debate where national and international public spheres are interconnected or 2) there is a need for national debates to incorporate universalistic values. This thesis explores the latter by

examining the prominence of different ethical arguments – divided into cosmopolitan and communitarian positions - within public debates on climate change. It will do this by developing a comprehensive framework that identifies the key challenges in the debate over climate change, and how ethical positions (categorised as cosmopolitan/communitarian) figure within them. It then applies this to media coverage of Copenhagen and Cancun in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. The conclusion of the thesis will discuss briefly whether international climate negotiations such as those considered here may provide the possibility of coverage resembling a transnational public sphere.

Research to Date and its Limitations

Research on the media coverage of climate change has been steadily increasing, especially in the last decade (Anderson 2009). However, this body of literature has focused predominantly on print media (particularly broadsheet/quality press) mostly in Anglophone countries. This means that not only is our understanding of media content somewhat Anglo centric, but the ways in which television and tabloid press engage with climate change has also been underexplored overall. This is a significant gap, especially considering the often high circulation figures of the tabloid press (*Guardian* 2011a) and the high audience figures for television news (BBC 2011b). Furthermore, television has been identified not only as the public's main source of political information, but also the most trusted one (Edelman Trust 2012; Globescan 2006; Ofcom 2007). Therefore it is necessary to explore how these media perform in relation to climate change. Furthermore, research has also tended to focus on a single country. As a result, comparative studies, examining the nature of coverage in a range of countries using the same analytical framework have been hard to come by. Consequently, there has been little analysis focusing on how the national context might influence coverage.

The academic literature has used a wide range of theoretical frameworks to explore and explain media coverage of climate change. The literature suggests that issues such as ideology (Carvalho 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Good 2008), journalistic norms (Boykoff & Boykoff 2004, 2007; Boykoff & Rajan 2007), news values (Smith 2005), politics (Boykoff 2007b; Boykoff & Boykoff 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Gavin 2007a; Shanahan & Good 2000; Wilkins 1993) and the relationship between the media

and science (Smith 2005; Weingart, Engels, & Pansegrau 2000) can all play an important role in shaping coverage of climate change. Whilst this existing body of research has added to our overall understanding of media coverage of climate change, none of this research has focused on climate justice – a significant gap considering the ethical challenges that climate change poses. Therefore there is currently a lack of understanding about the way in which the media communicate the key values, or ethical dimensions surrounding the debate over climate change issues and their global effects. As such, a more rounded analysis of public debates at the level of values is essential. Particularly since the fundamental challenge is to shift societal values in order to create the context for painful sacrifices or international agreement on climate change. This thesis argues that how the media construct the values that underpin the climate change debate is of fundamental importance.

The analysis which follows addresses this particular gap in knowledge. In order to do this, the thesis examines how, and in what ways, ethics form part of the debate on the key challenges of climate change in press and television coverage in three European countries, the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. It does this by looking at the period leading up to, during and following two key United Nations conferences – COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009 and COP16 in Cancun in 2010. In doing so, the thesis also brings a much needed comparative dimension to the analysis of media coverage of climate change. This allows the study to include analysis of how national factors might influence the shape of the coverage. The benefit of such an approach is that the differences and similarities across countries might also help flag up some of the factors that were perhaps overlooked in previous studies.

In empirical terms, the study consists of a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of climate change coverage. Values are analysed and categorised through the application of a spectrum of ethical positions under the categories of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. This approach means that the study is able to examine in a systematic fashion how values underpin the debate on climate change in the respective countries. The thesis argues that the possibility of reaching a fair climate agreement partially depends upon the ability of media to inform citizens of the inherent injustices of climate change and the importance of taking bold action.

Research Objectives

Although research on mediated coverage has increased substantially in the last decade, there are nevertheless, a range of important questions that are left either completely or partially unaddressed. Thus, in view of the discussion above, the contribution that this thesis seeks to make to our understanding of mediated climate change centres around the following key questions:

1. What is the overall quality of the public debate on key issues around climate change in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands?
 - a. What is the quantity of the coverage and how does this differ between media outlets and across various countries?
 - b. How are the different issues around climate change represented in the three countries? Which topics are presented and which are overlooked? How does this compare across the countries?
 - c. How do television and the press differ in their coverage of the key issues around climate change?
 - d. Which voices are given most prominence in the ethical discussions on climate change?
 - e. What are the implications of the above for public understanding around climate change?
2. How do ethics underpin the public debate on climate change?
 - a. To what extent and in what manner do the media put forward cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in their discussion of key topics concerning climate change?
 - b. Are either cosmopolitan or communitarian perspectives more frequently detected in relation to certain topics or themes?
 - c. Are certain actors more connected to certain themes or cosmopolitan and communitarian arguments?
 - d. What are the likely implications of the above for public support for the global efforts to combat climate change?

3. To what extent does media coverage in UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands indicate an emerging transnational public sphere on climate change?
 - a. Is there evidence of synchronisation, i.e. are there similar levels of attention dedicated to climate change across the outlets and countries?
 - b. To which extent is homogenisation taking place, i.e. are there similar themes, arguments and perspectives presented within the countries?
 - c. In what ways is a common global discourse a feature of the coverage?

Structure of the Thesis

The analysis proceeds in seven chapters. Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to climate change and its complex nature. It sets the context for the subsequent analysis by introducing the current state of knowledge on the issue, the global efforts in mitigating and adapting to climate change. In doing so, it provides an overview of the two conferences, COP15 in Copenhagen and COP16 in Cancun, subject to analysis here. The chapter also highlights the ethical challenges that climate change presents to our society and outlines six key themes which inform the development of the coding scheme.

Chapter 2 deals with the literature on the media's role in society, highlighting the normative ideals that it should aspire to fulfil. These are used as a yardstick against which to measure the coverage. The chapter also critically reviews existing research on mediated climate change and identifies the gaps in the literature that this thesis seeks to address.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of the study. It introduces the analytical framework and demonstrates how normative political theory has been used to develop the analytical framework. It discusses the concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism in the context of climate change and the value of using these in the analysis. It also details the techniques and analytical framework deployed in the analysis, highlighting the benefits of comparative analysis in the current context. The chapter also provides an overview of the Faroese, Danish and British media systems and outlets subject to analysis.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 mirror each other. Each applies the analytical framework to the three cases and presents the findings of this analysis. Each chapter deals with press and television

coverage and discusses the findings in relation to the research questions outlined above as well as the literature on mediated climate change.

Chapter 7 brings together all the findings from Chapter 4, 5 and 6. It compares and contrasts the coverage in the various countries across both press and television. It addresses the research questions in a comparative manner and draws conclusions concerning the nature of media coverage of climate change.

The conclusion draws together the findings of the analysis. It discusses the research questions and what the conclusions suggest about the nature of media coverage of climate ethics in the respective countries. It also suggests directions for further research.

Chapter 1 - Climate Change as a Global Issue

Introduction

Climate change, arguably, is one of the most pressing issues of our time and presents fundamental political and social challenges to our societies. It is a multifaceted global issue, which is closely interrelated with various other global problems. In order to implement effective climate solutions, extensive international collaboration is required at various levels, since no single actor can solve climate change. This chapter serves as an introduction to climate change and its complicated nature. This is of crucial importance as an understanding of the complex nature of climate change and its politics is essential in order to assess its media coverage. The chapter is organised in two main parts. The first part will introduce briefly the current state of knowledge concerning the science of climate change, before examining the global political efforts in mitigating and adapting to climate change. In doing so, it will first focus on the structure of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto protocol, followed by an overview of the two climate conferences - COP15 and COP16 - that are subject to examination in this thesis. The second part of the chapter focuses on the ethical dimension of climate change, highlighting the challenges that it presents to society, as viewed by the UNFCCC and the academic literature on the subject.

1.1. Climate Change and the Global Climate Regime

1.1.1. IPCC and the Science of Climate Change

The discussion of climate change is best grounded on a solid understanding of the most significant scientific information about it. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the leading international body for the assessment of climate change (IPCC 2011), was established in 1988 by the World Meteorological Association and the United Nations Environment Programme. It currently has 194 member states (IPCC 2011). The IPCC's role is to provide member governments with a clear scientific assessment of the "...available information on the science, the impacts, and the economics of—and the options for mitigating and/or adapting to—climate change" (IPCC 2001). In doing so, the IPCC does not conduct its own research but reviews and assesses the most recent scientific, technical and socio-economic information produced worldwide relevant to the understanding of climate change (IPCC 2011). Thousands of scientists across the world contribute to the IPCC whose role is to "...provide, on request, scientific/technical/socio-economic advice to the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)" (IPCC 2001). This puts the IPCC at the centre of international efforts for dealing with climate change. However, it is important to acknowledge that while the IPCC is very policy relevant, at the same time it must be "...policy-neutral, never policy prescriptive" (IPCC 2011).

To date the IPCC has submitted four comprehensive assessment reports on the current state of knowledge concerning climate change – in 1990, 1995, 2001 and 2007. Each of the assessment reports has, in turn, had a higher level of confidence in that the earth is getting warmer and that human activity is a significant contributor (IPCC 2007a). Moreover, IPCC (2007a) states that global increases in CO₂ concentrations are due primarily to fossil fuel use. Due to the lagging effect of climate change and the fact that carbon dioxide is a long lived gas, the changes to the climate are not the result of current emissions, and therefore our current emissions will not be felt until some time in the future (Gardiner

2010a). This means that a certain increase in global mean temperature and sea level rise is unavoidable due to past emissions (IPCC 2007a). As a result, the IPCC (2007a) highlights the importance of reducing carbon emissions very quickly. The IPCC states that temperature increases from 1980 – 1999 levels are likely to range between an increase of 1.1 – 6.4°C depending on a range of emissions scenarios by the end of the century (IPCC 2007a: 45). There is wide agreement that any temperature rise above 2°C would have catastrophic consequences for the world.

“It is probably too late to avoid some impacts, including major ones in developing countries, because about 1°C of warming is already in the climate system [...] if warming is not kept below 2°C (which will require the strongest of mitigation efforts, and currently looks very unlikely to be achieved), then substantial global impacts will occur, such as: species extinctions and millions of people at risk from drought, hunger and flooding, etc.” (IPCC 2007b)

Additionally, sea level is estimated to rise by approximately between 0.2 – 0.6 metres by the end of the century from 1980 – 1999 levels (IPCC 2007a: 45). However, these ranges can be much higher in the longer term as both past and future CO₂ emissions will continue to contribute to warming and sea level rise for more than a millennium, due to the time scales required for removal of this gas from the atmosphere (IPCC 2007a). Additionally, extreme weather events (flooding, drought, heat waves, tropical storms etc) are also becoming increasingly likely (IPCC 2007a).

The conclusions of the IPCC have been endorsed by national science academies across the world, such as the National Academies of Sciences in the United States, Russia, India, China, Brazil and the Royal Society in the United Kingdom (National Academies 2005). The Royal Society (2009) further endorsed the conclusions of the IPCC in 2009, and stressed that since the publication of the Fourth Assessment Report “...the scientific evidence for dangerous, long-term and potentially irreversible climate change has strengthened significantly.”

The consequences of climate change are, and will be, experienced differently across the world. The IPCC (2007a) has identified small island nations, Africa, low lying regions and coastal areas, Asian mega-deltas and Himalayan glaciers as the most vulnerable to climate change. It is important to state that vulnerability both depends on the physical changes in

the climate projected for the region, as well as on the ability of certain areas to adapt to the changes. Therefore, IPCC (2007a: 65) highlights that Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents “...because of the range of projected impacts, multiple stresses and low adaptive capacity”. They also project substantial risks due to sea level rise for Asian mega-deltas and for small island communities (IPCC 2007a). For example, a sea level rise of 0.5 meters would place around 6 million people in Bangladesh at risk from flooding (National Academies 2005). So, 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. Hence, they have only emitted a negligible proportion of CO₂ and therefore have not contributed to creating the problem. This begins to highlight a crucial ethical dimension of climate change that will be discussed later in the chapter. However, in order to prepare for the analysis of media content, this chapter will first give a brief overview of the UN climate regime and the international efforts to address climate change, including a summary of the two recent climate conferences that are analysed in this thesis.

1.1.2. Global Efforts to Address Climate Change

The international efforts to combat climate change started with the adoption of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. Its aim was to stabilise greenhouse gas concentrations in order to avoid dangerous climate change (UNFCCC 1992). The Convention currently (2013) has 195 parties, 194 states and the European Union.

UNFCCC holds negotiations throughout the year culminating in the annual conferences of the parties (COPs). The most substantial international agreement that has been reached to combat climate change is the 1997 Kyoto Protocol (UNFCCC 1998), which entered into force in 2005 and is closely linked to the Convention. The Kyoto Protocol commits Annex I countries, i.e. industrialised countries and countries in transition to a market economy, to reduce their overall emissions of greenhouse gases by an average of 5.2 percent below the 1990 levels, between 2008 – 2012 (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). However, the emission reduction targets vary from country to country. Importantly, the Kyoto Protocol does not include any commitments for developing countries and the

consequences of this particular decision are still experienced in negotiations today (Depledge 2005), as some of those countries are already major greenhouse gas emitters. The Kyoto Protocol's commitment period was set to expire in 2012, which makes reaching a new binding agreement a matter of some urgency if mitigation efforts are not to be stalled. 190 countries have now ratified the Kyoto Protocol. In practice, this means that countries which are responsible for about 63.7 percent of the world's emissions have now ratified it (UNFCCC 2011b). However, the US is the only major actor, which has never ratified the Protocol.

A significant step on the way to replacing the Kyoto Protocol were the COP13 negotiations in Bali, Indonesia, where the Bali Road Map was adopted. This included planning a two-year negotiating process, where the deadline for completing the negotiations was set to be at the COP15 in Copenhagen. COP13 established two key bodies: the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA) and the Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex I parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP). They both have had several negotiating sessions between the COPs (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). However, these negotiating sessions have a much lower profile as they are preparatory for the annual conferences. Both recent COP15 and COP16 climate change conferences (in Copenhagen and Cancun respectively) examined in this thesis were part of the effort to reach a new more ambitious legally binding agreement.

The COP15 took place between 7 – 19 December 2009. The deadline for reaching an agreement on legally binding emissions reductions was set for this occasion, so both pressure and expectations were very high. Prior to the conference ambitious statements were made by leaders from across the world about the necessity of reaching a deal. These were echoed in the world's media. These statements of political will further raised expectations (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). Copenhagen was widely seen as an historic opportunity for the world to unite against climate change. 115 heads of state and government attended the conference, which was considered the largest high-level UN gathering outside New York. More than 40,000 people applied for accreditation at the conference, and Copenhagen was full of activists who had travelled from all over the world

in order to try and convince the negotiating parties that action was imperative. The media also had an unprecedented level of personnel at the conference, with about 4,000 media workers in Copenhagen (Painter 2010). In fact, it could be argued that climate change had never been higher on both media and political agendas than at the time of the conference.

In terms of the actual negotiations, COP15 was characterised by a lot of drama. Overall, it was marked by “...bitter divisions, confusion and setbacks...” (Diringer, Cecys, Patodia, & Bodansky 2009: 2). The negotiations did not start well when a draft text, which only had been seen by a few countries, was leaked to the *Guardian*. This leaked draft resulted in a lot of mistrust and suspicion about the transparency of the process, especially on the part of the developing countries (Diringer et al. 2009; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). These complaints about the lack of transparency and the undemocratic process characterised the remainder of the conference as well, resulting in temporary suspension of negotiations and walkouts. This also meant that a lot of the focus was on procedural issues, and less so on the substantial issues of the negotiations. Additionally, there were clear problems with regards to the involvement of civil society who after applying for accreditation could not be accommodated into the Bella Centre. The number of civil society and observer organisations was reduced to next to nothing during the last few days of the conference, resulting in a lot of anger from NGOs, who claimed that exclusion would be damaging for the outcome of the negotiations (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). There were also a lot of ‘friends of the chair’ consultations. During these, countries came together to negotiate in small groups, rather than including all the different parties the whole time. Again, this added further to the concerns about the transparency of the process (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). The Danish hosts came under heavy criticism for their poor leadership during the negotiations, both from delegations, stakeholders and the media (Streck et al. 2011). Another key feature which characterised the conference was the deadlock between the two main protagonists, US and China, especially concerning financing for developing countries and the international monitoring process for emissions targets (Diringer et al. 2009), which China felt would undermine its national sovereignty.

Several observers saw the COP15 negotiations as a complete disaster (Dimitrov 2010b; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). Overall, the conference did not reach a legally binding

agreement as intended. However, the COP 'took note' of a Copenhagen Accord, which was negotiated by a small number of countries behind closed doors in the final hours of the conference, even after the scheduled end of the conference. These parties included the US and the major emerging economies: China, South Africa, India and Brazil (Diringer et al. 2009; Roberts 2011). Many delegates first saw this text on the Internet, before it had been officially produced by the UNFCCC, resulting in strong statements of discontent from various countries. Still, despite serious doubts about the procedure during the negotiations, the majority of the parties supported the Copenhagen Accord (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009).

Overall, the Copenhagen Accord faced strong criticism for being too vague, not legally binding, and a step backward from the Kyoto Protocol (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). The parties agreed (amongst other things) to a target of limiting the temperature increase to 2° Celsius with a possibility of reviewing this goal to 1.5° Celsius at a later stage. They also agreed on broad terms in relation to the reporting and verification of the individual countries' actions (UNFCCC 2009b). The most successful part of the Accord was probably with regard to the financing for developing countries, which had been a key element of the negotiations (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). The parties agreed to a collective commitment by developed countries for \$30 billion in new and additional resources in the short term, i.e. in 2010-2012. This was to help developing countries reduce emissions, preserve forests and adapt to climate change. A further goal of mobilising \$100 billion a year in both public and private funds by 2020 to address developing countries' needs was also acknowledged. The most vulnerable countries would be given priority when it came to funds for adaptation (UNFCCC 2009b). However, as pointed out before, the Copenhagen Accord was merely a political declaration, not a binding document. Dimitrov (2010b) argues that there are three reasons why the Copenhagen Accord was weak:

“First, it is a nonbinding political declaration. Second, the text is light on policy content, with no global targets for aggregate emission reductions to ensure environmental results. Third, the Conference of Parties did not formally adopt the Accord as an official decision, and the text remains a free-floating agreement without institutional home” (Dimitrov 2010b: 815).

However, despite such strong criticisms of the Copenhagen Accord, it did reach some consensus on some difficult issues, including adaptation and mitigation by developing

countries and the nature of both short and long-term finance (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009).

The sixteenth Conference of the Parties (COP16), held in Cancun in Mexico from 29 November – 11 December 2010 could not be less similar to COP15. In fact, on that occasion, expectations for a legally binding agreement were very modest, media coverage was limited and relatively few heads of state and government attended (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). Additionally, the hosts were very careful in trying to restore faith in the UNFCCC process through their commitment to a more transparent and inclusive process than that used in Copenhagen (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010; Streck et al. 2011). The Mexican Presidency ensured that civil society groups were kept informed and given a chance to participate during regular open sessions. Despite this, there were some disagreements concerning the process, with Bolivia expressing discontent, arguing that the reached agreement was too weak and immoral (Diringer, Cecys, & Patodia Rastogi 2010; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010; Roberts 2011). However, the vast majority of countries were satisfied with the process and lauded the Mexican Presidency for their role in the negotiations (Diringer et al. 2010).

Both conferences have followed a twin track approach with negotiations taking place within the two main bodies AWG – LCA (Convention Track) and AWG – KP (Protocol Track). The former body works on negotiating a long-term new agreement under the Convention, whilst the latter is concerned with negotiating a second commitment period for Kyoto with binding post – 2012 emissions targets for developed countries. There are two major concerns with regard to extending the Kyoto Protocol. Parties to it do not accept a second commitment period without some corresponding pledge from the US, who never ratified it. Secondly, Kyoto does not include the major emerging economies. Therefore there is a need to negotiate along the second track, which takes into account the major emitters, such as the US, China, Brazil, India etc. This was a major hurdle in Cancun, as countries such as Japan, Canada and Russia expressed their reluctance to continue with the Protocol (Diringer et al. 2010; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010; Streck et al. 2011). Developing countries, however, were very keen on the continuation of the

Kyoto Protocol as that is the only legally binding international agreement which forces developed countries to reduce their emissions (Goldenberg 2010).

In practice the negotiations in Cancun went across both tracks, as mitigation pledges and future binding outcomes needed to be anchored into the Convention track and therefore the outcomes were brought together under one umbrella (Diringer et al. 2010; Streck et al. 2011). The COP16 actually did reach an agreement, although some would say that this represented only minor steps towards reducing emissions and therefore mitigating climate change (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). In fact, it is clear that current emission pledges fall far short of avoiding dangerous climate change (Streck et al. 2011). However, important progress was made on several issues, including bringing the mitigation targets and actions of industrialised and developing countries formally under the UNFCCC process. Additionally, the agreement established the Green Climate Fund (a 'technology mechanism') and the Cancun Adaptation Framework, whose purpose is to help countries - especially developing ones - mitigate, adapt and reduce their vulnerability to climate change through technology transfers and financing for adaptation to climate change (UNFCCC 2010b). However, the major achievement of Cancun was the restoration of faith in the UN process and the ability of the international community to work together to address climate change (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010).

It is clear that having almost 200 negotiating parties and taking decisions by consensus on such a challenging issue is very difficult at the best of times. The parties are very diverse. They have different interests, capabilities and responsibilities for creating and solving the problem of climate change (Giddens 2009). Depledge (2005) argues that the defining characteristics of these negotiations are two fold, complexity and inequality. Due to the diversity of national circumstances, which are shaped by vulnerability to climate change, level of development, economic dependence to sale of fossil fuels, and emissions per capita, there were are obviously a wide range of preferences for particular outcomes or lack thereof. Additionally broader issues such as inequalities of wealth, power and stage of development also shape the range of possible preferences (Depledge 2005).

In view of the number of parties to the Convention, it is natural and actually necessary that negotiating blocs are formed (Berridge 2010). This simplifies the process in most cases, but in others also complicates it, as there are a wide range of preferences within these groups as well (Depledge 2005; Roberts 2011). One of the most important coalitions is the ‘Group of G77 plus China’, which is the main one for developing countries and has about 130 members (UNFCCC 2011a). Other negotiating groups, like the Alliance of Small Islands States (AOSIS), the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and, more recently, the new very important bloc BASIC (which consists of emerging economies, Brazil, South Africa, India and China), are closely linked with the G77, although they negotiate independently. The presence of smaller groups means that the negotiations are becoming increasingly complex and fragmented. The implication is that countries can make alliances with several groups depending on the particular issue at hand and how it relates to their national interest. The coalition of G77 and China is unable to reflect such specific and multi-dimensional concerns, although the bloc still plays a crucial role in coordinating the developing countries’ stances on foundational issues (Roberts 2011). The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) also participates in the process (UNFCCC 2011a), as does the European Union which considers itself a champion of ‘combating climate change’. Given the different circumstances of the actors in these coalitions, it is unavoidable that there will be disagreements within these alliances, although some negotiating blocs such as the EU are more cohesive than others (Depledge 2005).

Depledge summarises some of the key challenges with the UN process very well in stating that:

“A key challenge for the climate change negotiations since their inception has been a strong tendency to competitiveness, rather than cooperation, among the negotiating parties. This is partly the result of the high political stakes of climate change, including concerns over national economic interests and competitiveness as well as the long-term horizon of the problem, which has led to a focus on short-term costs rather than on benefits that would only accrue in the future. The 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 2005: 32).

Therefore it is apparent that reaching an agreement on climate change amongst such a range of diverse actors is a very challenging task.

1.2. The Political Challenges of Climate Change

1.2.1. The Multifaceted Nature of Climate Change

The previous section highlighted the challenges posed by climate change and the difficulties in finding a global agreement on the problem. Considering that climate change is such a complex and global issue, addressing it will also have fundamental implications for other internationalised issues. For instance, research suggests that climate change will affect both security and development across the world (See Barnett 2003; Barnett & Adger 2007; Busby 2008, 2010; Davidson et al. 2003; Dodds, Higham, & Sherman 2009; Markandya & Halsnaes 2002; Penny 2007). This further highlights how politics and notions of justice are central to the challenges of climate change. Firstly, climate change is a challenge for food and water security. This, in conjunction with the threat posed by rising sea levels will most likely result in increased forced migrations, which then might trigger violent conflicts (Barnett 2003; Brown, Hammill, & Mcleman 2007; Reuveny 2007, 2008). In addition to the danger of global warming resulting in violent conflict, some of the other ways in which climate change can be seen as a security issue have been highlighted by Barnett (2003: 9) who argues that it has the potential to:

“...Undermine individual and collective economic livelihood; affect human health through reduced availability of freshwater and food, and by exposing people to new disease vectors; undermine state wealth and military capability; and exacerbate inequalities between people”

Climate change is also very likely to impact on the extreme weather events, resulting in more natural disasters and therefore also humanitarian crises. Natural disasters already present a major security threat with about 188 million people a year from 1990 – 1999 affected by natural disasters. Many of these become either refugees or internally displaced persons making them very vulnerable to disease, malnutrition, loss of income, crime, violence and conflict in general (Purvis & Busby 2004). These consequences of climate change have prompted policy makers and NGOs to consider the link between global security and climate change (See Blyth & Lefevre 2004; CNA Corporation 2007; Dupont

& Pearman 2006; UNDP 1994). It has even been discussed at the UN Security Council (Brown et al. 2007), where it was highlighted that climate change is not just a narrow national security issue – rather that it is about “...our collective security in a fragile and increasingly interdependent world...” (UN Security Council 2007). Climate change will also be a real challenge from an energy security perspective since nations will have to ensure a steady power supply for the future whilst reducing their emissions and their reliance on fossil fuels (Jha 2008; Steiner 2009).

The second group of global issues intrinsically linked to climate change are development and poverty. This is because global warming will hit certain regions hardest - often the less developed and poorer countries, making them more vulnerable to changes in the climate (Luterbacher & Sprinz 2001). Similarly, and as with the security dimension of the issue, increasing efforts are being made in researching what implications changing global weather might have for development and poverty and vice versa (see Busby 2010; Davidson et al. 2003; Dodds et al. 2009; Dodds & Pippard 2005; Gordon 2007; Markandya & Halsnaes 2002; Roberts & Parks 2007).

Although it is clear that climate change poses significant risks to all human beings in the long run, many people coming from a development perspective would argue that there are more critical issues, such as hunger, disease, and education, which affect people immediately. Still, it is essential to consider that even in the short term, climate is an essential resource for development, and in many countries existing levels of climatic variability and extreme weather events already pose significant risks for agriculture, economic infrastructure and vulnerable households (Downing, Munasinghe, & Depledge 2003). Additionally it is accepted that climate change impacts are exacerbated by levels of development. Therefore it is crucial for countries to develop in order to make them better equipped in dealing with the consequences of climate change. Huq, Reid and Murray (2006) argue that climate change consequences significantly affect development, especially in the poorest countries. Therefore they argue that it is essential that these two policy areas - climate change and development - ought to reinforce each other (Huq et al. 2006). Furthermore, it could be argued that unsustainable development is the underlying cause of climate change. It has been suggested that climate change is a serious risk to poverty

reduction and threatens to undo decades of development efforts (Sperling 2003). It is therefore clear that climate change has been increasingly considered in the context of other complex social issues (Davidson et al. 2003) and is part of the work of various UN agencies - for instance through the mainstreaming of climate change into official development assistance (OECD 2005).

1.2.2. The Ethics of Climate Change

All these consequences of climate change and their serious ramifications for other global issues, further highlight the ethically complex nature of climate change. This thesis argues that ethical considerations are necessary in any comprehensive debate on the challenges which climate change poses. In the current context, the term 'ethics' refers to the concepts employed in practical reasoning, relating to language such as good, right, duty, obligation etc. (Blackburn 2009). Ethics concerns the systematic evaluation of judgments about what is believed to be right and wrong (Page 2006). Questions of justice are fundamental to ethics, and indeed sometimes these words are used interchangeably (IPCC 1996; Page 2006). Climate justice, in this thesis, refers to "...how the benefits and burdens associated with climate change are distributed among the various actors involved" (Harris 2010). Although notions of distributive justice have traditionally been applied to societies, i.e. nation-states (Rawls 1999), this thesis employs a 'cosmopolitan' notion of justice (Beitz 2010; Caney 2001). And, at root, we agree with Vanderheiden's (2008: 104) statement that:

"Insofar as a justice community develops around issues on which people are interdependent and so must find defensible means of allocating scarce goods, global climate change presents a case in which the various arguments against cosmopolitan justice cease to apply. All depend on a stable climate for their well-being, all are potentially affected by the actions or policies of others, and none can fully opt out of the cooperative scheme, even if they eschew its necessary limits on action. Climate change mitigation therefore becomes an issue of cosmopolitan justice by its very nature as an essential public good."

An approach which foregrounds these ethical dimensions of climate change makes sense if we are to understand the values, which shape and inform political debates. Not only will the consequences of climate change hit the poorest nations hardest, but these nations have also been least responsible for causing climate change, and are least able to deal with it (Schneider & Lane 2006). The majority of CO₂ emissions originate in the developed world (UNFCCC 1992). In fact, the unjust nature of climate change has been summarised as follows:

“The adverse effects of climate change most harm the weakest and poorest countries and people of the world, imposing burdens on those states and those people least responsible for causing it, most exposed to it and most vulnerable to its ravages [...] and least able to pay for mitigation and adaptation” (Harris 2010: 39).

Climate justice has not just been considered at academic level. The ethical nature of climate change is recognised in the UNFCCC, which states that:

“The global nature of climate change calls for the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response, in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities and their social and economic conditions” (UNFCCC 1992).

The UNFCCC (1992) also acknowledges that:

“...the largest share of historical and current global emissions of greenhouse gases has originated in developed countries; that per capita emissions in developing countries are still relatively low and that the share of global emissions originating in developing countries will grow to meet their social and development needs.”

Therefore it is clear that the international institutions in place to address climate change have institutionalised some of the central elements of climate justice and that any global agreement will need to address these issues efficiently.

Still, despite this acknowledged injustice, the literature on ethics around climate change is relatively limited, although recent years have seen an increasing interest in the subject (Caney 2008, 2009a, 2010b, 2010c; Gardiner, Caney, Jamieson, & Shue 2010; Harris 2010; Page 2006; Vanderheiden 2008). The existing research engages with ethics at various levels. Some studies do this mostly at the conceptual and philosophical level (Caney 2005; Gardiner 2010a; Jamieson 2010a; Maltais 2008; Parfit 2010; Posner & Sunstein 2008;

Sinnott-Armstrong 2010). Jamieson (2010a) for instance is very critical of management or economic approaches, such as emissions trading schemes, to dealing with climate change. He highlights the benefits of considering the issue as a moral one, arguing that when climate change issues are seen as ethical rather than management problems that governments and experts can solve for us, "...they become problems for us all to address, both as political actors and as everyday moral agents" (Jamieson 2010a: 84). Sinnott-Armstrong (2010) takes a somewhat different approach when discussing the moral obligations of individuals in relation to climate change using the example of a person going for an unnecessary Sunday drive. Referring to several moral theories, he finds no reason for why it would be morally wrong for an individual to do so. Sinnott-Armstrong (2010) argues that individuals do not cause nor can they prevent climate change, but governments can. He argues that even if individuals have no moral obligations to fight global warming, governments do because they can make a difference. However, this line of argument is somewhat problematic. Firstly, governments are, in part, a reflection of citizens' views. Therefore, if citizens are concerned with an issue, there is a high chance that governments will express similar concerns, and vice versa. Secondly, if individual citizens cannot make a difference, it is difficult to see how individual governments can. No nation-state alone can cause or stop global warming. Therefore what follows from such a line of reasoning is that no one has any moral obligation to do anything about global warming. Such an argument would be disputed heavily within much of the philosophical literature on climate change. Several scholars clearly highlight the importance of the individual within climate ethics (Caney 2005; Harris 2010; Jamieson 2010a, 2010b; Shue 2010b). For instance, Harris (2010) argues that there is no difference between an affluent Chinese person and an affluent European in terms of their responsibilities and duties to do something about climate change.

Other studies engage more directly with climate change politics and ethics (See Ackerly & Vanderbergh 2008; Baer 2010; Baer, Athanasiou, Kartha, & Kemp-Benedict 2010; Caney 2005, 2009b; Goodin 2010; Ikeme 2003; Klinsky & Dowlatabadi 2009; Shue 2010b; Singer 2010). These deal with the allocation of emissions rights from various perspectives. Baer et al (2010) and Baer (2010) seek to quantify the ability to pay for adaptation and historical responsibility for the problem through the development of a numerical

framework. The idea is to conceptualise an adequate and fair “...adaptation and compensation regime, in which ‘polluter pays’ becomes more than an empty promise” (Baer 2010: 258). This approach differs in two ways from most of the other studies. Firstly, it offers a very practical and specific, although not uncontroversial, conceptualisation of the ethical principles involved by developing an index of capabilities and responsibilities. Secondly, it does not divide the world into developing and developed countries as such, rather it touches on inequality and varying responsibility within nation-states as well. Baer et al (2010) argue that this is a fairer framework than that of equal per capita emissions rights, since it takes into account both historical emissions and capabilities.

Other studies deal specifically with the concept of emissions trading or green taxes (Goodin 2010; Singer 2010). Goodin (2010), for instance, compares emissions trading with buying God's grace or ‘selling indulgences’, as was practiced in the Catholic Church. Goodin (2010) considers this practice of emissions trading as a moral one, highlighting several problems with it. He argues that although ‘polluter pays’ is a better alternative than the polluter not paying, environmentalists should focus more on the notion that emitters desist from polluting in the first place (Goodin 2010). However, Singer (2010) defends emissions trading, highlighting that it is useful for overcoming the reality that it is nearly impossible to reduce emissions to an adequate level quickly enough. He argues that despite the fact that it can be seen as letting high polluting economies off the hook by allowing them to buy rather than reduce emissions, the main aim is to ensure the best possible outcome for the atmosphere by reducing overall emissions. Shue (2010b) takes a different approach on CO₂ emissions, highlighting a distinction between subsistence emissions and luxury emissions. He emphasises that it is not fair to ask some people to surrender their necessities so that other people can retain their luxuries. As a result the majority of emissions cuts must take place in the developed countries, with the highest CO₂ emissions per capita (Shue 2010b).

Some studies also discuss climate ethics in the context of human rights (Aminzadeh 2007; Caney 2008, 2010b). For instance, Caney (2010b) argues that climate change essentially undermines several fundamental and minimal human rights, such as the right to life, right to health and the right to subsistence, and that that a human rights based approach helps

determine who should bear the burdens of climate change and which policies are the most appropriate. However, very few studies have focused on the discourse of climate ethics (Agyeman & Evans 2004; Kamminga 2008), meaning that there is a real gap in our understanding how these ethical principles are embedded within communicative practices.

This thesis aims to make a contribution by examining the philosophical debate on climate ethics, and through this isolating a number of key issues. It then proposes to assess to what extent and in what ways these form a part of the debate on climate change in the media. Turning now to these key issues, from the previous discussion we can see a range of problems and challenges that emerge from the academic literature on climate ethics. Not surprisingly, central to the debate is the gross disparity in terms of individual countries' or people's responsibilities for creating the problem and countries' and people's vulnerabilities to it. There is a widespread agreement, for example, that the costs of reducing carbon emissions should mainly be borne by the developed countries most responsible for causing the problem (Caney 2010a; Gardiner et al. 2010; Shue 2010b). Additionally, what naturally follows from the assumption that there is varying responsibility for and vulnerability to climate change, is that wealthier countries have a duty to compensate the least well off for their pollution in order to help them adapt to climate change and develop new green energy resources to limit their future emissions (Baer 2010; Caney 2010a; Posner & Sunstein 2008; Shue 1999).

Furthermore, not only does the literature highlight responsibilities towards vulnerable people and countries in distant places, but also towards future generations (Gardiner 2010a; Page 2006; Shue 2010a, 2010b). This is one of the most important and prominent, as well as one of the most problematic challenges of climate change: that the current generation is morally responsible for leaving this planet in a useable condition for future generations (Shue 2010a). Additionally, there are also those who argue that it is essential that we "...confront climate change as a fundamental challenge to our values and not treat it as if it were simply another technical problem to be managed" (Jamieson 2010a: 85). As a whole these types of arguments call for the human race to rethink what world it wants to live in. As a result of this, there is an emergent focus on sustainability, lifestyle issues and

consumerism in general, as well as a focus on the individual to do his or her part. Addressing this is essential if climate change is to be tackled effectively.

One could also argue that there is a wider question of international justice which relates not only to climate change per se. Rather it relates to notions of fairness with respect to the power distribution in the international institutions dealing with climate change. It is not the purpose here to decide whether the UNFCCC process historically has been fair. But some awareness of the perceived problems with the process is useful considering their potential to influence the outcomes of the negotiations. It has been highlighted by Vanderheiden (2008: 252 - 253) that the UNFCCC process has been "...heavily weighted toward the most powerful nations and largest GHG polluters, both in the negotiating sessions and in its formal policy provisions". Additionally, Agarwal (2002: 378) has argued that in past climate negotiations "...the United States and EU have sorted out their differences and presented developing countries with a take-it-or-leave-it deal on climate change". This suggests that there are questions with regards to the fairness of the UN process itself. An appreciation of procedural fairness is very important for several reasons. First of all, the UN process requires legitimacy if participants are to follow and endorse the terms reached (Adger, Paavola, & Huq 2006; Vanderheiden 2008). Therefore if parties perceive the process as unfair, this will have implications for policy outcomes as well. Although it is clear that procedural justice cannot guarantee a fair outcome in an agreement as such, it can increase the probability that the policies, which will be adopted through a fair and open deliberative process really are fair. Additionally, parties feeling marginalised will be likely to distrust the process, which makes good willed cooperation very difficult (Vanderheiden 2008). The proceedings at the COP15 conference serve as a fresh example of what happens when there are procedural problems. Therefore it is clear that distributive justice and procedural justice are often very interdependent in practice (Adger et al. 2006). As such, procedural justice is essential for climate change, since it underpins the legitimacy of the UN climate regime. As such, the process itself can be seen as essential for reaching a fair agreement on climate change.

In summary, then, there are six key issues or themes, which emerge from the academic literature on climate change assessed above. These can be broadly categorised as follows:

- a. Carbon emissions (Issues relating to carbon emissions, such as reduction and disparities between countries)
- b. Consequences (Issues relating to the impact of climate change across the world)
- c. Financing (Issues relating to the compensation/financing between countries to help mitigate and adapt to climate change)
- d. Future generations (Issues relating to the impact of the current generation's environmental behaviour on future generations)
- e. Lifestyle and sustainability (Issues relating to sustainability, consumerism and lifestyle choices in general)
- f. Negotiating process (Issues relating to the power distribution and procedural fairness within the UN negotiating process itself)

These six themes will be later used in the assessment of media's representation of the ethical dimension of climate change. Chapter 3 will return in more detail to these and outline their application in the analytical framework used in this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has flagged the challenging nature of climate change, the basic science surrounding it and the UN framework in place to address it. It has argued that climate change poses huge ethical challenges for our societies, and these have been canvassed. It is clear that addressing climate change is a huge task that requires the international community to work together to reach a strong legally binding agreement. This is not easy considering the challenges climate change brings to our way of life, and considering the very different interests and perceptions of the problem the various countries have. In addition to that, addressing climate change will require the implementation of drastic and often expensive measures. Convincing the public of the necessity of such measures might be a difficult task, considering the current economic climate and the geographical distance of the people suffering the most from climate change. Due to the central role of the media in informing citizens about climate change (Stamm, Clark, & Eblacas 2000), it is primarily via the media that nationally constituted electorates are to be convinced of the importance

of implementing these often challenging solutions. Therefore how the media cover climate change, and the key challenges outlined above, is of fundamental importance, not only in terms of public debate, but also because a particular framing of climate change can indirectly limit the policy options available to politicians and negotiators, as the policies need to be sold at home (Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer 2010). Media coverage also has implications for public understanding of the complexity of climate change as frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies (Entman 1993). Therefore, understanding the values underpinning the representation of challenges posed by climate change in different countries is of central importance. The next chapter will focus on the literature surrounding media coverage of climate change and how it relates to the research aims of this thesis. This discussion will be related to the wider debates about media and democracy and in the process some of the crucial areas of the relationship between media and climate change which are either underdeveloped or in some cases completely unexplored will be highlighted.

Chapter 2 - Media and Climate Change

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the problematic nature of climate change and argued that climate change is a fundamentally ethical issue. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, the focus on the ethical representation of climate change has been marginalised in studies on media coverage of climate change. The chapter explores the nature of media in relation to climate change by examining its role within society as well as within mediated climate change. Specific media coverage is analysed in the chapters which follow, but this chapter serves as a foundation for the thesis by contextualising not only the role of media within democracies, but also by identifying what is already known about mediated climate change. By doing so, the chapter identifies the gaps in the literature in relation to the questions that this thesis addresses. Thus the purpose of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, to consider the role of news media within liberal democracies, discussing the ideal aims and the ability of media to fulfil these. This discussion assists the subsequent analysis of media coverage of climate change. Secondly, to explore the current body of research on mediated climate change and clarify how this relates to the research questions. In doing so, this chapter critically evaluates the key findings of the research conducted to date and identifies the gaps that the current study aims to fill and the key questions that shall be addressed. This chapter is structured in such a way that the discussion of normative aims of media, research on mediated climate change and research questions will be considered in parallel. However, in order to address the questions it is first necessary to briefly examine the role of media within democracy.

2.1. Defining the Role of the Media within Society

No one would dispute the fact that media have a fundamental role to play in a liberal democratic society (Negrine 1989; Negrine & Stanyer 2007). Most scholars agree that the way the media perform can have profound implications for the political process, since media are essentially,

“...the means by which the public acquires information about the world and, more importantly, through which the public derives its knowledge and perceptions of the current political and social problems and of the means to their resolution” (Negrine 1989: 2).

Debate within society increasingly takes place within the media (Dahlgren 1995) and media are active in defining political reality (McNair 2007). A common consensus on the ideal role of the media within democracy has long existed (Curran 2005). According to this view the media must act as a watchdog by scrutinizing governments and holding them accountable for their policies and actions. It must inform citizens about the issues of the day so that they are equipped to take an active part in the democratic process (Curran 2005; Louw 2010). Anderson and Ward (2007) argue that the central concern of the media should be to provide a two-way communication system between citizens and government. Finally it must act as a platform for debate between civil society and government and represent the views of civil society to the authorities so that their wishes are heard (Curran 2005; McNair 2009).

However, some have argued that this is too much to ask of the media. As a result, there have been attempts to re-evaluate the ideal aims of the media and make them more relevant for today's society, highlighting that these requirements are no longer practicable considering the complexity of issues facing our society (Graber 2003; Zaller 2003). In this regard Zaller (2003) has aimed to redefine the ideal role of the media, highlighting that these requirements are too demanding, with the possible exception of niche quality media. He proposes a slightly less ambitious understanding of the role of the media through what he coins the 'burglar alarm' news standard, which requires the media to alarm the busy citizen, who otherwise does not pay much attention to politics, about acute problems requiring urgent attention.

Others have taken a different approach, arguing that the ideal aims of the media must also reflect the type of democracy it exists within (Strömbäck 2005). According to Strömbäck (2005: 341) in the most advanced democracies the media must, in addition to the requirements mentioned above, also “...act for inclusive discussions...”, “...mobilise citizen's interest, engagement and participation in public discussions...” and “...foster public discussions characterised by rationality, impartiality, intellectual honesty and equality...”.

Considering that the countries analysed in this thesis are all ‘advanced’ liberal democracies, ideally the media in all three countries should aspire to fulfil these functions as well.

The discussion concerning the aims of the media is of fundamental importance, since it is intimately related to a normative concern with regards to whether the media performs its duties adequately. Views on the state of modern political communication have varied substantially. Some are rather sanguine about what we can expect (Graber 2003). However, other observers are less than impressed with the ability of the media to perform its duties. Such scholars suggest that rather than improving the democratic process, the way the media perform is actually damaging it (See Blumler 1997; Franklin 1997). This poor state of public communication has been referred to in many ways – such as a ‘crisis of communication’ (Blumler 1997), ‘dumbing down’ (Franklin 1997), ‘infotainment’ or ‘tabloidization’ (McNair 2003) and ‘...news as spectacle...’ (Louw 2010). Others have argued that “...conventional political news [...] is in danger of becoming a consumer interest like gardening or horse-racing, a state of affairs that will have real consequences for the health of the political communication system” (Stanyer 2007: 119). This is often seen as a result of increased commercial pressures and the infiltration of market principles into the sphere of public information (McNair 2003). The following statement probably embodies this pessimistic viewpoint most effectively:

“Entertainment has superseded the provision of information; human interest has supplanted the public interest; measured judgment has succumbed to sensationalism; the trivial has triumphed over the weighty; the intimate relationships of celebrities, from soap-operas, the world of sport or the royal family are judged more ‘newsworthy’ than the reporting of significant issues and events of international consequence. Traditional news values have been undermined by new values; ‘infotainment’ is rampant” (Franklin 1997: 4).

Empirical research has suggested that journalists do suffer from increasing pressures in the work place, needing to write more stories in less time in view of declining newspaper sales (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin 2008b). This has resulted in them being overly reliant on public relations material and news agency copies, as well as having less time for fact checking of stories. This has had serious implications for journalistic independence and has led to a ‘compromised fourth estate’ (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin 2008a; Lewis et al. 2008b).

However, not everyone would agree with this view of the media, arguing that these pessimistic accounts on the state of political communication have been overdrawn (Gavin 2007b; McNair 2000; Temple 2006). Some argue that the previous arguments represent a very elitist conception of the public sphere suggesting that rather than being in a terrible state, the news has become democratic, reflecting the concerns of a wider population rather than the views of a cultural elite (Temple 2006). In fact, McNair (2003: 48) argues that these criticisms of the news media are founded upon "...elitist, old-fashioned, socially conservative ideas about the functions, effects and dangers of mass culture". Whilst the old media only addressed small elite groups, today's media are "...accessible to millions of enfranchised citizens, irrespective of social class, professional or educational status" (McNair 2000: 200). Furthermore, others argue that these ideal aims, or 'stereotypes' mentioned earlier have exaggerated the media's failures to perform adequately. In fact, it is claimed, most print and electronic news media, except for tabloids, serve the basic functions of democracy reasonably well and the performance of the media overall is not all doom and gloom, despite some shortcomings (Graber 2003). Popular newspapers with their more 'user-friendly' approach to political coverage, have actually helped to create an informed and engaged citizenry (Temple 2006). Furthermore, it is argued that coverage in television news remains informed and importantly, accessible to an audience who are not primarily readers of 'broadsheet' newspapers (Temple 2006: 260). For instance, whilst recognising that some media are 'dumber' than others, McNair argues: "But so are some people, and why shouldn't they get all the media they want, when there is room enough in the public sphere for every taste and preference" (McNair 2003: 48). Therefore such arguments highlight the need to consider the different types of media required to engage citizens at different levels, and they recognise the potential benefits of diversity of coverage between the various outlets.

With all of the above in mind, the thesis strives to explore the mediation of climate change across a range of media and an array of newspaper titles, including the supposedly 'dumbed down' tabloids. The findings speak to the broader issue of a real 'crisis of communication'. This thesis will consider whether this is too strong a characterisation in relation to mediated climate change. In doing so, the thesis also considers what is left out of the

debate. The media's omission of important elements of debate is an important consideration, so one of the objectives is to establish if this is the case with regards to mediation of the key topics around climate change.

2.2. Judging the Quality of Media Coverage

Whether one falls on either side of this argument depends on a judgement of the quality of, in this instance, climate coverage. In order to assess the media content it is necessary to define what one would expect of the media. For the purposes of judging coverage, this thesis uses the liberal democratic notion of ideal aims of the media, whilst acknowledging that these are not always easily achievable. Nevertheless, the analysis, which follows takes the view that the media should aspire to fulfil these aims, whilst recognising that some outlets might be better equipped to do so – for instance, we would expect coverage to be more in-depth in broadsheet newspapers than tabloids. Nevertheless, a certain amount of coverage should still be found in the tabloids (since these reach by far the largest segment of the community), and coverage in all outlets should be factually correct and informative.

The question of quality also relates to the quantity of coverage, which is very important for several reasons. In order to raise public support for global action on climate change, it is first necessary that the public acknowledge that climate change is a problem and are informed about its consequences and solutions. In addition to informing citizens, media's role as an agenda-setter is essential in this respect too. The media can draw attention to certain issues at the expense of others (Lang & Lang 1966; McCombs & Shaw 1972) and thereby determine whether an issue is high on the agenda. In fact, when choosing and displaying news, editors play an important part in shaping political reality (McCombs & Shaw 1972) – as Cohen (1963: 13) states the press “...may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”. Since the issues that demand political attention outnumber the problem-solving capacity of the policy system at any given time, the agenda-setting process is key in determining which issues get seriously considered by policy makers at the expense of others (Kingdon 1995). Therefore, if a policy issue is not part of the media agenda, it is

less likely to be the subject of debates within society. Furthermore studies from across the world have established firm relations between media coverage and public priorities (Walgrave & Van Aelst 2006).

The issue of quantity of climate change coverage has been discussed in many studies. This research has suggested that coverage of climate change increases in relation to important international events and political statements (Boykoff 2008b; Boykoff & Boykoff 2007; Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Gavin 2009; Sampei & Aoyagi-Utsui 2009; Shanahan & Good 2000; Wilkins 1993). Consequently, we might expect that climate change should get increasing attention during the two climate conferences - COP15 in Copenhagen and COP16 in Cancun – considered in this thesis.

Research has also established that there is more coverage in broadsheets than in tabloids (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009). In addition, it is suggested that the ideological affiliations of newspapers are influential in determining how much attention climate change gets, with left-wing newspapers being keener to discuss the issue (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). Addressing climate change efficiently requires fundamentally challenging solutions, such as a reduction in consumption levels and switching from a dependence on fossil fuels to renewable energy solutions. These may threaten the interests of the most powerful people, corporations and countries of the world. From this perspective, solving climate change can be perceived to be a real threat to the status quo. Keeping this challenging nature of climate change in mind, it is only natural that ideology has also been found to play an important role in determining coverage (Carvalho 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Good 2008). Carvalho and Burgess (2005) examined elite newspaper coverage in the UK looking at the *Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times* and their sister Sundays from 1985 until 2003. In terms of issue prominence, they found that coverage in the UK, like in the US, declined significantly in the 1990s and then increased significantly in the 2000s. In addition, coverage followed very closely the political agenda on the issue, and in particular the discursive strategies of key political figures. This is certainly consistent with Bennett's conception of media 'indexing' elite arguments and debates (Bennett 1990). Thus, the agency of top political figures and the dominant ideological standpoints in different newspapers emerged as the two

important factors in shaping the UK's broadsheet newspapers' discourse on 'dangerous climate change' (Carvalho & Burgess 2005).

Similarly Carvalho (2005) sought to examine how the government's communication strategies appeared in the same British broadsheets in the 15 years from 1985 – 2000, and provided a historical overview of the climate discourse over this period. She looked at the discursive strategies of governments and the communication in the newspapers. Her conclusion was that the former had a strong and almost constant effect on the latter. She highlighted that the British government has, throughout this period, been able to set the terms for debate, and that the "...press's discourse on climate change has thus typically departed from and been shaped by the discursive framework defined by the government" (Carvalho 2005: 19 - 20). However, she argued that especially under John Major and the initial period of Tony Blair in power, the press generally consolidated the official politics of climate change. From 1998 onwards there was a resurgence of oppositional language within *the Independent* and *the Guardian*. She concluded that although there was resistance to governmental discourse in some of the newspapers, all newspapers "...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: 21).

Carvalho (2007) also explored coverage in the *Guardian*, *The Independent*, *the Times* and their sister Sundays from 1985 – 2001 with a specific focus on coverage during 'critical discourse moments' (Chilton 1987; Gamson 1992), such as the Kyoto conference in 1997 and the release of the IPCC's assessment reports in 1990, 1995 and 2001. She found that all newspapers enhanced the reputation and authority of the scientific establishment in the first few years of the sample, but as the issue became politicised in the late 1980s this changed. Scepticism and contestation of mainstream scientific claims appeared especially in *the Times*, and to a lesser degree in *the Independent*. However, the *Guardian* and most articles in *the Independent* presented the risks associated with climate change and demanded strong political action to address it. This analysis led Carvalho to conclude that the discursive reconstruction of scientific claims is strongly entangled with ideological

standpoints. Her research suggests the importance of not considering the media in a country as one uniform entity, but of paying attention to the differences that might exist between the types of media.

However, it is not only 'political events' or ideology that shape the quantity of coverage. Research has indicated that there is also more coverage when there are dramatic weather conditions (Lyytimäki & Tapio 2009; Shanahan & Good 2000). This suggests that political events or weather events can provide a narrative opportunity to talk about climate change. It has been argued that due to the invisible, slow and complex nature of climate change, it is somewhat incompatible with news. In a study interviewing news workers, one of the editors points out that as editors they need to defend the relevance of an issue as news on a daily basis, stating that: "An issue might be as important as you say, but that doesn't make it news" (Smith 2005: 1474). This might partially explain why coverage is so closely linked to political and weather events. The attention that climate change gets in the media is therefore intrinsically linked with news values (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Harcup & O'Neill 2001; Hetherington 1985; Peterson 1981). Naturally, any judgement of newsworthiness is also linked to the journalists' perceptions of what the public are interested in (Gavin 2007b). It could be argued that climate change does possess some traditional news values. The consequences of climate change are dramatic, negative and it should also be very relevant for the audience, although one could make a case that it is not so immediately relevant for the audiences in the countries considered here (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Hetherington 1985). The most serious consequences will happen to people in distant places and to future generations. In other ways, however, climate change lacks in news value. Its complexity makes it an ambiguous news story whilst its slow nature makes it more likely to be ignored (Galtung & Ruge 1965), since there is no element of surprise (Hetherington 1985). However, the climate change conferences which are the subject of analysis here, could perhaps be considered more newsworthy: references to elite persons and countries, relevance for audience, magnitude and significance of the event have all been identified as important in conferring 'news worthiness' (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Gans 1980; Harcup & O'Neill 2001; Hetherington 1985).

As the preceding discussion has demonstrated there has been quite substantial research focusing on the issue of quantity, but the vast majority has been conducted on Anglophone countries, with a particular emphasis on US and UK media. There has also been a lack of comparative studies, making it difficult to compare the prominence of climate change within different countries adequately. Nevertheless, a few studies have had a comparative thrust. However, these have also concentrated almost exclusively on coverage in Anglophone media¹: Boykoff and Goodman (2009) on Australia, Canada and the UK; Good (2008) on print media in US, Canadian and non-US English language newspapers found on LexisNexis. Boykoff and Rajan (2007) also examined broadsheet coverage in the UK and US press. In contrast, Antilla's (2010) study of newspaper coverage of climate tipping points, focused on the Anglophone media from regions across the world, including US, Canada, Europe (in practice, UK and Ireland), but also Middle East/Africa and Asia Pacific. Yet, apart from a figure showing the quantity of coverage in the different regions, there is no detailed engagement with the latter. Dispensa and Brulle (2003) did analyse coverage in the US, New Zealand and Finland with a particular view to explore whether US coverage was 'biased' and the extent to which media content was influenced by the fossil fuel industry. Brossard, Shanahan and McComas (2004) focused on whether issue attention cycles were culturally constructed by examining French and US print media, whilst Grundmann (2007) explored the complex relationship between scientific knowledge and public policy by analysing coverage in the US and Germany. However, this comparative literature remains limited. In addition, this literature has focused predominantly on broadsheet newspapers, largely overlooking both tabloids, and, even more so, television coverage of climate change.

The little research there is on television coverage has found that there is very modest coverage during non-conference periods. For instance, Hargreaves, Lewis and Speers (2003) only found 23 stories on climate change on both BBC and ITV in a seven and a half months period in 2002. There have been less than a handful of studies focusing on television coverage during climate conferences, none of which engage with climate ethics (Gavin & Marshall 2011a; Jørgensen, Johansen, & Kabel 2010). Therefore it is currently

¹ For a few exceptions, see Brossard, Shanahan and McComas (2004); Dispensa and Brulle (2003);

not clear first whether the findings outlined are specific to the US and UK context, or whether these can be generalised across a wide range of countries and second, how this relates to television and tabloids. Considering the often high circulation figures of the tabloid press², understanding how these engage with climate ethics is of considerable importance. Furthermore, this body of research fails to address the extent to which coverage always increases in relation to political events.

With all these issues in mind, this thesis will address this gap in knowledge by comparing the coverage across the UK, Faroe Islands and Denmark during two three months long periods surrounding the UN climate negotiations - COP15 in Copenhagen and COP16 in Cancun. This allows us to determine whether coverage increases in a similar fashion for both, and in all three countries, and whether there are other factors, which might influence the quantity of coverage. This thesis also examines the quantity of coverage for broadsheets, tabloids as well as television using the same parameters, making it easier to compare the different types of media. Therefore, the succeeding analysis will help shed light upon specifically the quantity of coverage and how this differs between media outlets, countries and conference periods.

Naturally, the fact that climate change is discussed within the media is not a sufficient condition for establishing the quality of coverage. Although it is a prerequisite that climate change must be on the agenda for citizens to be informed about it, it has also been considered important to assess the factual veracity of this information. Some research has examined whether the news media accurately reflected the scientific consensus on man-made climate change. Investigations in the US found that coverage diverges substantially from this consensus (Antilla 2005; Boykoff & Boykoff 2004; Nissani 1999). However, Boykoff (2007a) suggested that in contrast to the US findings, there was “...no evidence that the UK newspapers carried out informationally biased coverage of anthropogenic climate change”. Nevertheless, his study only considered broadsheet newspapers. In separate studies examining UK tabloid newspapers, it was argued that the reporting in UK tabloids diverged significantly from the scientific consensus. Therefore the literature suggests that not only do tabloid newspapers have less information on the issue, but also

² For an overview of circulation figures, see Table 3.3 on page 104.

that this information is less accurate concerning the existence of anthropogenic climate change. However these studies do not cover television, broadsheets and tabloids newspapers simultaneously. In addition, none of these studies examine this issue from a comparative perspective.

In relation to the current study, there has been no work exploring comparable coverage in the Faroe Islands, whilst there has been only one short study published on mediated global warming in the Danish context, although this study did examine both television and newspapers (Jørgensen et al. 2010). However, the research, which was part of a bigger project, only dealt fleetingly with the accuracy of the coverage. This thesis does not look at the correspondence with the consensus, nor does it look at climate scepticism directly or indirectly. Instead, it focuses on climate ethics (a topic, which has been virtually unexplored in the literature).

None of the studies so far have focused specifically on the values that underpin public debates on climate change, although some have briefly noted the absence of ethical considerations within the media discourse. For instance, Boykoff (2008b: 559) briefly touched on this, suggesting UK tabloids focus on political actors or weather events at the expense of the “...ethics surrounding differentiated vulnerability and abilities to cope with climate change”. Similarly, Carvalho’s (2005) analysis of British broadsheets notes, in passing, an absence of engagement with climate change’s international injustices. Thus the obvious moral dimension to the fact that the countries most vulnerable to climate change are least responsible for causing it is completely ignored (Schneider & Lane 2006). Doulton and Brown’s (2009: 191) study of how newspapers connected climate change and international development concluded that the former 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”. This study touched on some of the ethical issues and suggested their importance, but the study only dealt with broadsheet coverage in the British context. Doyle (2011), on the other hand, did explore the social values used within the climate campaigns of various NGOs, such as CAFOD, Friends of the Earth International and Camp for Climate Action. She strove to illustrate how important the values of justice, equity and solidarity were to environmental NGOs when

they were doing their utmost to get their message across. This of course includes efforts to ensure that their perspectives on climate change become part of climate coverage in the media. But again, the analysis was not based on analysis of media coverage of climate change.

This means that there is no study, which has systematically explored the ethical dimension of climate change coverage. This represents a substantial gap in the literature, considering – as already established - that ethical considerations are fundamental aspects of a healthy debate on climate change. Any discussion, which overlooks, either completely or partially, the ethical dimension ignores a fundamental aspect of climate change. This thesis addresses this by exploring how citizens are being told about the key issues around climate change. It does this by considering what ethical positions are presented with respect to the key themes in the three countries. The analysis thus sheds light upon which ethical positions are put forward and which are overlooked and what the implications of this might be for public understanding. In this way the thesis explores in an innovative and original way how coverage of climate change compares across the three countries. It is argued that a debate where the ethical dimension of coverage over climate change is skewed towards communitarian arguments is likely to have negative implications for public debate and understanding of the issue.

2.3. Television Coverage of Climate Change

As mentioned earlier, television coverage of climate change has been underexplored in the literature, despite its central place within the public sphere. Not only is television the public's most trusted source of political information (Edelman Trust 2012; Globescan 2006), it is argued that "...television effectively sets the political agenda; the themes and issues that are repeated in television news coverage become the priorities of viewers" (Iyengar 1994: 2).

Television has often been considered the single most important medium for political information (Negrine 1989). This is partially due to its accessibility and widespread usage. It is also argued that the rise of television has resulted in a more informed public (Dahlgren

1995). Nevertheless, television has been subject of heavy criticism in relation to ‘dumbing down’ of its content. It has been accused of focusing on entertainment rather than information, on soft news rather than hard news (Zaller 2003), thereby failing to fulfil its fundamental role within the public sphere (Temple 2006). From this perspective it only provides a very superficial account of what is happening. Understandably, there are some inherent differences between news coverage in press and television. Firstly, television is naturally a brief medium, not having the time or space to go into the detail newspapers do (Cole & Harcup 2010). Television is also known to be more ‘episodic’ (Iyengar 1994; Postman 1985), i.e. focusing more on events than on explanatory or exploratory exegesis (the ‘thematic’). In fact, “...the corollary of television’s reliance on episodic framing is that issues that cannot be readily reduced to the level of specific events or occurrences, such as global warming, are seldom covered at all” (Iyengar 1994: 2). Therefore since episodic coverage generally is thinner and less penetrating than thematic coverage, we need to get a better sense of whether and how this is reflected in coverage of climate change.

Furthermore, it has been established that television news coverage is more important for certain groups of the population. For instance, tabloid readers rely more on television for information and also attach more credibility to the medium (Negrine 1989). This is of importance in the context of this study, since both television and tabloid coverage have been underexplored to date. As such, we have a limited understanding of the information that these types of media present to a large proportion of the public. This will be part of the analysis which follows.

There has been very little research conducted on climate coverage in television in the countries considered in this thesis. As a result, it is worth briefly looking further afield for research in order to get a better understanding of how television has dealt with the issue. Literature on television coverage from other countries is conflicting in its conclusions regarding the ability of television to inform viewers about the basic premise of man-made climate change. Research from the US context found that US television coverage diverged significantly from the scientific consensus on climate change (Boykoff 2008a; Boykoff & Boykoff 2007). In contrast, research from Sweden suggests that television coverage is very clear concerning the existence of climate change and its anthropogenic causes (Olausson

2010). Although it is difficult to compare research findings from studies using different approaches in various contexts, these findings might imply that the national context is influential in shaping coverage. This highlights the necessity to consider comparatively how television performs in relation to climate change.

In contrast to research on newspapers, empirical research on how television news covers climate change has been hard to come by in all three countries considered in this thesis. No research at all has been conducted on television coverage of climate change in the Faroe Islands, whilst there has only been one study done in the Danish context. Here, Jørgensen et al (2010) explored both television and newspapers in Danish context, but in a very limited time-span of just over two weeks during COP15. These negotiations represent a very special time in Danish history, and therefore coverage is likely to differ from its usual format. Thus it becomes important to examine how Danish television news represents climate change during a longer period of 'normal' time, as well as how it performs in relation to climate negotiations.

There are less than a handful of studies touching on television coverage within the UK context (Eraut & Segnit 2006; Gavin & Marshall 2011a; Hargreaves et al. 2003). None of these engage exclusively with television coverage. Instead, they consider it in combination with an analysis of other media, such as radio, internet and newspapers. Eraut and Segnit's (2006) study, despite claiming to look into television news coverage, is of little value in our context. It did not offer any insight into how television news media tend to portray climate ethics. However, Gavin and Marshall (2011a: 1039) did look specifically at climate scepticism on television and the web during the Copenhagen conference, but they too did not touch on ethics.

Hargreaves et al (2003) conducted a larger scale study focusing more generally on science, the public and the media. They examined how three science issues (climate change, the MMR vaccine and cloning) were represented in various media, such as television, radio and newspapers. They examined ITV and BBC and found the BBC to have 72 percent of the overall climate change coverage. In terms of content of television reports, they found that 61 percent of the television reports mentioned the cause of climate change, and 50 percent

mentioned both the cause and effect of climate change. This was substantially higher than in other media, including newspapers. This is important since it might suggest that television news, despite its time limitations, manages to squeeze in the essential information about climate change – thereby informing citizens of its causes and solutions. Still, the study did not focus exclusively on climate change and is not strictly relevant to the ‘critical discourse moment’ that was Copenhagen.

Although some of the studies mentioned here have compared newspaper and television representation of climate change, it is clear that there is a lack of studies considering how the two media compare in terms of their ability to inform citizens on climate change, and which ethical positions are adopted. None of these studies look at the representation of climate change in this context. One of the contributions that this thesis will make is exactly the focus on how television and the press differ in their coverage of key issues around climate change in terms of ethics.

An answer to this question will help determine how each medium is operating in terms of selecting which specific topics to cover, and how to frame them. Research has suggested that media coverage in general is correlated with increased public knowledge and concern on climate change (Stamm et al. 2000; Zhao 2009). Studies also highlight that newspaper readers tend to be more informed about climate change than those who watch television (Schulz 2003; Zhao 2009). Therefore, this thesis also considers (based on the coverage) which of the two - reading newspapers or watching television – is more likely to contribute to a better public understanding of climate change.

2.4. The Ethical Spectrum in Climate Coverage

Whilst the literature discussed thus far has significantly increased our understanding of how climate change is represented in the British media, it is clear that conceptualisation of the values, which underpin public debates on climate change, is woefully under-researched. This is a significant gap considering that societal values play a central role in any debate on addressing climate change. This thesis seeks to address this gap by applying normative

political theory to the analysis of mediated climate change. The spectrum of ethical positions bounded by the two poles of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism serves as a useful tool of analysis in exploring the variety of ways in which climate change is made meaningful to the public. This method has been successfully applied to media coverage of other policy issues which present significant political challenges for liberal democratic states – e.g. intra-EU migration (Balabanova & Balch 2010). For the purposes of this thesis it will be used to analyse coverage of the key issues intrinsic to climate change in the three countries.

There is no study, which considers in a systematic way how values form part of the debate on climate change. This thesis does this by examining the relative prominence of perspectives that are more cosmopolitan or communitarian in order to assess how values are represented within the public debate on climate change. In doing so, the following chapters consider the extent to (and the manner in) which the media put forward cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in their discussion of climate change. The analysis also explores whether the key topics identified as forming part of the debate over climate change are more connected with either perspective. Put very briefly, the two perspectives of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism are used in order to assess whether articles/bulletins have a global perspective focusing on international collaboration and the world as one community, or whether they focus on the local and their national interests. The way in which this method is operationalised will be outlined in greater detail in Chapter 3. In addition, the likely implications for public support for global efforts to combat climate change will be reflected on.

2.5. Who Speaks on Climate Change?

As pointed out above, the media have a key role to play in representing the views reflected in society and encouraging a public debate on the issues of the day. The voices that get access are of fundamental importance, as the media can thereby emphasise certain perspectives at the expense of others. Not only do journalists need sources for the creation of their stories, but sources also need journalists in order to promote their interests and

ideas (Gans 1980). So, the relationship between sources and journalists is one of interdependence. It has been suggested that the media follow very closely the agenda of the political elites (Bennett 1990; Herman & Chomsky 1988). Additionally, source dependence – the notion that journalists rely heavily on official sources, such as the government – makes this more likely. In fact, it is a commonly held view that news production is dominated by elite sources (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Gans 1980; Herman & Chomsky 1988). Some even argue that political elites are simultaneously the “...main sources, main targets and some of the most influenced recipients of news” (Davis 2003: 673). Such views would imply that news media actually acts as a communication channel between different decision-making elite groups, leaving the average citizens as nothing more than “...ill-informed spectators...” (Davis 2003: 673). The concern is that this overreliance on official sources leaves journalists less critical of them than they would otherwise be, and the ability of the media to act as a watchdog is compromised as a consequence (Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston 2008). This results in a deterioration of quality within the media. A rich public debate needs to contain a range of perspectives, which can not only make the issues at hand relevant for citizens but also present issues in their complexity. An overreliance on elite sources most likely results in coverage that might be lacking in breadth since the range of perspectives may, as a consequence, be very limited. This in turn has negative implications for the quality of the public sphere (Habermas 1996). Still, others argue that despite the dominance of elite sources, the media can have a real impact during processes of debate by taking sides or highlighting certain viewpoints. This is especially so, if there is much disagreement among political elites about policies (Robinson 2001).

The sources which have access to the media have importance since as Carragee and Roefs (2004) highlight frames do not develop in a political vacuum, but rather they are shaped by competing stakeholders, such as politicians, organisations and social movements. Questions of sourcing in coverage relate closely to the literature on ‘framing contests’ and frame sponsorship (Anderson 1997; Carragee & Roefs 2004; Gamson & Modigliani 1989), where actors struggle over the definition of an issue in terms of their perspective and direct interests. Therefore, this makes the issue of the extent to which coverage is dominated by elite sources or nations a significant one (Galtung & Ruge 1965). There has

been some research which has touched upon the voices and sources represented in coverage on climate change in a range of ways, although this has been quite limited (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Olausson 2009; Painter 2010, 2011; Trumbo 1996; Weingart et al. 2000; Wilkins 1993).

Some of these earlier studies have shed light on the prominence of scientists in media coverage of climate change. Trumbo (1996) found that scientists became less dominant sources after the issue became part of the political agenda. He argued that:

“As this occurs, the emphasis of the news coverage concurrently shifts away from a presentation of the issue in terms of its causes and problematic nature and toward a presentation more grounded in political debate and the proposal of solutions” (Trumbo 1996: 281).

This research suggested scientists were more associated with the causes frame, whilst political and special interests as sources were more concerned with the judgment frame. These findings suggest that the quality of coverage improves by having a range of sources, since citizens need not only to understand the scientific nature of the problem, but also its political and social ramifications. Carvalho and Burgess (2005) similarly identified the period between 1985 and 1990 as a period in which scientists first gained, but then lost definitional control of climate change. This sheds light upon how a particular set of actors can emphasise different elements of a problem. It also highlights how the media sometimes quote certain actors in relation to a specific perspective on the problem that is discussed. This makes it all the more important to understand the source distribution within media coverage – an issue which will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

Ideology has also been found to have some bearing on the voices aired within the media. Painter (2011) examined climate scepticism in newspaper coverage, concluding that the right-leaning press had more climate sceptical voices within it. In fact, the top five newspapers with the highest proportion of articles quoting “...uncontested sceptical voices...” were all right-leaning (Painter 2011: 107). Therefore, this suggests that the ideological affiliation of newspapers is not only influential in determining the amount of coverage, but also the distribution of sources.

Whilst this thesis does not focus specifically on the presence of climate scepticism in the media, a large presence of scepticism nevertheless has implications for the public understanding of climate change and possibly public perception of whether it is a serious concern. However, Painter's (2011) study only examined the distribution of climate sceptical voices within the newspapers. He did not focus on other voices represented in mediated climate change and therefore how these might define the problems and solutions to climate change. Additionally, his focus was not on climate ethics. This highlights the need to understand in more detail the range of perspectives offered in relation to the complexities of climate change and its ethical dimensions.

A separate study by Painter (2010) - also conducted during a limited period of the COP15 negotiations in 12 countries - contained more details concerning source distribution in general. This only examined a six-day period – three days at the start of the summit and three days at the end - in two newspapers (one broadsheet and one tabloid) in each of the selected countries. Its main aim was to explore how the science of climate change was reported during the summit, and to look at the overall source distribution during the period of analysis (Painter 2010). However, it only considered who was quoted on the science of climate change, overlooking comments on other aspects of the negotiations. The study found that, overall, governments and national organisations were quoted in the largest proportion of articles (33 percent), followed by IPCC or UNFCCC (24 percent). Scientists were quoted in 12 percent, whilst NGOs were quoted in 11 percent. Nevertheless, towards the end of the summit, government representatives were quoted in 69 percent of articles; NGOs in 18 percent and scientists in only 4 percent (Painter 2010). This suggests that when it came to the evaluation of the process, government representatives became more prominent throughout the sample, at the expense of scientists. This is perhaps not surprising; the job of scientists is more to explain the nature of the problem rather than engage with policy discussions or evaluative judgements concerning the success or otherwise of the negotiations. Nevertheless, the study did argue that the similarity in the proportion of articles quoting NGOs and scientists was of some concern considering the scientific nature of climate change (Painter 2010).

The case study on Danish media coverage of the Copenhagen conference by Jørgensen et al (2010), briefly mentioned earlier, actually found that NGOs were the most dominant voice within the Danish media coverage of COP15. The researchers examined one quality and tabloid newspaper, one free daily newspaper and television news bulletins. They concluded that NGOs and grass roots organisations were the most prominent voices in the coverage, being visible in 50 percent of the newspaper items and 33 percent of the television news reports (Jørgensen et al. 2010: 153). The corresponding figures for national politicians were 23 percent and 29 percent respectively, but only 7 percent and 4 percent for the scientific community. They speculated that this high figure for NGOs in newspaper coverage might be partially due to the fact that the researchers included letters to the editors, which were particularly high for the COP15 period. Regardless of this, it is clear that NGOs were given a very prominent voice in the coverage. Jørgensen et al (2010) concluded that NGOs and activists were generally presented as the heroes, representing the people, whilst citizens of countries most vulnerable to climate change were on the whole portrayed as victims. With regards to political actors, those from Denmark, US and EU were generally presented as heroes, whilst those from large polluters in general, the Chinese PM and the G77 representatives, were represented as villains (Jørgensen et al. 2010).

Perhaps the most significant conclusion from the Jørgensen et al (2010) study is the nature of the coverage of activists and NGOs who were given easy access to the media and portrayed in a predominantly positive way. This might suggest that there is some cultural specificity or contingency to the expression of the 'protest paradigm' (McLeod & Detenber 1999), the notion that protestors are regularly portrayed in a very negative light and little attention is given to their aims and demands (Gavin 2010). This paradigm does not seem to fit with the Danish press and television's coverage of demonstrations on this particular occasion. This can be seen as a positive sign of the quality of the public debate, considering that activists and NGOs can often be seen as citizens' voices. Whilst some very interesting and noteworthy conclusions emerged from this study, it is important to note that this study only examined a very brief period of coverage and that this particular period represented a very unique situation in the Danish history. Additionally this study only gives a general overview of coverage and does not offer much detail on the way television dealt with the issue. This means there is still space to examine a longer period surrounding

the negotiations, as well as the way in which the Danish media cover other climate negotiations. This would help assess the way in which the proximity and those particular historical conditions might have influenced coverage.

Based on research from the neighbouring country Sweden, Olausson (2009) in her study on climate change in the Swedish media suggested that there was no framing contest worth mentioning and that media and policy discourse were deeply intertwined. The subsequent chapters of this thesis seek to address whether this is the case with regards to ethical arguments in the countries studied here. As Olausson (2009: 423) argues: “Recognizing the power of and struggle between various stakeholders and their influence on the process of framing a certain issue is vital and is a central component of the analysis of frames in their totality”. To date, there has been no study, which has examined source distribution in relation to coverage of climate ethics. This thesis will, therefore, consider the issue of how actors compete in defining climate change according to their perspective, by exploring which actors are mostly connected with which ethical perspective and how this varies between the countries studied. It explores which voices are given most prominence in the discussions on climate change and the potential implications for the overall message conveyed. In considering source distribution, it will also shed light upon whether certain actors are more connected to cosmopolitan or communitarian arguments, or to certain climate change issues. This is crucial in determining the role in which sources play in defining the issue of climate change. By looking at source distribution it is also possible to assess whether coverage really is dominated by elite sources and nations as suggested elsewhere (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Franklin 2004; Galtung & Ruge 1965; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Negrine 1989).

2.6. The Possibility of a Transnational Public Sphere

The first section of this chapter discussed the role of the media within society and its ability to perform its duties adequately. The concept of the public sphere is essential to this debate. The public sphere can be considered a network which allows communication of information and points of view between citizens and political institutions (Habermas

1996). The public sphere is essentially the web of “...communicative institutions of a society, through which facts and opinions circulate and by means of which a common stock of knowledge is built up as the basis for collective political action” (McNair 2007: 18). The media form an essential part of this public sphere (Street 2001), in connecting civil society and the state. In fact, this relationship between the state and civil society is crucial for the democratic process (Dahlgren 1995). If this process fails, then the whole system of communication which democracy relies upon comes to a stalemate (Castells 2008). What follows is a crisis of legitimacy because citizens do not recognise themselves in the institutions of society (Habermas 1976). Traditionally, the public sphere has been discussed within the national context and as a crucial part of representative or deliberative democracy. Within this space, citizens can reflect and debate the issues that concern them, and through this process of information and debate hold governments accountable for their policies. However, the concept of public sphere has also increasingly been explored at the European (Eriksen 2005; Schlesinger 1999, 2007; Trenz & Eder 2004; Triandafyllidou, Wodak, & Krzyzanowski 2009), as well as the global level (Cottle 2009; Nanz & Steffek 2004; Volkmer 1999; Volkmer 2003).

The previous chapter stressed the global nature of climate change and the importance of international collaboration on the issue. It highlighted that no single nation-state can address the issue of climate change on its own. As a result, it is a necessary condition, although not sufficient, that the national public sphere connects with others, in order to encourage and facilitate global action. It is apparent from the literature that there are varying definitions of what exactly would constitute a transnational public sphere. Naturally, how a transnational or European public sphere is defined has clear implications for judgements on whether one is emerging in any shape or form. This question has been the central focus of much research on the European public sphere (Eriksen 2005; Schlesinger 1999, 2007; Trenz & Eder 2004; Triandafyllidou et al. 2009).

The European Union serves as an interesting case when it comes to studying the global or transnational public sphere. On the one hand it is merely a regional intergovernmental economic entity, but on the other it has a developed political superstructure (Schlesinger 2007). Some scholars question the existence of a complete European public sphere

(Fossum & Schlesinger 2007; Schlesinger 2007). However, it seems plausible to suggest that some sort of European public sphere is at least evolving (Eriksen 2005; Trenz & Eder 2004), as there is an increase in communication within European political institutions or within enlarged institutional environments (or epistemic communities) and an increase in audiences' attention to and awareness of European political communication regarding governance at supranational and national levels (Trenz & Eder 2004). However, much of this research is naturally concerned with the so-called democratic or legitimacy deficit within the EU and deals with how European issues are debated within the public sphere. This so-called democratic deficit at the global level is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, the focus in the subsequent analysis is on the extent to which national media manage to create environments which mimic a form of a transnational public sphere - one that is conducive to political action on climate change, through informing citizens on the necessity of strong, concerted action.

Due to the global nature of climate change, Gavin (2009) argues that it is not enough to simply raise the profile of climate change in any one isolated state, but rather, what is needed, is consistent, parallel and thematically connected coverage which has a degree of agenda convergence across a range of countries. This is so since only under conditions of concerted media coverage will the minds of politicians and policymakers be concentrated, and coordinated action forced.

Due to globalisation there is a disparity between where important issues (such as climate change) arise in the global context and the actors who address them, i.e. states and individuals (Beck 1999; Castells 2008). Furthermore, it could be argued that in this respect the transnational public sphere is of fundamental importance, due to the centrality of global public opinion. As states need to take concerted and integrated steps together, it is important that the national media in different countries have climate change on the agenda at the same time. It is also essential that public opinion across the world is supportive of such global measures. Additionally the recent protests and uprisings across the Middle East in 2010 and 2011 have sparked debates concerning the potential role of social movements, technology and social media. It has been argued that through these technological changes: "...global civil society now has the technological means to exist

independently from political institutions and from the mass media” (Castells 2008: 86) and therefore can play an increasingly important role in the global politics. However, at the same time it is important to recognise that “...the capacity of social movements to change the public mind still depends, to a large extent, on their ability to shape the debate in the public sphere” (Castells 2008: 86-87). It is in this respect that the media play a crucial role, both within the national context, but certainly also on a supranational level. Therefore, the public sphere is not just about democratic legitimacy per se, but also about the ability to inform citizens about the processes that take place in supranational governance. Naturally the transnational public sphere is unlikely to be as all-encompassing and unitary as national public spheres, but it might be constituted by an ensemble of overlapping national public communications about the same issue or problem (Nanz & Steffek 2004).

Habermas (1996: 360), who first coined the term public sphere, defined it as a “...dispersed, all-encompassing, discursive network within which citizens, connected by the means of communication, form currents of opinion in seeking how best to resolve common problems”. The ‘public’, connected by processes of communication of particular issues, can easily extend beyond national borders (Nanz & Steffek 2004). In this sense, this thesis will not consider the transnational public sphere as one singular distinct overarching realm of broad public deliberation on every political issue. Rather, it is conceived of as consisting of the interweaving of broader public deliberation in which global policy choices are exposed to public scrutiny (Nanz & Steffek 2004). Global climate negotiations, of the sort explored in the subsequent analysis, may present opportunities for coverage to resemble a momentary transnationalised public sphere. This thesis addresses whether we can identify any tendencies suggesting an emergence of a transnational public sphere, however temporary.

The only research on mediated climate change engaging with the transnational public sphere was conducted by Eide et al (2010). This comparative study focused specifically on the Bali and Copenhagen climate summits. It featured analysis of media coverage in 18 countries, including some of the less developed countries and emerging economies, such as Brazil, Bangladesh, China, Chile, Pakistan and others. In relation to the transnational public sphere Eide and Kunelius (2010: 41) argued that: “...despite the flavour of global

alarmism implicated in framing Copenhagen as ‘the decisive moment’ – the dominant discourse of journalism is ‘nationally based realism’”. The authors highlighted that the coverage of the climate summits was strongly dominated by national political actors. This, they suggested, can be considered both a weakness and a strength. On the one hand, it creates the possibility for turning transnational debates into local political struggles, which benefit from functional democratic structures. On the other hand, the study argued that framing issues by a national logic can potentially ‘misframe’ global issues and thereby exclude certain stakeholders from being articulated in such a momentary global public sphere (Eide & Kunelius 2010). Eide and Kunelius (2010: 41) also suggested that these global climate summits can at least partially enable journalists “...to reach beyond their structurally imposed nationalistic realism.” The study found evidence that journalists used the transnational discourse at the conference as a means to scrutinise their domestic political leaders during the Copenhagen summit.

Whilst such a large transnational study is to be commended and adds to our understanding of media coverage in a wide range of countries, a volume of this nature is necessarily brief and necessarily shallow. This is acknowledged in the book, in that it refers to itself as a ‘comparative pilot study’ on how media make sense of UN climate summits (Eide et al. 2010: 7). Yet a key contribution of this work is that it has brought a much-needed global dimension to research of media coverage of climate related issues, in that it included analysis in countries, which have previously been overlooked. Nevertheless, the comparative element in this study examined newspaper coverage only (although some country-specific chapters did mention television), and it did not deal with climate ethics.

Like Eide and Kunelius (2010), the current thesis considers global climate summits to have the potential to represent moments where the emergence of a temporary transnational public sphere could be possible. According to Eide and Kunelius (2010), the emergence of a transnational or ‘global public sphere’ needs several factors to converge, which are all, arguably, present in the context of the climate negotiations considered here:

- The material infrastructure necessary for global communication to take place must be available (technology allowing for transnational communication)

- There must also be the possibility for such communication to have some connection to actual decision-making (for instance, by debate taking place in the presence of decision-makers within the public sphere).
- There need to be plausible and powerful narratives of global interdependency which define common interests (a discourse highlighting the common fate of the planet).
- There must be action by politicians and interested parties, which has been prompted by their recognition of the existence of some global problem and the interdependency of nation-states (a general consensus that climate change is an important global problem requiring international collaboration).

This thesis will consider the extent to which such a momentary transnational public sphere is emerging. As suggested elsewhere (Grundmann 1999; Grundmann, Smith, & Wright 2000), a hypothetical European public sphere can be based on the synchronisation³ and homogenisation⁴ of national public spheres. An ‘ideal typical European public sphere’ (Risse 2003: 1) would emerge first, if the same topics were discussed at the same time at similar levels of attention across national public spheres and media (i.e. synchronisation), second, if similar frames of reference and patterns of interpretation were used across national public spheres and media (i.e. homogenisation) and third, if a transnational community of communication emerged and a shared discourse that frames the particular issues as common world problems was used. Guided by these criteria and applying them beyond the European context, the subsequent analysis assesses what the similarities and differences are between the coverage of the main issues around climate change in three countries – UK, Faroe Islands and Denmark. While the British, Faroese and Danish media do not and could not constitute the transnational public sphere, arguably they can partly represent it. The thesis focuses on the arguments and values represented in the different countries identifying signs of synchronisation and homogenisation. In doing so, the thesis will add an empirical dimension to an over-theorised understanding of the nature of the

³ Synchronisation takes place when the press in different countries cover the same issues at the same time (Grundmann et al. 2000).

⁴ Homogenisation could take place “...in the form of convergence of perspectives and evaluations between the different national media.” (Grundmann et al. 2000: 300).

public sphere in the global context. Furthermore, a gap in the literature concerning how coverage compares across a range of countries will be addressed.

Despite this, it has to be acknowledged that communication within the nation-state is still of central importance. Globalisation and technological developments have influenced the nature of these national public spheres in that they have been transformed by a new dialectical relationship, between local, national and international political contexts (Volkmer 2003). From this perspective, whilst the national gatekeeper role is still exercised by national media outlets, this role is increasingly directly paralleled and influenced by the in-flow of new transnational news media, with their associated messages (Volkmer 2003: 14-15). Through these new communicative processes political identities and citizenships are reshaped. The emergence of this mediated transnational public sphere lays the foundations of a more cosmopolitan (or 'world') citizenship (Cottle 2009; Volkmer 2003). Furthermore, McNair (2000: 200) argues that:

“Journalistic media have developed the capacity to link individuals and mass audiences in one country to those of another, forming what has become a global network of horizontally connected, transnational public, serviced by a post-CNN culture of real time, ‘rolling’ news-covering events as the Gulf war, the Kosovo conflict, the Monica Lewinsky scandal or the East Timoreans’ struggle for independence.”

Similarly, Beck (2009: 82) argues that a ‘cosmopolitan society’ can take shape in the perceived global dangers which confront our societies. Considering these new communication flows across national borders, it becomes necessary to reconsider public sphere theory in this new context (Fraser 2007). In view of these recent developments and the global nature of climate change, this thesis will consider the extent to which the media in the UK, Denmark and Faroe Islands indicate an emerging transnational public sphere on the issue. In addressing this question, the way in which coverage compares and contrasts will be considered, with a particular emphasis on examining whether there are similar themes and arguments covered in all three countries, i.e. whether synchronisation and homogenisation around the issue are taking place.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the key issues around the ideal role of media within democratic societies and media's ability to perform its duties adequately. The various perspectives on the state of the media have also been represented. This chapter acknowledges that the normative demands made on the media are sometimes difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, these aims highlight the functions that media should ideally aspire to fulfil.

In theorising around the issues - in conjunction with an examination of the current body of literature on mediated climate change - this chapter has identified significant gaps in the literature, which this thesis will seek to address. It is argued that although research on mediated coverage has increased substantially in the last decade, there are a range of important questions that are left either completely or partially unaddressed. The key questions that this thesis aims to explore have been discussed in relation to media theory on mediated climate change.

Thus far this thesis has demonstrated that climate change is a quintessentially global and ethical issue, and that the media's role in addressing the issue is fundamental if the public is to be convinced of the necessity of a global supranational agreement to curb emissions. Subsequent chapters of this thesis are dedicated to addressing the questions discussed above. However, in exploring these issues, it is first necessary to present the methodology employed. This will be the main aim of the following chapter. Furthermore, in order to be able to explore these questions, the next chapter will also focus on introducing the media in the three countries considered, thereby assisting the analysis by helping to contextualise the results within the particular country.

Chapter 3 - Methodological Reflections

Introduction

This thesis examines how climate change, with a particular emphasis on the ethical dimension, is represented in the television and print media in three European countries, UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands during two global conferences on climate change, COP15 and COP16. As such this study uses a comparative approach by analysing country specific case studies. This allows for an appreciation of the nature of coverage in the individual countries, but also allows for an application of the same analytical framework to all three countries, making comparisons between them possible (Esser & Hanitzsch 2012). As noted in the previous chapter, there is a vast gap in the literature of mediated climate change from a comparative perspective (Anderson 2009). Furthermore, research on non-Anglophone countries is also limited. The first part of the chapter explores the methodology used in this thesis. It defines the key terms and outlines the analytical framework used for the data analysis.

The second part introduces the media in the three countries analysed. In doing so, it discusses the nature of the media system in the respective countries separately and introduces the specific media outlets analysed in the thesis. It also presents the historical background of each of the outlets and their current state at the time of analysis focusing on issues such as circulation figures and political affiliation. It also makes clear how exploring the coverage in these three countries might contribute to our overall understanding of mediated climate change.

3.1. Analytical Framework

The analytical framework used in this thesis has been developed using three main strands of literature. The research on mediated climate change has helped to guide the analysis and the questions posed. By looking at this body of work it is possible to compare and contrast

findings with previous research and identify crucial gaps in the literature. As stated in Chapter 2, there has been no study to date, which examines in detail the ethical dimensions underpinning media coverage of climate change. In order to develop an analytical framework first it was necessary to get an overall understanding of the nature of climate change and the ethical challenges it poses. Here we use the philosophical literature on climate change and normative political theory to develop the coding scheme and categories used for subsequent data analysis.

Research on mediated climate change is very limited for Denmark and the Faroe Islands, although there is a larger body of work dealing with this topic in the UK and in the broader global context. In order to be able to assess the coverage it was necessary to consider the wider literature on mass media and their role within society. This body of work, as discussed in Chapter 2, has been helpful in order to develop the more normative element of the analysis, dealing with what should be expected from the media. Through the careful definition of what is required of the media it is possible to assess whether they perform adequately in relation to climate change and its ethical dimensions. Prior to engagement with the specific research methods used in this research, the following section will engage with the concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism that are central to the study and outline their potential and usefulness as analytical tools in the current context. This is a necessary precursor to the development of a coding scheme.

3.1.1. Normative Political Theory and Climate Change

Due to its global nature and complexity, the challenge of climate change raises a series of normative political questions, particularly around the role of individual nation-states, and their ability to deal with the problem. Most analyses accept that it is necessary for countries across the world to cooperate at the global level, but as Chapter 1 highlighted there are a number of difficulties in reaching a global agreement on climate change. These relate to some of the classical problems identified in studies of international relations – indeed global warming can be defined as a ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Hardin 1968) on a planetary scale. From this perspective, ideally all parties in the international system would cooperate to achieve the desired aim – in this case, reduce carbon emissions and limit climate change.

However, complications arise due to the structure of the international system (Waltz 1979) and the apparent dilemma between what is collectively and individually rational given these constraints on cooperation.

If we consider the typical realist analysis of the difficulties for international cooperation the problems become clear. While it might be collectively rational for states to cooperate and restrict carbon emissions globally, we might not expect every country to follow such an option (Gardiner 2010a). In an anarchical system with no 'world government' to enforce agreements it is individually rational to sacrifice as little as possible in order to limit carbon emissions since this requires some efforts. If we see the international realm as populated by individual states existing in a system of self-help (Waltz 1979) we would expect each national actor to minimise their own exposure to international restrictions on pollution – and to maximise it for every other state – essentially 'free-riding' on the actions of others.

Some commentators respond to such analyses by suggesting that the solution to such a scenario is a good regulatory framework that distributes costs and benefits more equitably and effectively and takes away the options of free-riding by punishing such parties (Barrett & Stavins 2003). However, if the challenge of climate change requires a strong framework to ensure all actors do their duty, this is easier said than done considering the limits of the current global institutions. Whilst the UNFCCC addresses climate change at the global level, it still only consists of independent state actors who need to come to an agreement (Gardiner 2010a). It is partially this dilemma - in combination with the unequal consequences of and contributions to the problem - that makes the issue particularly problematic. In addition to the spatial element of global warming, there is also an intergenerational gap between when climate change is caused and when the consequences appear (Gardiner 2010a; Maltais 2008). This means there is also a temptation for politicians to avoid addressing the problem, since the cost of action will be high. In addition, it is often argued the benefits will only be felt by later generations, who cannot vote in the here-and-now (Giddens 2009; Maltais 2008). The current economic context only problematises this further. It is clear that justifying any additional costs to society on the basis of an invisible future 'threat' becomes all the more difficult in harsh financial circumstances.

The normative 'turn' in International Relations (Beitz 1979; Beitz 1983; Vincent 1986) introduced a cosmopolitan conception of international morality, which challenged the existing (neo) realist and (neo) liberal approaches. In his seminal text, Charles Beitz (1979) claimed that it had become too difficult to maintain the assumption of a relative absence of moral norms governing relations between states. This was due to a number of developments, which include: the increasing sensitivity of domestic societies to external, international events (such as climate change, refugees from distant conflicts); the problematic gap between rich and poor in the international sphere; the increase in economic activities 'beyond the state' (i.e. multinationals, NGOs etc.); demands for more equitable participation from developing countries in international relations; and the incorporation of 'low politics' into the international arena. From this perspective political theory (as a means of thinking about how to do things) becomes crucial if we are to engage with such transformations and the debate over any future world order.

If we accept that moral judgements are admissible in respect to the international system, it makes sense to apply normative political theory as a lens through which to examine media coverage of international negotiations on climate change. Among the key concepts that will be explored for this purpose in this thesis are those of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. These concepts are both very helpful in characterising some of the main strands of the debate, and useful in helping to assess how different normative arguments are represented in the discourse on key issues around climate change. It is important to make clear that both cosmopolitanism and communitarianism are complex and contested terms – there are many types and versions of each. The purpose here is not to engage with the philosophical notions of the terms, or judge which is the more appropriate in the context of climate change. Rather the concepts are used as useful tools with which to explore the values underpinning the debate on climate change in the respective media considered in this thesis. However, since the terms have been used so widely it is essential to define their relevance in the current framework.

Cosmopolitanism is an ancient concept. The word is derived from the Greek word 'kosmopolites' (Miller 2002). Its origins are attributed to the moment when the ancient

Greek philosopher Diogenes was asked where he came from and he answered 'I am a citizen of the world' (Beitz 1999a; Nussbaum 1994). It can therefore be considered a doctrine of world citizenship (Miller 2002). In more modern times, Immanuel Kant reinvented the notion of cosmopolitanism⁵ (Corpus Ong 2009). Kant was the first philosopher to give a comprehensive discussion of "...the moral dimensions of cosmopolitanism and then apply these principles to the international concerns of his time..." (Brown & Held 2010: 15). Kant (2010: 25) argued that the ideal of a universal cosmopolitan existence, could serve as a "...matrix within which all the original capacities of the human race may develop."

It is important to note that there are several varieties of cosmopolitanism. In the current context, it is necessary to make the distinction between cosmopolitanism as an institutional claim and cosmopolitanism as a moral claim (Beitz 1999a, 1999b; Dower 2010; Hayden 2005; Tan 2002). Moral cosmopolitanism holds that "...all persons stand in certain moral relations to each other", and that "...every human being has a global stature as an ultimate unit of moral concern." (Pogge 1992: 49). This is in contrast to the institutional or legal cosmopolitanism, which calls for a sort of supranational authority to govern (Beitz 1999a) above the level of the state. Although there are differences in these two variants of cosmopolitanism, they share at least three fundamental tenets (Pogge 1992). *Individualism*, referring to the fact that all human beings are ultimate units of concern, *universality*, suggesting that human beings possess equal moral status and finally, *generality*, emphasising that all persons are subjects of concerns for everyone, and therefore human status has global scope (Hayden 2005: 3). As such, it is argued that cosmopolitanism is both an ethical and a political project.

"As an ethical project it [cosmopolitanism] seeks to establish the extent and content of, and justification for, moral obligations concerning the well-being of every individual person. As a political project it is intimately connected with debates about the appropriate form of political community, scheme for legal institutions and procedures, and practices of humanitarian assistance on a global scale" (Hayden 2005: 3).

⁵ For Kant's thoughts on cosmopolitanism, see for instance, *Kant's Political Writings* (Kant 1970), *Perpetual Peace* (Kant 1932) and *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (Kant 2010).

However, moral cosmopolitanism is not concerned with how global institutions such as the UN should be organised, but rather with their justificatory basis (Beitz 1999a; Tan 2002). The view that cosmopolitanism requires either a world state or the wholesale rejection of national loyalties is often misguided (Shapcott 2008; Tan 2002). Most cosmopolitans hold that universal principles can be institutionalised in a number of ways that fall short of a global state, whilst still recognising the significance of national identity (Shapcott 2008). Nevertheless, what all cosmopolitans have in common is a call for some sort of community among human beings, regardless of social and political affiliation (Kleingeld & Brown 2011). There are many ways of using cosmopolitanism in various disciplines, but it has been argued that these multiple cosmopolitanisms do not describe different ideas - rather they "...describe different expressions of the core idea of cosmopolitanism as an 'openness to the world'" (Corpus Ong 2009: 453 - 454).

Cosmopolitan values have guided the development of international norms in relation to issues such as the laws of war, human rights and the International Criminal Court (Held 2003). These principles are also very relevant in the context of global warming. Although Kant's writings were from the 18th century, his discussion of cosmopolitanism is very useful in terms of climate ethics. Kant (1970) argued that increasing global interconnectedness made it possible for the most powerful to cause harm in the most remote of places. As a result of this, humans had "...a fundamental duty to enter into a civil condition with anyone they could possibly injure" (Linklater 2010: 23). This premise is particularly important for the philosophical scholars of climate change. In fact, the notion that human beings have fundamental duties towards each other is the cornerstone of the literature dealing with the ethical dimension of climate change (Attfield 2003; Caney 2010b; Harris 2010; Shue 2010b; Singer 2010; Vanderheiden 2008). Since climate change is a worldwide problem with global causes and consequences, many have called for a cosmopolitan response (Attfield 2003; Harris 2010; Vanderheiden 2008). As global warming knows no borders, it can only be tackled if individuals and countries come together to cooperate on the issue. As such, without "...participation in a developing global community jointly confronting shared challenges, the problems are unlikely to be addressed with sufficient conviction" (Attfield 2003: 159).

This runs contrary to traditional conceptions of justice which generally apply to the community, i.e. the nation-state (Rawls 1999), since justice is generally concerned with how burdens and benefits shall be distributed among the actors within a community (Harris 2010). However, cosmopolitan principles are not merely a normative critique - these principles (for instance, the notion that the individual has the right not to suffer from environmental harm caused by others) have also been incorporated into the UN climate change regime. Additionally, the discussions on allocating emissions equal per capita rather than per country, which has been debated amongst diplomats already, is also based on a cosmopolitan notion of ethics (Harris 2010).

Therefore it is clear that cosmopolitanism is a particularly relevant conceptual tool in relation to climate change. Considering the particular injustices of climate change on a global scale, there is a very strong case for institutionalising cosmopolitan ideas in climate diplomacy and policies. Not only can this be justified on an ethical basis, but perhaps “...the most important point for everyone (even communitarians and statistes) may be that cosmopolitan considerations are practically and politically necessary to foster effective actions to combat climate change” (Harris 2010: 120). Commensurately, it is significant for political debate around climate issues.

Considering that, as illustrated, cosmopolitanism is a large and complex idea (Campbell 2010; Slaughter 2010), the concept deployed in this thesis, is used to refer specifically to the notion that all individuals belong to a single global community. Also, it infers that individuals, as well as states, have moral obligations towards other individuals, no matter where they are geographically located. The idea of cosmopolitanism has gained increasing prominence with the rise of globalisation and the development of a more interdependent society (Brown & Held 2010; Held 2000). Since some of the processes that determine “...the nature of life chances within and across political communities are now beyond the reach of individual nation states...”, political power can no longer be limited to national governments (Held 2000: 399). It could be argued that the rise of an international civil society, where individuals and NGOs hold states to account for their action or inaction on pressing issues such as climate change (Shapcott 2008), is a testament to this increasingly potent cosmopolitan idea of global citizenship.

Although these various ethical arguments are often based on individualism, the majority of the time it is governments rather than the individual that remain at the centre of the analysis – where the state is still seen as the facilitator of global climate justice (Harris 2010). As such, the sovereign state still has a fundamental role to play in relation to climate change. As a result of this, some would claim that cosmopolitanism is unrealistic, as it is argued that individuals and governments worry first and foremost about issues directly affecting them (Beitz 1999a; Miller 2002). They do not, and should not, worry about strangers (Shapcott 2008). Such counter-arguments illustrate an alternative communitarian perspective,⁶ stressing “...the moral significance, integrity and independence of the state...” (Morrice 2000: 239). Communitarian viewpoints highlight the importance of the immediate and proximate political community (Miller 2002). Furthermore, they hold that allegiances to specific family members and co-nationals provide the main incentive to acting ethically (Linklater 2010). Therefore communitarianism suggests that people only act on suffering that is proximal and relevant to their community (Chouliaraki 2006). For communitarians, the legitimate standards of justice are to be found in the context of particular societies (Adger et al. 2006; Bell 2012). These standards depend on shared meanings and understandings about the goods to be distributed and are not available outside the national community (Tan 2002; Walzer 1983). Therefore communitarians often consider justice to be either largely (or even exclusively) about relations between people within existing coercive and cooperative political orders, such as the nation-state (Maltais 2008; Nagel 2010; Rawls 1999). Some communitarians argue that the global society, unlike nations with their common history, language and culture, cannot constitute a moral community (Tan 2002; Walzer 1983). However, not all communitarian thinkers maintain that we have no duties towards other human beings outside our community. Rather it is a question of priority; they argue that our duties must be differentiated – i.e. we have more duties towards people in our community than towards human beings elsewhere in the world (Maltais 2008; Miller 2002, 2010).

⁶ For some of the key texts on communitarianism, see Walzer (1983), Taylor (1979), MacIntyre (1981) and Sandel (1982).

Some communitarians argue that not only are cosmopolitan approaches very idealistic, but that national governments actually have a duty to protect and promote the national interest, such as the country's economic interests (Dower 2010). In the context of climate change, it could be argued that they have a duty to ensure that their citizens do not bear greater costs than those of other countries. In the global negotiations context, communitarian perspectives are therefore very relevant to explain the behaviour and perspectives of states. Shapcott (2008) argues that although cosmopolitanism tends to dominate academic ethical debates, communitarian perspectives tend to be more persuasive with respect to the practices of states. Nevertheless, although the nation-state is still very central to world politics, the communitarian argument – that interests of co-nationals are more important than obligations to the rest of humanity – have come under increasing pressure (Linklater 1999). In fact,

“As the world becomes increasingly integrated the conceptual framework of the Westphalian system – predicated on the idea of absolutely sovereign states existing and exercising their power autonomously – no longer accurately represents the contemporary social, political and ethics scene” (Hayden 2005: 153).

Therefore it is clear that both cosmopolitan and communitarian principles have strong analytical value in relation to climate change. As Olausson (2009: 422) plausibly argues: “...tensions arise between the media logic of banal nationalism and the transnational character of climate change, calling for a collective responsibility that transcends the borders of nation-states”.

3.1.2. Cosmopolitanism, Communitarianism and the Media

If we turn to the question of how to apply these ideas to the sphere of media analysis, this tension between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism relates to domestication. This refers to how journalists' framings of a global issue are influenced by their national history and traditions, as well as their current political and economic interests (Eide et al. 2010). Following the communitarian perspective, one might expect nationally-based media, located in their national context, to worry chiefly about matters concerning their readers and governments. However, there is arguably evidence that cosmopolitan perspectives do exist in nationally-based media systems (Balabanova & Balch 2010). The media do cover

international crises, which do not directly affect their readers and governments, and these images of suffering can have an effect on policymaking (Balabanova 2007; Jakobsen 1996; Robinson 2002). This influence on policy is notoriously difficult to prove, but there does appear to be a link between the strength of such effects and the ability of media to create a sense of victims that are 'worthy' of sympathy, even in the case of distant strangers (Robinson 2002; Strobel 1997). It therefore follows that the more the media adopts a cosmopolitan focus on a given topic or issue, the more likely a compassionate perspective on international policy problems becomes part of national public concerns and debate.

The discussion above highlights the usefulness of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism as conceptual tools to understand mediated debate on climate change. In fact, it has been argued that cosmopolitan notions have often been connected with the environmental movement. Hayden (2010) discusses the notion of a 'cosmopolitan world environmental citizenship', highlighting that the state is no longer the only important actor in global affairs. He identifies the importance of transnational environmental movements with a shared global ethic, which have helped to shape an emergent environmental globalism (Hayden 2010). This thesis applies an ethical lens to three different national media and their treatment of climate change to explore the extent to which space is being created for such a global cosmopolitan discourse.

The media's 'cosmopolitan potential' – i.e. to create public loyalties that go beyond the nation – is much studied (Beck 2006; Chouliaraki 2008). Chouliaraki (2008) suggests that news has the potential to draw attention to vulnerable others by acting as agents of a 'cosmopolitan imagination', thereby making us imagine the world beyond our own community. Moreover, Beck (2006: 6) argues that when mass media present compelling images of suffering, "...this produces cosmopolitan pity which forces us to act...", although whether the media's influence is so profound is a matter of debate.⁷ By studying empirically the presence of these political concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism in media coverage, we can explore how these perspectives are "...enabled or disabled by media images and media practices, and thus expressed by individuals in creative and unpredictable ways" (Corpus Ong 2009: 453). This is particularly important because, if effective action is

⁷ For an alternative viewpoint, see the compassion fatigue thesis (Moeller 1999).

to be taken on climate change, then one of the crucial tasks is to persuade a sufficient number of citizens from a wide range of states of the necessity of such action (Dower 2010). However, this is something that is clearly easier said than done. Cottle (2009: 99) argues that “...national news frames often militate against the development of a cosmopolitan outlook [...] especially when national news media report on ‘their’ national preoccupations”. Nevertheless, through cosmopolitan ideas the newspapers might contribute to a more global citizen, which is more committed to addressing climate change (Carvalho 2007). Therefore, the extent to which the topic of climate ethics can break down the nationalistic or communitarian barrier that is often part of domestic media practice, becomes an important issue. By analysing the presence of these values systematically it ought to be possible “...to crack open the complex relationship between the global and the local, between the media and identities” (Corpus Ong 2009: 453).

In their most basic formulations the two concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism essentially differ on who and what matters. For cosmopolitans, all the people of the world are global citizens with duties towards each other. The borders of the state are insignificant from a moral perspective. For communitarians, the interests of the national community come first. By deploying these distinctive conceptualisations, it becomes possible to shed fresh light on the ways in which climate change is presented to publics and demonstrate more clearly what values underpin the coverage. Ultimately this should allow us to find out something about the possibility for citizens to consider climate change as a global issue, which all world citizens have a duty to address. The way in which these concepts are used to systematically explore coverage will be outlined in the sections that follow.

3.2. Sample and Data Collection

In order to address its key questions this thesis uses a comparative approach, examining coverage in three countries: UK, Denmark and Faroe Islands. All three cases can add to our understanding of how the national context – the nature of media outlets, resources, as well as geographical location, might influence coverage. In tackling these issues, efforts have

been made to select media outlets that are directly comparable across the countries. Therefore, from each country, the principal public service broadcasters, alongside the largest (in terms of circulation) left-leaning, right-leaning and tabloid newspapers have been selected. This selection aims to illustrate the range of coverage across comparable publications. However, it is acknowledged that the chosen newspapers and public service broadcasters are by no means fully representative of the overall British, Danish and Faroese media.

In particular, the early evening news on the public service broadcasting television stations have been chosen. These are:

- BBC's 'early evening news' at 18.00 (UK)
- Danmark Radio's (DR) 'TV avisen' at 18.30 (Denmark)
- Kringvarp Føroya's (KVF) 'Dagur og Vika' at 19.00 (Faroe Islands)

All three bulletins last approximately 30 minutes, although KVF's bulletins are sometimes slightly shorter. Only the reports broadcast on weekdays have been selected. This was done for several reasons. Firstly, it is consistent with previous research (Hargreaves et al. 2003). Secondly, it ensures consistency across the three countries as there is no exact equivalent news programme to the BBC's 'early evening news' during weekends in either Denmark or the Faroe Islands and there is no television news at all in the Faroe Islands during the weekends.

For the analysis of the newspaper material, three newspapers were selected in Denmark and the UK – two broadsheets and one tabloid, whilst two were selected in the Faroe Islands. These represented the largest left-leaning and right-leaning broadsheets and the largest tabloid in terms of daily circulation in the respective markets. The selection for the Faroe Islands only included a left-leaning and a right-leaning newspaper, since there is no daily tabloid newspaper in the Faroe Islands. Nevertheless, this allows for an appreciation of differences in terms of ideological affiliations and quality/tabloid split. The newspapers selected were the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* from the UK, *Politiken*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet* from Denmark and *Dimmalætting* and *Sosialurin* from the Faroe Islands. The final section of this chapter will introduce these papers in more detail, as well as the broader media landscape in the respective countries.

The period of data analysis includes two UNFCCC climate conferences, COP15 in Copenhagen (December 7 – 18) in 2009 and COP16 (19 November – 10 December) in Cancun in 2010. In order to get a sense of the shape of the coverage leading up to, during and following these conferences, the two periods of analysis are of a three-month duration each, with conferences themselves only taking place for two weeks each. Therefore, the periods of analysis are from November 1 2009 – January 31 2010 for COP15 and November 1 2010 – January 31 2011 for COP16, for both television and newspaper material. It is believed that this sample is sufficient for getting a sense of how news media build up to and evaluate such important political events, without putting the researcher at risk of data overload.

There is no searchable database with television news content in any of the three countries. Therefore, each television news bulletin in each of the countries was recorded. The material then was viewed to identify the reports, which discussed climate change. The focus here was on identifying items which made a direct reference to the key terms: “climate” OR “carbon” OR “greenhouse” OR “global warming” OR “Copenhagen” OR “Cancun”⁸. The relevant reports were transferred to a computer, cut from the main bulletins, inserted into a computerized database developed for these purposes and transcribed, prior to coding. The texts were coded in their original language to ensure that none of the native and language specific features of the texts were lost in the analysis.

The data collection for the British and Danish newspapers was straightforward as in both cases there were searchable databases containing all analysed papers. Relevant articles were selected - using the LexisNexis database in the British case and InfoMedia in the Danish case - using the same key terms mentioned above ‘at the start’⁹ of stories. This was since articles which made no reference to any of the key terms ‘at the start’ of the article would be unlikely to have climate change as a central focus. All journalistic genres were included except letters to the editor. The search was date restricted so that only articles published in

⁸ The Danish key terms were: ‘klima*’, ‘global opvarmning’, ‘drivhusgasser’ ‘CO₂ udslip’, ‘COP15’/‘COP16’. The key words for Faroese were: ‘veðurlags*’, ‘umhvørvisbroytingar’, ‘vakstrarhús*’, ‘CO₂’, Keypmannahavn/Cancun.

⁹ ‘At the start’ gives results which have the search term in the headline or lead paragraph.

the analysed period would be retrieved. Unfortunately, there is no such a database for the print media in the Faroe Islands. This meant that it was necessary to get the physical version of each newspaper and browse through it for articles on climate change. The same key terms as above were used to determine the relevance of an article. All stories which made a reference to the key terms 'at the start' were then incorporated in the database.

It should be noted that all the newspaper items were analysed except letters to the editor, whilst only one daily TV news bulletin was included in the sample. This means there was a much higher level of genre variation in the newspaper sample than in the television sample. In other words, all of the newspapers coverage within a day was included in the sample, whilst only a limited part of television's treatment of climate change could potentially have been included in the analysis.

This is important to keep in mind when comparing television and newspapers, since an analysis which had included several or all of TV's daily news bulletins or even current affairs programmes dealing with climate change would likely paint a more positive picture of television coverage overall. However, the limitation to one daily bulletin was necessary to ensure that the content analysed was directly comparable across the countries. Furthermore, resource and space constraints within the context of this study would not allow for an exploration of more TV material.

3.3. Data Analysis

This study combines qualitative and quantitative approaches to the analysis of media content. Some would argue that quantitative and qualitative research are part of two different paradigms, and therefore can never be successfully combined (Read & Marsh 2002). Such authors would consider the choice of qualitative or quantitative methods as an epistemological and ontological issue. However, this thesis, like many other studies, takes a more pragmatic approach inclusive of both approaches (Bryman 1988, 2006; Hammersley 1992). In mixing methods it is possible to acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches, and combine them in order to reinforce their strengths, whilst

accommodating their weaknesses. Some would even argue that seeing qualitative and quantitative research as completely different paradigms is harmful to the research process, in that it stops researchers from employing the most appropriate methods for the particular research questions (Bryman 1988, 2006; Hammersley 1992).

Content analysis is a “...research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (Krippendorff 2004: 21). Some would define content analysis as an exclusively quantitative approach (Berelson 1971), whilst others have argued that it need not necessarily be exclusively quantitative (Krippendorff 2004). This study takes a similar view to that of Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold (1998) that content analysis is most useful when enriched by the theoretical frameworks offered by more qualitative approaches. Content analyses most commonly employ a deductive approach, where categories or themes are derived from theory or a prior knowledge (Bernard & Ryan 2010). This is also the case in this thesis, where the contours of the cosmopolitanism and communitarian debate in relation to the six key topics (outlined in Chapter 1) are used as a datum.

Content analysis has also been defined as a “...systematic research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson 1971: 18). This definition demonstrates the origins of content analysis, and reveals its scientific ambition in trying to bring the rigour and authority of the natural scientific method to the study of the social sciences (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, & Murdock 2007). Underlying this definition of content analysis is a positivistic epistemology, where concepts such as neutrality, objectivity, observable facts and clear separation between the researcher and the research subject are seen as attainable and desirable. For positivists, the world exists independently of our knowledge of it and facts are directly observable (Marsh & Furlong 2002). According to positivism, it is possible for social science to be objective and ‘theory-free’ (Marsh & Furlong 2002). This thesis questions such a possibility. First of all, theory and analysis are not separable. Researchers decide which questions to pose and which to leave out. In doing so, they are at the same time influencing the answers they can obtain (Deacon et al. 2007). Nevertheless, although content analysis can never be completely objective and theory-free, it does allow for a

systematic analysis of large amounts of data. Through clarity of methods, it is also replicable and verifiable.

Throughout this thesis it has been argued that climate change is not only a physical, but also a social and political issue. As such, it is intrinsically linked to ethical and normative judgments about how things ought to be. Although there is a reality of climate change 'out there', outcomes are shaped by the way in which the world is socially constructed. Climate change is a physical phenomenon, which happens despite the way it is perceived. Nevertheless, the way in which the concept of climate change is socially constructed and how it is discussed and perceived in society will influence the potential responses and perspectives of this naturally observable phenomenon. As Thomas and Thomas (cited in Merton 1995: 380) stated in what is now famously known as the Thomas Theorem: "...if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences". Therefore this suggests that there is no point only observing the facts of a situation. Rather the perspectives people have of a situation will influence its outcomes. It follows that it is necessary to study both the external 'reality' as well as the social construction of it, if we are to explain the relationships between social phenomena, and their implications (Marsh & Furlong 2002).

Given the amount of data, the questions this thesis seeks to address and the comparative nature of this study, the form of content analysis deployed represents the most appropriate method for comparing the nature of coverage in the three countries. In terms of its practical application it first provides an operational definition of each of its core categories/concepts. The analytical framework has been developed using the concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism, as well as the academic literature that discusses the ethical dimension of climate change. Like numerous studies on mediated climate change (Boykoff 2008b; Brossard et al. 2004; Trumbo 1996), the thesis employs a deductive approach. This involves predefining certain categories as content analytic variables, to verify the extent to which these occur in the news (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000). Whilst such categories are obviously not exhaustive and might overlook some aspects of the data, the rationale is that by using these to explore how the key climate change themes are presented, it is possible to detect not only which arguments are most prevalent within the debate, but also what is missing from it. This involves identifying the

range of arguments which exist on the ethics of climate change, making it easier to quantify their appearance in coverage. Furthermore, such an approach makes it easy to detect differences in framing between and across different media, such as broadsheets versus tabloid newspapers (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000).

Chapter 1 discussed the ways in which climate change presents political challenges and six key issues were identified around the following topics:

- a. Carbon emissions (Issues relating to carbon emissions, such as reduction and disparities between countries)
- b. Consequences (Issues relating to the impact of climate change across the world)
- c. Financing (Issues relating to the compensation/financing between countries to help mitigate and adapt to climate change)
- d. Future generations (Issues relating to the impact of the current generation's environmental behaviour on future generations)
- e. Lifestyle and sustainability (Issues relating to sustainability, consumerism and lifestyle choices in general)
- f. Negotiating process (Issues relating to the power distribution and procedural fairness within the UN negotiating process itself)

These six key issues serve as a useful, although obviously not exhaustive, basis upon which to assess how news media deploy ethical arguments around climate change. This assessment is done by identifying which different value structures underpin discussions of the six topics, i.e. where arguments can be considered to fall on a spectrum with cosmopolitanism and communitarianism at each end. Table 3.1 draws on the cosmopolitan-communitarian debate discussed earlier to construct a typology of their respective positions in relation to the six key topics outlined. This framework is used to analyse the way the ethical debate on climate change is refracted in television and press coverage in the respective countries. The framework has been adopted from Balabanova and Balch (2010) who developed it for the examination of intra-EU migration.

Key Theme	Cosmopolitan arguments would focus on:	Communitarian arguments would focus on:
Carbon Emissions	Need to cut global emissions in order to deal with climate change	Carbon emissions at the national level/not cutting too much to ensure competitiveness
Consequences	The difficult consequences that climate change is having for people across the world	The difficult consequences of climate change for the local/national population
Financing	Ensuring that developing countries get financing to deal with climate change	The contribution of the national country, or the negative consequences of the nation having to pay this money
Lifestyle and Sustainability	The need to address climate change at the root and branch level, alongside issues relating to (over)consumerism and international sustainability.	Individual lifestyle issues and/or sustainability at the national/local level
Future Generations	The need to leave this planet in a useable condition for future generations across the world	The necessity of leaving the planet in a useable condition to future generations within the country
Negotiating Process	The negotiating procedure and the injustice and inequalities that are inherent in the negotiating process from a global perspective	The negotiating procedure, the injustice and inequalities that are inherent in the negotiating process from the perspective of the particular country whose media is subject to analysis

Table 3.1 - Overview of coding of themes and emphasis

All articles and television reports were coded with reference to the categories identified above, using a systematic coding scheme¹⁰. The prominence of each theme in a media outlet (i.e. how often they occurred) was collated, allowing for a comparison between media outlets and across periods. Considering the amount of data explored, it was inappropriate, as well as unfeasible, to deploy an in-depth and penetrating qualitative assessment of the intimate structure of each climate change story (Entman 1993; Pan & Kosicki 1993). Nor was the aim to perform a broad-brush characterization of each report's principal features – the metaphors, exemplars and catchphrases deployed, visual images used, or references to causes and consequences or appeals to principle (Gamson & Modigliani 1989). Instead, the thesis has established a range of ethical 'benchmarks' (Table

¹⁰ The coding scheme also contained the following fields: Date, newspaper, author, page number, sources, key issue (yes or no), if yes – which issue.

3.1) across selected themes and this can then be seen as allowing for an evaluation of the ethical qualities of media coverage.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which the media outlets engaged with the key issues identified around climate change (and how the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism were portrayed) a representative sample was isolated from within our newspaper corpus for each country. With regard to the newspaper analysis these stratified sub-samples were selected by sorting the articles first by newspaper, then by date. This provided 108 British and 94 Danish items for closer analysis.¹¹ In Britain, where 324 articles touched upon one or more of the climate change topics, every third article was selected for a closer analysis, meaning that a sample of 108 articles was selected. In Denmark, where a total of 375 articles focused on one of the key issues every fourth article was selected for analysis, resulting in a sample of 94 articles. In the case of the Faroe Islands, where the total number addressing one of the six topics was low (77 articles), all the articles were kept for further analysis. With regard to television, with an overall lower number of reports focusing on key topics, all stories referring to one of the keywords above were analysed after transcription. These articles/reports were subsequently coded, with the unit of analysis being each sentence for both television and newspaper items. Each sentence was coded as dealing with one or more of the six topics, as well as whether it reflected cosmopolitan or communitarian arguments in relation to these themes. This meant that newspaper articles and television reports could be coded against a number of themes (See Table 3.1). Since each story could contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian values, coding each sentence separately made it possible to explore the predominance of each perspective in each story, and in the corpus as a whole. It should be acknowledged that the coding process has a somewhat interpretative nature considering that the assignment of sentences to categories depends on the researcher's perspective. Nevertheless, much effort has gone into developing an as clear and specific coding scheme as possible to make sure that the coding is consistent throughout the sample.

¹¹ Comparable studies have used similar selection methods - either every fifth (Boykoff 2008b) or sixth (Boykoff & Boykoff 2007) article.

The coding of all the items provided long lists of sentences or paragraphs which had been assigned to the respective themes and perspectives. Subsequently the analysis focused in particular on these key themes and perspectives to explore how these were discursively embedded within the coverage. As such, it was possible to explore in some detail the engagement with our various themes and perspectives. This was refined by looking at the number of words coded as cosmopolitan or communitarian for each period and news outlet. All this allowed for an appreciation of how the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism inform the discussion of climate change, and whether there were differences between countries, media outlets as well as within specific themes.

Chapters 4 to 6 offer an analysis of each respective country and use illustrative examples in order to demonstrate the ways in which newspapers represented particular topics within their discourse. These selected quotations¹² serve two main purposes. Firstly, they have an illustrative function (Olausson 2010), adding to our understanding of the way particular themes become part of newspaper discourse, and the extent to which cosmopolitan and communitarian arguments are used. Secondly, they serve to increase the transparency between the empirical material and argumentation (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Olausson 2010). Since a certain degree of subjectivity cannot be avoided when selecting which quotes to use as examples, the qualitative sections of the following chapters aim to be as specific as possible as to why certain quotes have been provided. In some instances, the quotes illustrate a general tendency or trend within the data, either of a specific theme or a media outlet. In other instances, they have been selected because they differed in some way from the overall patterns of the data.

The stories dealing with the six topics in newspapers and television were also coded for the sources they quoted, either directly or indirectly¹³. Each relevant sentence was coded for the source it made reference to. This allowed for an exploration of whether some actors have easier access to specific media outlets in the countries examined. Through such assessment, it is possible to evaluate whether coverage is dominated by elite sources or elite nations as suggested by some scholars (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Franklin 2004; Galtung

¹² The translations from Danish and Faroese are mine.

¹³ Indirect quotes are those, which paraphrase what an actor has said, whilst a direct quote contains the statement word for word in quotation marks.

& Ruge 1965; Herman & Chomsky 1988). This might have fundamental implications for the overall message conveyed since frames do not develop in a political vacuum, but are shaped by competing stakeholders, such as politicians, organisations and social movements (Carragee & Roefs 2004). The categories used in the analysis are outlined in Table 3.2. In conducting the analysis in this way, it was therefore also possible to evaluate whether some sources speak more on certain topics or have more cosmopolitan or communitarian perspectives. The data analysis chapters will show the association between specific groups of sources, particular topics and cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. In order to be able to compare press and television as well as individual countries, the percentage of articles or reports quoting these particular sources will also be provided in the empirical chapters that follow.

It is important to note though that the presence of a particular source does not necessarily mean that its perspective is presented in a positive way. Journalists can through their reporting legitimise or undermine the statements an actor might be making. However, journalists do through their source selection “...implicitly define the limits of discourse of an issue. This selection of sources confines the debate and carries with it implicit assumptions about who is important” (Reese, Grant, & Danielian 1994: 88). Furthermore, assessing the breadth of perspectives has implications for any assessment concerning the quality of public debate, since the diversity of voices heard within the media is crucial “...to the survival of any public sphere at all” (Schlesinger 1990: 82). It is important that the media contribute to a more vibrant public debate, where diverse social, political and cultural interests can engage (Cottle 2000). Although there is a wide range of literature highlighting the predominance of official elite sources (Bennett 1990; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Wolfsfeld 1997), it is important to highlight that the official status of a source does not necessarily ensure their credibility within the story (Schlesinger 1990).

Source	Description
Scientific Community	IPCC statements and reports, university scientists, research reports etc.
UK Government/Delegation	Members of political parties in government and members of the delegation at the negotiations
DK Government/Delegation	Members of political parties in government and members of the delegation at the negotiations
FO Government/Delegation	Members of political parties in government and members of the delegation at the negotiations
US Government/Delegation	US representatives, negotiators, such as President Obama, US chief negotiator Todd Stern etc.
Developing Countries	Members of G77 group
BASIC Countries	Brazil, South Africa, India and China
Other Developed Countries	Developed countries that do not have a category of their own. For instance, Germany, France etc.
UN officials/Negotiators	UNFCCC, UN secretary general etc
EU Representatives	For instance, Head of EU Commission
NGOs/Activists	For instance, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, statements from other demonstrators
Business Community	Business companies and business organisations
Public/Vox Pops	Members of public, asked questions on the street, for instance.
Think Tanks	For instance, Global Warming Policy Foundation.
Media/News Agency	For instance, Reuters, AP, other news outlets
Energy Sector	Electricity and Oil companies
UK Opposition	Members of political parties in opposition
DK Opposition	Members of political parties in opposition
FO Opposition	Members of political parties in opposition
Religious Organisations	For instance, the Church.
Other	None of the above. This group included statements from members of the Royal Family, actors, celebrities etc.

Table 3.2 - Categories of sources

The comparative element of the analysis is conducted in the context of the UN climate negotiations. By looking at two separate climate negotiations it is possible to explore how the various factors surrounding each of the conferences might influence media coverage. The comparative case study approach enables an intensive in-depth analysis and adds more validity to generalisations (Hantrais 2009; Hopkin 2002) since they have been applied to several cases rather than a very specific context. In single country studies, there may be a

whole range of explanations for any single phenomenon. Comparing different cases allows for such generalisations to be tested (Hopkin 2002). Comparative analysis is very valuable in studies of the media because it “...sensitizes us to variation and to similarity, and this can contribute powerfully to concept formation and to the refinement of our conceptual apparatus” (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 2). As Chapter 2 also demonstrated:

“Most of the literature on the media is highly ethnocentric, in the sense that it refers only to the experience of a single country, yet is written in general terms, as though the model that prevailed in that country were universal” (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 2).

Selecting the most appropriate cases when doing comparative research is always a challenge. Considering the complexity of the world, it is impossible to find cases that are different or similar in every aspect except those subject to analysis (Hopkin 2002). Such comparative content analysis, as the one employed here, focuses on the distinction between coherence and variance between countries (Rössler 2012). The selection of UK, Denmark and Faroe Islands is driven by the insights the countries can provide in terms of national context and overall media picture. The cases selected have several characteristics in common. They share a public service broadcasting culture and have a history of a partisan press. In addition, all the countries are developed liberal democratic societies located within a European cultural setting. Despite these similarities, the media system and the respective countries’ relationship to the negotiating process differ substantially, something which will become evident in the sections which follow. By looking at several countries this study can offer insights which previous one-country studies have not been able to. For instance, the micro-state Faroe Islands represents a useful case since empirical studies of such small systems can inform media theory in general (Sammut 2007). This thesis agrees with the following statement that:

“While small media systems are often overlooked as being narrow and irrelevant for broader media scholarship, paradoxically they may provide excellent opportunities to attack the ethnocentrism of orthodox Anglo-American media scholarship, inviting a more realistic understanding of the information flow” (Sammut 2007: 18).

This means that it is possible to explore media coverage in the wider national context and examine the differences and similarities between the countries (Esser & Hanitzsch 2012). The remainder of the chapter will serve as an introduction to the media outlets and systems in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. Since very little has been written about

media in the Faroe Islands and Denmark, some background information on these countries will also be provided, starting with the Faroe Islands. This helps to contextualise the analysis in the subsequent chapters.

3.4. Media Systems in Faroe Islands, Denmark and Britain

3.4.1. Media in the Faroe Islands

The Faroe Islands are a small island nation located in the North of the Atlantic ocean, with a population of just under 48,600 inhabitants (Hagstova Føroya 2011). The islands' land territory is only 1,396 km (Hagstova Føroya 2011), but the Faroe Islands have an 'exclusive economic zone', i.e. an ocean territory, to which they have the "...sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting, conserving and managing the natural resources" (UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982) of a total of 274,000 square kilometres (Hagstova Føroya 2011). In comparison Denmark, for example, has an exclusive economic zone of about 108,000 square kilometres (Sea Around Us 2011), whilst the land surface of the country is 43,094 square kilometres (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2011). Thus the ratio of sea to land territory in Denmark is 2.5 whilst it is 196 in the Faroe Islands, meaning that the Faroe Islands have a very large amount of ocean territory. As a result the Faroe Islands rely almost exclusively on the fishing industry. Fish products account for about 95 percent of Faroese exports (Hagstova Føroya 2010). There is 1100 km of coastline, and at no point is one more than 5km away from the coast (VisitFaroeIslands 2011). These facts are important in the context of climate change, as they demonstrate how the population lives very close to nature and is overwhelmingly dependent on the fishing and aquaculture industries and therefore also exposed to the possible effects of climate change (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). The islands are a self-governing liberal parliamentary democracy under the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Denmark. The autonomous government and parliament govern and legislate over areas such as conservation and management of living marine resources within their exclusive economic zone, fiscal, industrial and environmental policies, transport, communications, culture,

education and research (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). A point worth noting about the Faroe Islands is that although they are formally a part of Denmark, they have chosen not to be part of the European Union. This means that the Faroe Islands negotiate their own treaties with the European Union as well as other countries of the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). The media landscape is influenced by the limited size of the country, although it has been noted that "...judged by the sheer number of media outlets, media access and use, the media supply and demand are quite impressive" (Karlsson 2008: 16).

The public service broadcaster Kringvarp Føroya (KVF), which consists of television, radio and a website, is a relatively new entity on the Faroese media market. Kringvarp Føroya is a result of a merger between the two public service broadcasters Útvarp Føroya (ÚF) and Sjóntvarp Føroya (SVF). ÚF, the public service radio station, started broadcasting in 1956. This station was very important both for the political process as well as the Faroese language. At that point, it was the only media outlet that had no political affiliations as newspapers were attached to political parties (Skaale 2006). This was the case until the SVF, the Faroese public service television broadcaster, was established in 1984, broadcasting for the first time news and current affairs, documentaries, and children's programmes relevant to the Faroese viewers and in Faroese. This was considered beneficial for the political communication process, as there now was one more independent media outlet with no political affiliations offering a different perspective to the ÚF.

However, this era stopped when it was decided that these two outlets should be merged into one single public service broadcaster. It could be argued that this merger makes it more difficult for the media as a whole to act as a watchdog and hold governments accountable, and more difficult for audiences to be well informed, as there is now only one outlet, and therefore possibly less diversity of news. This consequence was intended to be countered by ensuring that the radio and television aspects maintained separate editorial offices (Public Service-sáttmáli 2010). Nevertheless, from an economic perspective, it makes sense to merge operations together as it results in a reduction in overall costs.

A good example of the difficulties that face small nations in producing televisions can be seen in the very high annual licensing fee of 3,625 DKK (£390 equivalent), which is the highest licensing fee in the West (Mentamálaráðið 2011). Despite this, the revenue from the licensing fee is not sufficient for producing enough material in Faroese, leading to Faroese television broadcasting a large amount of foreign material (Karlsson 2008). Providing enough Faroese material is challenging on such a small budget, since producing one hour of television material should cost approximately the same in the Faroe Islands as it does for broadcasters in larger countries (Lowe, Berg, & Nissen 2011).

What characterises public service broadcasting is that it is publicly funded, often through a licensing fee¹⁴. As a public service broadcaster, Kringvarp Føroya should a.) equip all citizens to participate in the democratic process by informing citizens and providing a platform for debate b.) reflect the Faroe Islands and the Faroese people and stimulate the Faroese language c.) stimulate culture and creativity, and d.) stimulate knowledge and understanding of the wider world (Public Service-sáttmáli 2010). Furthermore, it is essential that the material should be entirely free from political and commercial interests. In addition to that, KVF should entertain and provide material that reflects Faroese culture as well as children's material (Public Service-sáttmáli 2010). It should stress freedom of information and expression and focus on providing accurate and impartial information (Løgtingstíðindi 1997). The television news programme of Kringvarp Føroya analysed in this thesis *Dagur og Vika*, is a half an hour programme which has traditionally been broadcast five times a week, i.e. on weekdays only. However due to economic pressures, this has been reduced to only 4 times a week. Additionally, around Christmas and other holidays, the programme is on only 3 times a week. This has to be considered in the light of the fact that Kringvarp Føroya has very limited resources with an operating revenue of 56 million DKK in 2012 (Føroya Løgting 2012) (£6.03 million equivalent), of which about 41 percent is used for news and current affairs programming (Public Service-sáttmáli 2010).

¹⁴ For an overview of the key principles guiding public service broadcasting (See Buscombe 2000; Curran & Seaton 2010; Raboy 1995; Tracey 1998).

Efforts to publish newspapers in the Faroe Islands date back as far as 1852 (Karlsson 2008), whilst *Dimmaletting* has been published continuously since 1878 (Dalsgarð 2002). *Sosialurin*, then called *Føroya Sosialdemokrat*, published its first edition in 1927. These two papers are the only two, which are published several times a week. *Sosialurin* and *Dimmaletting* have been published 5 times a week since 1990 and 1996 respectively, although *Sosialurin* decided in March 2010 only to be published 3 times a week. They are both broadsheets. There are no tabloid daily newspapers published in the Faroe Islands. However, the content of both newspapers is in some ways similar to tabloids in that articles are often short and light weight, although there is much less emphasis on scandal. This similarity is most likely due to their limited resources. *Sosialurin* and *Dimmaletting* have no direct, party-political affiliations, although this is a relatively recent development, which can be dated back to the 1990s (Skaale 2006). Historically *Sosialurin* was the paper of 'Javnaðarflokkurin', the Social Democrat Party, whilst *Dimmaletting* declared its support for 'Sambandsflokkurin', the Conservative Unionist party, when this was created in 1906 (*Dimmaletting* 2011). Not surprisingly, *Sosialurin* has traditionally been known to employ a more left-wing ideology, whilst *Dimmaletting* is situated more to the right. Like newspapers across the world, *Dimmaletting* and *Sosialurin* are currently struggling economically due to declining newspaper sales and advertising revenues (Mentamálaráðið 2011) partially because of the rise of new free newspapers. Nevertheless, Faroese people are avid newspaper readers: *Dimmaletting* has a circulation of 4450 copies daily (Gregersen 2013), whilst *Sosialurin's* circulation is 5000 (Lindenskov 2013). As many as 52 percent of sales are over subscriptions (Karlsson 2008). Whilst these circulation figures are very low when considered on their own, in the light of the overall population of the Faroe Islands they are actually very high (See Table 3.3).

Newspaper Circulation ¹⁵	Daily Edition	Sunday Edition	Average Circulation	Circulation/ Population Ratio
Faroe Islands				
<i>Sosialurin</i>	5,000	N/A	5,000	10.3%
<i>Dimmalætting</i>	4,450	N/A	4,450	9.2%
Total Sample Circulation	16,500	N/A	16,500	19.4%
Denmark				
<i>Politiken</i>	97,986	126,027	101,992	1.8%
<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>	106,717	139,059	111,337	2.0%
<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>	72,986	102,278	77,171	1.4%
Total Sample Circulation	277,689	367,364	290,500	5.3%
United Kingdom				
<i>Guardian</i>	248,775	288,842	254,499	0.4%
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	634,113	501,379	615,151	1.0%
<i>The Sun</i>	2,821,618	2,667,428	2,799,591	4.5%
Total Sample Circulation	3,704,506	3,457,649	3,669,241	5.9%

Table 3.3 - Newspaper circulation and population ratio. Sources: Gregersen (2013), Lindenskov (2013), Dansk Oplagskontrol (2010), ABC (*Guardian* 2011a), World Bank (2011)

3.4.2. Media in Denmark

Denmark has a population of about 5.6 million (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2011). It is a constitutional monarchy with a unicameral parliamentary legislature. Denmark's media system has been seen as a strong example of the democratic corporatist model. Some of the characteristics of such media systems are very high newspaper circulation, historically a strong party press, which has then shifted towards more commercial and neutral press (Hallin & Mancini 2004). Press subsidies, state intervention but with strong protection of press freedom and strong public service broadcasting are also common features of the Danish media system. Political pluralism is also a feature, with the presence of well-organised social groups which are integrated into the political process (Hallin & Mancini 2004).

DR, the Danish public service broadcaster, consists of radio, television as well as a website containing online news, video clips and so forth. DR has a total revenue of about 3.861

¹⁵ Increasingly, newspapers – especially broadsheets – are offering themselves as multi-platform news sources, with online editions, mobile and I-pad editions, and so on. As a result, they are also becoming more internationalised in their readership. So, while the *Guardian*, for instance, may have sold 248,775 physical copies, this by no means is the full numbers of readers.

million DKK (approximately £417 million equivalent) and just over 3000 staff (DR 2010). As a public service broadcaster, DR's duties are similar to those of KVF and BBC. DR should be independent from all economic, commercial and political interests. Furthermore, it is seen as an "...indispensable part of the democratic process..." and should equip citizens to take part in the democratic process through information dissemination and by acting as a platform for debate (Public service kontrakt 2011). The focus of attention in this thesis is on *TV Avisen*, the early evening DR news, which is broadcast at 6.30pm daily and lasts for half an hour. It was first broadcast in 1965 (DR 2011). Approximately 84 percent of the Danish population tune in to the main DR channel on a weekly basis, whilst *TV Avisen* at 6.30pm has an average of 435.000 viewers a day (TNS Gallup TV-Meter 2012).

The Danish newspaper titles analysed in this thesis are *Jyllands-Posten*, *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet*. *Jyllands-Posten*¹⁶, was first published in Århus in 1871 (*Jyllands-Posten* 2011c), whilst *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet* were established in Copenhagen in 1884 and 1904 respectively (*Ekstra Bladet* 2011; *Politiken* 2011). *Ekstra Bladet* started as a supplement issue of *Politiken*, but already in 1905 it became a newspaper in its own right with its own editorial office, completely independent from *Politiken* (*Ekstra Bladet* 2011). *Jyllands-Posten* is widely considered a liberal right-leaning newspaper, whilst *Politiken* is known to be a more leftish, social liberal and intellectual newspaper (Jørgensen et al. 2010). Until 1938 *Jyllands-Posten* officially supported 'Det Konservative Folkeparti', the Conservative People's Party (*Jyllands-Posten* 2011b), and was always a very strong advocate of economic liberalism and business interests (*Jyllands-Posten* 2011a). As a consequence, it was strongly opposed to Socialism and the trade unions (*Jyllands-Posten* 2011a). *Politiken*, on the other hand, was established in order to provide an alternative more social liberal counterview to the dominant conservative newspapers, and up until 1970 the paper was affiliated with the social liberal party 'Det radikale Venstre' (*Politiken* 2008). *Ekstra Bladet* is a populist tabloid newspaper, with a self-image of itself as an aggressive and fierce watchdog (*Ekstra Bladet* 2011). Today, all three newspapers are published every day of the week and they all claim to be editorially independent from all political, business and

¹⁶ *Jyllands-Posten*, translates into the Jutland Post. Jylland is the second largest island of Denmark. It therefore started out as a regional newspaper, and was seen to have a different perspective to that of the capital.

economic interests. These newspapers represent the largest right-leaning and left-leaning titles, and the largest tabloid in the Danish newspaper market. Considering that COP15 took place in Denmark, analysing media coverage in Denmark is very fruitful since it allows for an appreciation of the role that hosting such a conference might have on the coverage.

3.4.3. Media in Britain

Due to the fact that the UK media have been extensively researched this section will only provide a brief overview of some of its key characteristics, and focus only on those outlets, which are examined in this thesis. For a more thorough introduction to the British media system, see Buscombe (2000), Cole and Harcup (2010), Curran and Seaton (2010), McNair (2007), Negrine (1989) and Wheeler (1997). What characterises Britain's media system is a very strong internal variation, since there is a "...sharp distinction between the quality and mass press and striking [...] differences between the regimes governing print and broadcast media" (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 198). Therefore, one could argue that the British media system is mixed in nature, since the television industry is based upon public service principles and adheres to the social responsibility model, while the press system is much closer to a politicised libertarian model (Oates 2008). It could also be argued that Britain fits in between a liberal model and a democratic corporatist model (Hallin & Mancini 2004). While television journalists try hard to work within a framework which supports societal reflection and consensus, the press have a "...readily identifiable political slant that permeates much of the news content" (Oates 2008: 36). Virtually all newspapers on the market "...have an overt political agenda that is clear throughout the paper in the way that stories are chosen, covered, and displayed" (Oates 2008: 39).

The British newspaper market is highly stratified and strongly influenced by socio-economic and educational factors (Cole & Harcup 2010). This market can be divided into tabloids and broadsheets (Oates 2008) or popular and quality, although some prefer to divide it into three groups, with an additional type of newspaper, black tops or 'mid-market' papers (Cole & Harcup 2010). Johansson (2008: 402) argues that "...a typically sensationalist news style, a celebrity-oriented and sexualized news agenda, and the use of aggressive journalistic methods such as paparazzi coverage and chequebook journalism..."

characterises the tabloid press. In general, the readers of tabloids tend to come from lower socio-economic groups, whilst the broadsheets sell to people from the upper end of the socio-economic spectrum, with higher levels of education (Cole & Harcup 2010; Sparks 1987). The broadsheets are often considered to have a stronger agenda—setting role than tabloids, since broadsheet papers are often read by policy makers and politicians (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Sparks 1987). These papers are generally characterised by a strong focus on text and debate. They tend to offer more in-depth material and analysis of key events and focus less on popular culture and human interest stories than do the tabloids (Cole & Harcup 2010).

The *Daily Telegraph* is a right-wing conservative newspaper which historically has been consistently loyal to the Conservative party (Cole & Harcup 2010; Negrine 1989). The *Guardian* is a more liberal, left-leaning title (Cole & Harcup 2010; McNair 2007), which has established an international reputation. It is known to speak up for the third world, immigrants and ethnic minorities as well as the planet and climate change (Cole & Harcup 2010). The *Guardian's* readers have the highest level of education amongst the British newspaper readers (Sparks 1987). *The Sun* has historically often backed the Conservative Party. Nevertheless, it switched its allegiance to Labour before the 1997 General Election (McNair 2007). However in September 2009 they announced that they would once more back the Conservative Party. *The Sun*, as a tabloid, is known for its outrageous headlines, attention-grabbing stories and scandal mongering (Oates 2008). It is the paper with the highest circulation, though is predominantly read by working class people. In fact, its readers come from the lowest socio-economic background out of all the UK newspapers (Cole & Harcup 2010). Its Sunday sister paper *News of the World* published its final edition in July 2011 after a phone hacking scandal, where the paper had allegedly hacked into the mobile phones of crime victims, celebrities and politicians (*Guardian* 2011b). As is the case in Denmark, there is a clear correspondence between the readers of certain newspapers and their political affiliations. For example, Figure 3.1 illustrates, that *Daily Telegraph* readers predominantly vote for the Conservative Party, whilst the vast majority of *Guardian* readers vote either for the Labour Party or Liberal Democratic Party. *The Sun's* readership is not as clearly defined in terms of the voting behaviour – the biggest

proportion of their readers voted for the Conservative Party at the 2010 General election, but for the Labour Party at the 2005 General Election.

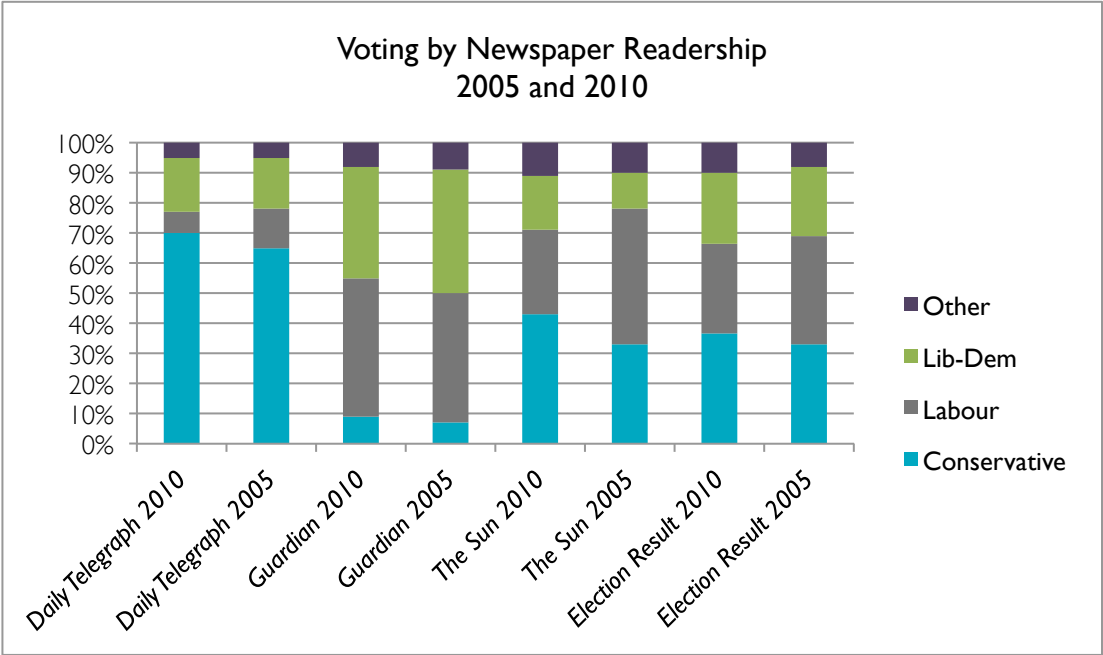


Figure 3.1 - Voting by newspapers readership for the general elections of 2005 and 2010. Adapted from (Ipsos Mori 2010)

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is probably the most famous public service broadcasting institution in the world and “...stands as a quintessential model of public service broadcasting worldwide” (Raboy 1995: 6). It was established in 1922 as a radio broadcaster, but was later founded as a public service broadcaster in 1927 (Holtz-Bacha & Norris 2001). The first television news bulletin was broadcast in 1954. From the outset, the core responsibilities of the BBC were, and still are, to ‘entertain, inform, and educate’. This principle was widely adopted for other public service broadcasters in other countries (Holtz-Bacha & Norris 2001). As a public service broadcaster, the BBC exists to serve the public interest. Its duties are outlined in the Royal Charter and include roles such as: to sustain citizenship and civil society; promote education and learning; stimulate creativity and cultural excellence; represent the UK, its nations, regions and communities; and bring the UK to the world and the world to the UK (BBC Charter 2006). As a public service broadcaster the BBC should be impartial and balanced in its coverage.

The BBC has a wide reach with 96 percent of the population accessing some of their services weekly (BBC 2011a). 86 percent of citizens tune in to a BBC television programme at least once a week, whilst over 80 percent of people access some form of BBC news weekly. The BBC has a sizable budget with a total revenue of £4.99 billions, of which 66 percent is spent on television (BBC 2011b). The annual household licence fee is currently £145.50. The corporation has 17,242 staff (equivalent full time) (BBC 2011b). The thesis examines working day coverage in the early evening news bulletin, which is broadcast at 6pm everyday. On average 4.4 million viewers a day watch the 'Early Evening News' (BBC 2011b).

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the methodological issues surrounding the present research. It has discussed the concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism in the context of climate change and the benefits of using these in the analysis. Furthermore, the chapter has detailed the techniques and the analytical framework deployed in the subsequent chapters. It is argued that content analysis represents the most appropriate method for the analysis of such quantities of data. Furthermore, it concluded that the analytical framework developed on the basis of the concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism as well as the academic literature on climate change can serve as a useful tool with which to systematically evaluate the representation of values in coverage concerning climate change. The final part of the chapter has also engaged with the nature of the media systems and media outlets analysed in this thesis. Although there are similarities between the media in the three countries, all possess their own intrinsic characteristics with regards to size of the country, media system, circulation and funding. Therefore they have different conditions to perform their duties within their respective societies. The conditions under which these media outlets operate might therefore impact upon their engagement with climate change. The following three chapters are dedicated to the analysis of television and print media coverage of climate change and the ethical arguments deployed in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands.

Chapter 4 - British Media Coverage of Climate Negotiations

Introduction

The British government played a key role in the COP15 negotiations in Copenhagen. Gordon Brown, the then Prime Minister, was the first world leader to announce that he would attend the Copenhagen conference, although such conferences have traditionally been attended by Environment ministers (Harrabin 2009). Prior to the conference, he (Brown 2009) stressed the importance of success as well as financing for developing countries, stating that:

“If we do not reach a deal at Copenhagen, if we miss this opportunity to protect our planet, we cannot hope for a second chance some time in the future. There will be no retrospective global agreement to undo the damage we will have caused.”

Brown was concerned with ensuring financing for developing countries, and was arguably seeking an international role due to domestic problems at home. At the Commonwealth Summit prior to the conference, he, alongside the then French President Sarkozy, proposed a plan for a climate fund to help developing countries to adapt to climate change as well as limit the growth in their emissions (BBC News 2009). The British media were also involved in the drama of the negotiations, in that the drafts that were leaked prior and during the conferences were first published in the *Guardian*. The British media, both television and press, gave substantial attention to COP15 with coverage reaching record high levels during the conference.

This chapter examines the coverage both in press and television by looking at the three selected British newspapers, the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*, as well as the public service broadcaster, the BBC. The chosen newspapers represent the largest left-leaning, right-leaning and tabloid in terms of daily circulation (*Guardian* 2010), and therefore illustrate very well the ways in which ideological affiliations and style/format relate to coverage.

Several key questions related to media's representation of climate change and its ethical dimensions in the context of Britain are explored. A public debate, which partially or perhaps completely overlooks the key themes identified, is inadequate as it ignores some of the most crucial perplexities of climate change (Gardiner 2010b; Gardiner et al. 2010). Arguably, the possibility of reaching a fair climate agreement partially depends upon the ability of the media to inform citizens of the unjust nature of climate change and the importance of taking bold action. The overarching concern is to assess the overall quality of the public debate on climate change and the key challenges around it. In addressing this question, this chapter examines the quantitative aspects of the coverage in the respective outlets and relates this to the literature on mediated climate change. The comprehensiveness of the coverage on the key issues around climate change as outlined in Chapter 1 is also explored as well as how the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism form part of the coverage. This chapter will also consider which voices are given prominence in the ethical debate on climate change, and the themes and values they are connected with. In assessing these questions in three major newspapers and the public service broadcaster it is possible to draw some conclusions with regards to the nature and quality of the public debate on climate change in Britain. Finally this chapter will also assess which medium, television or press, has more comprehensive and in-depth coverage on climate change and its ethical dimensions, and the potential implications that follow.

The chapter is organised in two main sections dealing with the newspaper and television analysis separately. Each section will give an overview of the media coverage of the climate change negotiations. The sections then proceed to examine in more depth how the key themes are represented in the respective media and how cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives form part of this coverage. The key aim is to explore where and when we are likely to see cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in the coverage of the key issues around climate change.

4.1. British Newspaper Coverage of COP15 and COP16

4.1.1. An Overview of the Quantity of Coverage

In order to assess the nature of the public debate in Britain, it is first necessary to examine the extent to which climate change is on the media's agenda. Research so far has looked into the quantity of climate change coverage in the British media as discussed in Chapter 2. This research has suggested that media coverage increases significantly in relation to important political events, such as the climate negotiations in Copenhagen and Cancun (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Boykoff & Rajan 2007; Carvalho 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Shanahan & Good 2000), but also that coverage reduces dramatically following the COP15 negotiations and does not reach the same level for COP16 (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011).

The newspapers analysed here – the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* - also gave considerably more attention to the COP15 conference than to the COP16. There were a total of 1155 articles focusing on climate change in the three newspapers for the two conferences. 71 percent of this coverage was in the COP15 period (see Figure 4.1).

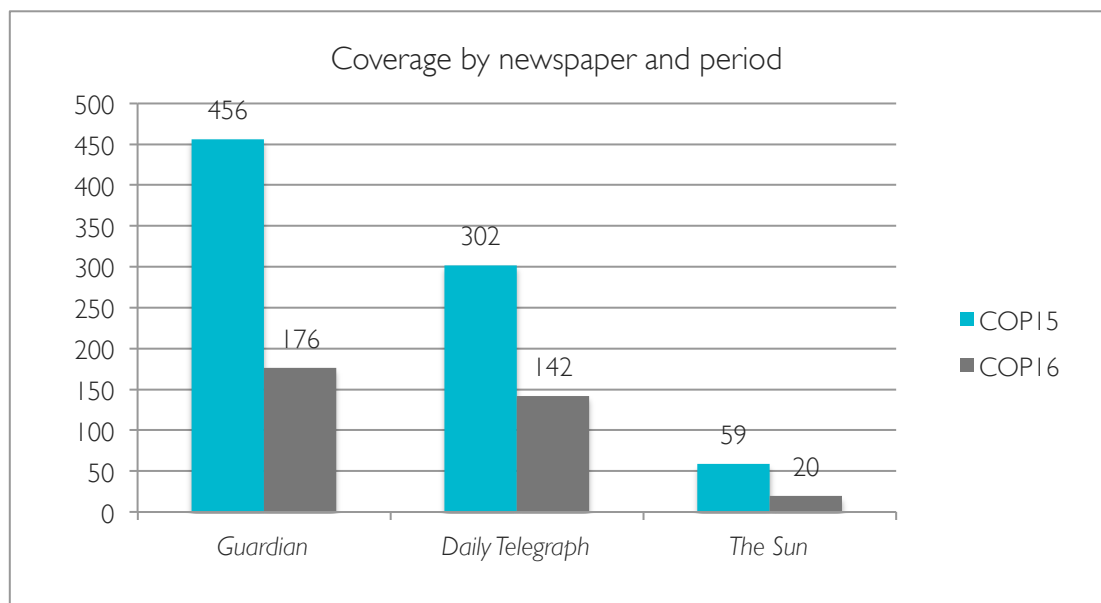


Figure 4.1 - Overview of coverage by newspaper and period (UK)

There were differences between the attention that the respective newspaper titles gave to the issue. The *Guardian* had more than half (55 percent) of the coverage whilst *The Sun* had substantially less (7 percent) (see Figure 4.2). This is consistent with other research on mediated climate change. For example, Gavin (2009) identified more articles in the left-leaning titles. Similarly, Painter (2011) highlighted this pattern, but in addition found that the right-leaning press also had more climate sceptical voices within them. In fact, the top five newspapers with the highest proportion of articles quoting “...uncontested sceptical voices...” were all right-leaning (Painter 2011: 107). Furthermore, research has also suggested that tabloid newspapers are less likely to faithfully reflect the scientific consensus on climate change (Boykoff & Mansfield 2008). This means that tabloid readers might not only receive little and superficial information on climate change, but potentially be misinformed concerning the basic premise that human greenhouse gas emissions contribute to global warming.

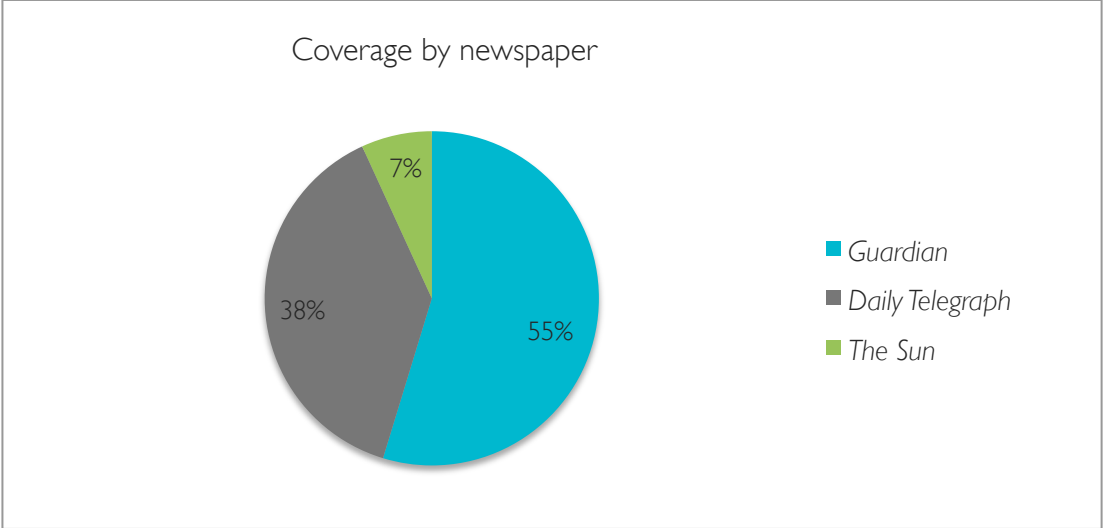


Figure 4.2 - Proportion of coverage by newspaper (UK)

This distribution of articles is important when each newspaper’s circulation is considered. This results in a lot of disparity in terms of a story’s reach. In round terms, the *Guardian*, with only 7 percent of overall circulation, had a whopping 55 percent of the coverage. On the other hand, *The Sun*, whose circulation is 75 percent of total circulation, contained only 7 percent of the coverage (see Table 4.1). Therefore the large proportion of readers get very little coverage on climate change. This disparity is further reinforced by the fact that *The Sun*’s articles were substantially shorter than those of the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* (see Figure 4.3).

UK newspaper	Daily circulation	Sunday Circulation	Average circulation ¹⁷	
<i>The Sun</i>	2.821.618	2.667.428	2.799.591	76%
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	634.113	501.379	615.161	17%
<i>Guardian</i>	248.775	288.842	254.499	7%

Table 4.1 - Average daily circulation in UK newspapers – Source: ABCs (*Guardian* 2010)

All this confirms that broadsheet newspapers generally tend to give much more attention to climate change, both in terms of the number of stories as well as their depth. Other studies (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Gavin 2009; Painter 2010) have reached similar conclusions on this matter. Although the *Guardian* has the longest stories overall, the difference between the two broadsheets is much less noticeable, suggesting that perhaps the newspaper’s style is even more crucial than ideology when it comes to determining the length and depth of the stories. However, this is not surprising considering that tabloids are known to use “...short words and sentences, nouns as adjectives and expressions seldom spoken by anyone at all to provide the quick read the redtops believe their readers require” (Cole & Harcup 2010: 23). Therefore short articles are one of the key features of tabloid newspapers. One possible consequence of this approach is that these newspapers may be less developed in their treatment of the topics facing society, resulting in a public debate, which lacks in depth and overlooks some central aspects of the issues involved.

¹⁷ The percentage figure refers to the proportion of the total circulation of the three newspapers combined.

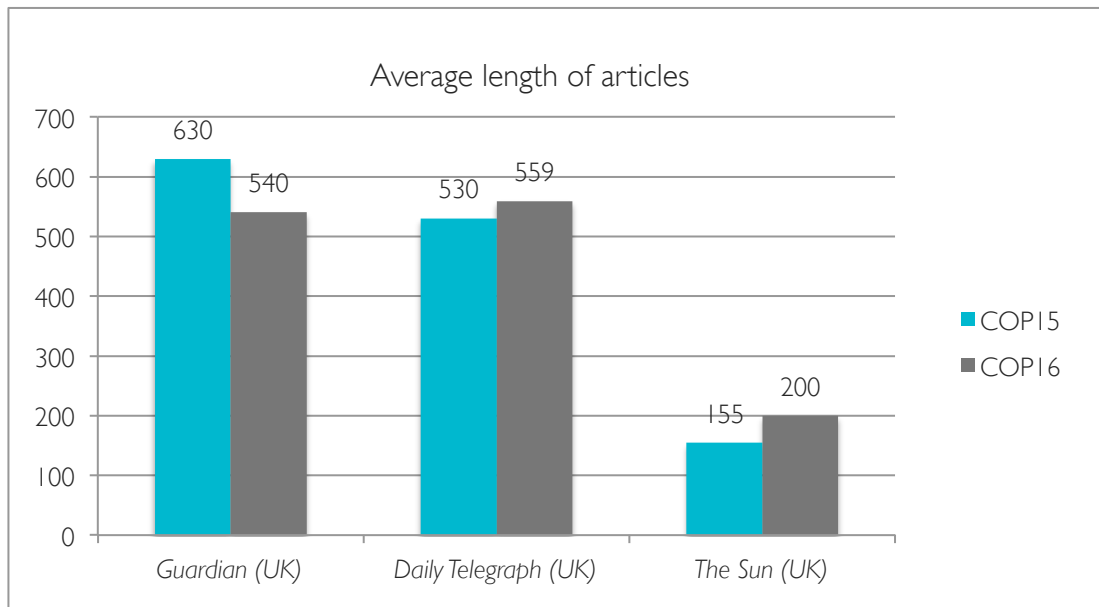


Figure 4.3 - Average article length by newspaper and period (UK)

The overall quantity and length of articles could have repercussions for public understanding of climate change. There are two major implications. The first is about knowledge gain. Considering that people tend to get most of their knowledge on climate change from the media, particularly from television and the press (Stamm et al. 2000; Whitmarsh 2009), it is important to consider the quantity and the quality of this coverage. In this case, over the six-month period assessed, a very large number of readers get very few stories on climate change (79), which in any event are also much shorter than the broadsheet equivalent. The second one is about the capacity of the press to drive the public agenda. It has been suggested elsewhere that public concern for climate change rises with increasing newspaper coverage of the issue (Sampei & Aoyagi-Usui 2009).

A recent poll by GlobeScan (2011) found that the percentage of the British public which considered climate change a ‘very serious’ concern reduced from 59 percent in 2009 to 43 percent in 2010. This data is certainly consistent with a diminished agenda-setting capacity of press coverage, as the quantity declined in the time frame we studied. Indeed, one of the few studies in this field (Gavin 2007a) suggests that broadsheet coverage has the most significant agenda setting capacity. So, the decline in broadsheet attention we have shown between COP15 and COP16 is consistent with the notion that this may be implicated in diminished public concern. However, other factors may be at work too. Painter (2011)

found that during two periods - from February 1 – April 30 2007 and from November 19 2009 – February 18 2010 the percentage of articles in British newspapers which contained sceptical voices went from 7 percent to 22 percent. In this context, increased sceptical coverage and decreasing broadsheet attention may have combined to diminish public concern.

4.1.2. Newspaper Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

So far it has been established that attention to climate change reduced dramatically for the COP16 period, with possible implications for the public debate in Britain. It is evident that readers were less able to consider the issue of climate change in the second period of analysis. In addition, whilst the media have a potentially important role to play in setting the agenda for public debate (Mccombs & Shaw 1972), it is no less important in framing issues in a particular way, highlighting certain interpretations at the expense of others (Entman 1993; Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson 1997). Chapter 1 discussed the ethical dimension of climate change, identifying the key challenges or themes relating to climate change. This thesis argues that a public debate which overlooks these key themes, is inadequate, since it ignores some of the most crucial aspects of climate change. Therefore, it could be expected that a comprehensive public debate would contain a discussion of the key issues. This next section examines how the ethical dimensions of climate change was discursively represented in coverage, identifying which themes were most prominent, and in which titles. It will also establish when and where cosmopolitan and communitarian arguments are most likely to appear. This allows for an examination of whether and how values underpin the debate on climate change, and how these vary in relation to the respective newspaper titles.

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, six key themes emerge from the academic literature on climate change:

- a. Carbon emissions (Issues relating to carbon emissions, such as reduction and disparities between countries)
- b. Consequences (Issues relating to the impact of climate change across the world)

- c. Financing (Issues relating to the compensation/financing between countries to help mitigate and adapt to climate change)
- d. Future generations (Issues relating to the impact of the current generation’s environmental behaviour on future generations)
- e. Lifestyle and sustainability (Issues relating to sustainability, consumerism and lifestyle choices in general)
- f. Negotiating process (Issues relating to the power distribution and procedural fairness within the UN negotiating process itself)

All the articles analysed (1155) were studied in order to establish which of these themes, if any, they made reference to. This was then recorded on the coding scheme¹⁸.

Overall, there were 324 articles out of 1155, which discussed one or more of these elements. The vast majority of these were in the *Guardian* (222 in total across COP15 and COP16) with the *Daily Telegraph* (87) and *The Sun* (15) having significantly fewer (see Table 4.2).

Key Theme	<i>Guardian</i>		<i>Daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Sun</i>		Total		
	COP15	COP16	COP15	COP16	COP15	COP16	COP15	COP16	Total
Carbon Emissions	96	22	40	7	7	1	143	30	173
Consequences	56	24	25	4	3	0	84	28	112
Financing	61	14	31	7	4	2	96	23	119
Lifestyle and Sustainability	26	12	8	6	5	0	39	18	57
Future Generations	22	2	4	0	1	0	27	2	29
Negotiating process	19	10	6	0	1	0	26	10	36
Total	168	54	71	16	13	2	252	72	324

Table 4.2 - Distribution of themes by newspaper and period (UK)

Due to the fact that the *Guardian* had more than half of the climate change coverage, their high number of articles discussing the key topics could perhaps have been expected – the more space dedicated to the climate change leaves greater room for the elaboration of key issues. The *Guardian*, is also the newspaper which dedicates the highest proportion of its coverage to the key topics, with almost 37 percent of articles on COP15 and over 30

¹⁸ The coding scheme contained the following fields: Date, newspaper, author, page number, sources, key theme (yes or no), if yes – which theme.

percent on COP16 (see Figure 4.4). The *Daily Telegraph*¹⁹ and *The Sun*²⁰ had a much lower proportion of articles focusing on the key themes than the *Guardian*.

Therefore the *Guardian* readers received substantially more coverage on the key issues around climate change whilst *The Sun* readers were only presented with 15 articles across the two conferences. The result is that a significant proportion of newspaper readers are exposed to a limited range of views from reading these newspapers with the public debate on the key themes only reaching a small proportion.

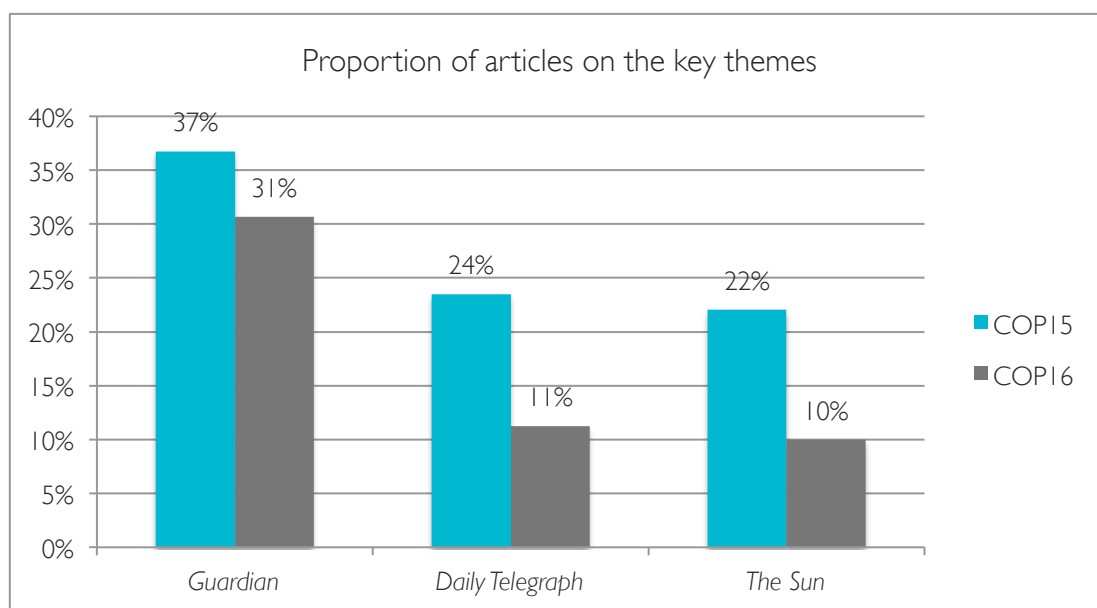


Figure 4.4 - Proportion of articles focusing on the key themes (UK)

In addition, the proportion of articles in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* dropped between COP15 and COP16. The *Guardian* also reduced its proportion of coverage focusing on the key themes, though by a lesser amount. Overall the coverage of the key themes decreased by approximately 12 percentage points over the two periods in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*, although the reduction in the *Guardian* was smaller (7 percentage points). This means that the proportion of articles discussing one or more of the key topics was more than halved in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*. There was a substantially smaller reduction in the *Guardian*. The differences between the newspapers indicate that both style, as well as ideology and article length, can relate to a newspaper's tendency to

¹⁹ The *Daily Telegraph's* proportion of articles dedicated to the key themes was about 23.5 percent for COP15 and just over 11 percent for COP16.

²⁰ *The Sun's* proportion of articles focusing on the key themes was about 22 percent for COP15 and 10 percent for COP16.

focus on the key themes. Since all the newspapers reduced the number of articles for the COP16 period, the drop in coverage cannot be ascribed to ideology only.

It is clear that the left-leaning *Guardian* focused substantially more on the key issues than did both the other two papers. In addition to the differences in the overall emphasis on the topics, there were clear differences between newspapers in terms of which themes they tended to focus on. As Figure 4.5 demonstrates, it is clear that issues relating to ‘carbon emissions’ were most frequently discussed. Over 50 percent of articles focusing on the key themes in our press corpus touched upon ‘carbon emissions’, making it the biggest theme overall. ‘Financing’ was the second largest theme in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*.

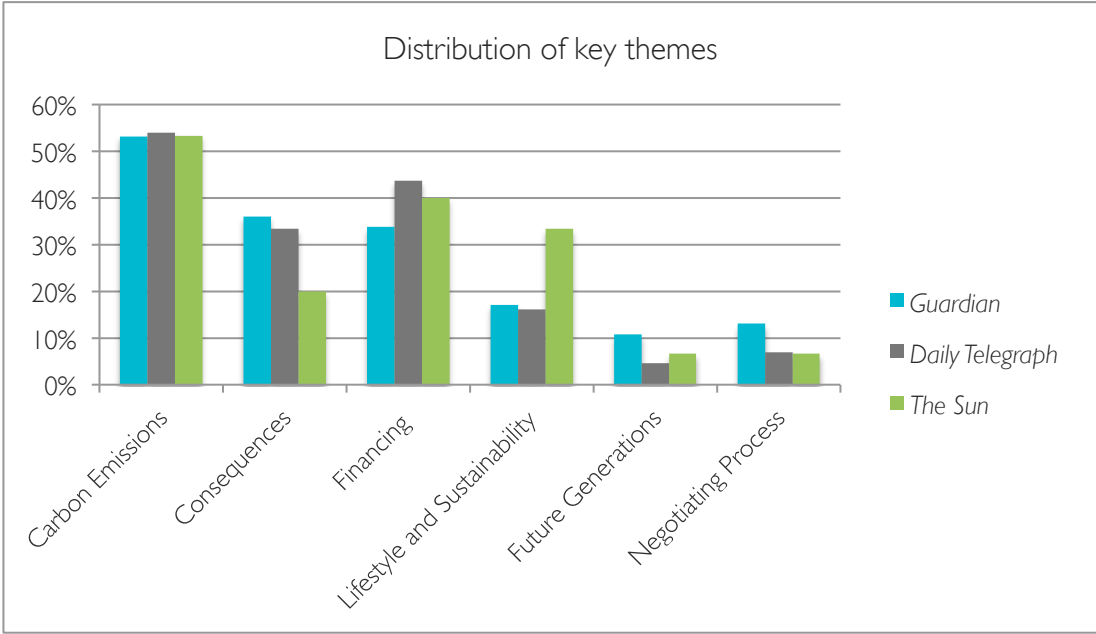


Figure 4.5 - Proportion of the respective themes of the total articles on the main issues²¹ (UK)

The *Guardian* had the highest proportion of articles (though not by much), which focused on the ‘consequences’ theme with 35 percent. The three remaining themes, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’, ‘future generations’ and ‘negotiating process’ were the aspects which received the least attention. This was so in all of the newspapers, with the exception of *The Sun*’s relative large focus on ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (5 articles out of 15), which is consistent with tabloids’ known preoccupation with the former.

²¹ *The Sun*’s percentages should be considered with caution due to their low overall number of articles focusing on the key themes (15).

Earlier it was demonstrated that the *Guardian* had 55 percent of the overall coverage. If only the coverage which touches upon the key issues is examined, the *Guardian*'s coverage is all the more dominant. It had 68 percent of all articles (See Figure 4.6). *The Sun*'s proportion of coverage focusing on the key themes was extremely limited - only 5 percent. The distribution of articles must once more be considered in the light of circulation figures (see Table 4.1). Some 7 percent of readers (the *Guardian*-buying component of the population) received 68 percent of articles on the key issues around climate change. On the other hand, 76 percent of readers (*The Sun* readers) received only 5 percent of this coverage. Therefore, the vast majority of readers see relatively little coverage on the key issues around climate change. The commentary is almost exclusively limited to the broadsheets, and particularly the *Guardian*, which has almost three quarters of it. This has serious implications in terms of which readers are likely to have a better understanding of climate change and subsequently their ability to engage in public debates on the topic. Thus it can be concluded that there are strong differences between the various titles, with tabloids focusing very little on climate change and its key challenges. This gives some indication about the quality and the depth of the public debate in these newspapers. However it does not shed light upon the manner in which ethics is discursively represented in the coverage.

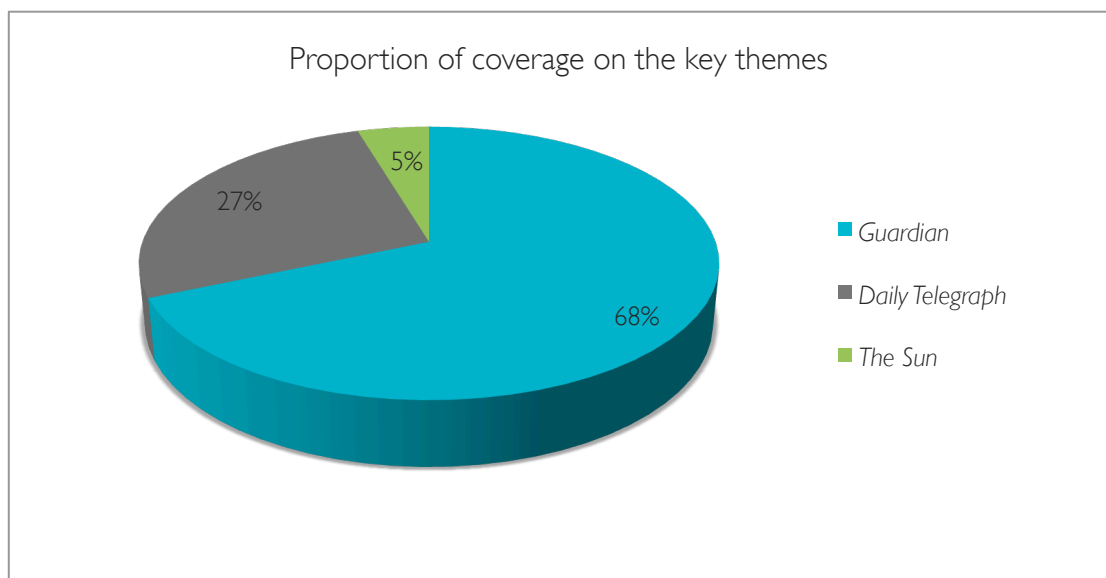


Figure 4.6 - Percentage of coverage focusing on the key themes by newspaper (UK)

As intimated in the previous chapter, this thesis explores the extent to which media coverage allows for a more cosmopolitan and global outlook and for the more common

communitarian perspective (Cottle 2009). It has been argued that national news media often work against the notion of a cosmopolitan ethics, rather emphasising the interests and perspectives of the local or national population (Cottle 2009; Olausson 2009). The following section addresses this issue. The chapter then moves on to explore which voices are more likely to take on a cosmopolitan or communitarian perspective, by examining which of these the individual sources get quoted on.

In order to proceed with the analysis, a representative sample was created from all the articles which focused on one of the key themes. The sample, consisting of 108 articles, was chosen by sorting the articles first by newspaper, then by date. Every third article was selected for in-depth analysis, accounting for about 33 percent of items touching on the key topics. By analysing these articles, the next sections examine the way in which these themes are discursively embedded in the coverage, and how the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism form part of this coverage. The following section first assesses which voices are given prominence, and the themes and values they are quoted on. This allows for an appreciation of the differences between newspapers and the potential implications for public debate. Moreover, by looking at which themes are given prominence and which are overlooked (and the ways in which these form part of the coverage), it is possible to gauge the breadth and the quality of the coverage. This should allow us to reach some conclusions regarding the comprehensiveness of the public debate on climate change.

4.1.3. Sources in Newspaper Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

The media have a key role to play as a gatekeeper, determining which actors or voices get heard within public debates (Reese et al. 1994). The distribution of sources can have strong implications for the overall message conveyed, since various actors will compete to define climate change in a way that suits their agenda. This section examines the distribution of sources and their association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. Previously, Table 3.1 demonstrated how these two concepts are used within the analysis. To recap briefly, cosmopolitan arguments would focus on the global perspective and

communitarian ones would be written from the local perspective, highlighting national interests.

There has been some research on the sources quoted during climate conferences. Painter (2010) conducted an assessment of sources quoted on the science of climate change at Copenhagen in a brief six-day period in 12 countries. He found that governments and national organisations were quoted in the largest proportion of articles (33 percent), followed by IPCC or UNFCCC (24 percent). Scientists were quoted in only 12 percent of articles, and NGOs in 11 percent (Painter 2010). However, Painter (2010) only included sources which were quoted on the science of climate change, and not on policy or the progress of the negotiations. The exploration of sources here is extended to exploring commentary relating to all of the key climate change issues previously identified. The classification of sources is also different (and more fine-grained) in the analysis that follows: Painter classified sources from UNFCCC/IPCC together, whilst this thesis classified UNFCCC as UN officials/negotiators and IPCC as scientific sources. In addition, Painter classified government sources together, while this study considers the delegations from the countries analysed. Furthermore, whilst he focused on the quotes used in science commentary, this study considers all the actors quoted in the articles on the key climate change issues. This will highlight how such voices might define the problems and solutions to climate change, and allow for a better understanding of the range of perspectives offered in relation to the key issues. In addition, the current analysis is over a longer period of time than Painter's, which might have implications for the range of sources illuminated considering the fact that the analysis conducted here is during non-conference periods as well.

Table 4.3 provides an overview of the number of articles which quoted either directly or indirectly²² a source from a specific group in the 108 articles for both periods. Overall sources from the scientific community (27) were quoted most often. This was followed by sources from the UK government or its delegation (26). Delegations from other governments were represented too. These predominantly came in the form of developing

²² Indirect quotes are those, which paraphrase what an actor has said, whilst a direct quote contains the statement word for word in quotation marks.

countries (23), although the US government/delegation (15), other developed countries (9), and BASIC countries (9) were also represented. However, there was also substantial sourcing of non-governmental actors, for instance NGOs, UN officials, the business community etc.

These findings are important for a number of reasons. First, the weight of the science community is singularly at odds with Painter's (2010) findings (although the representation of governments is on a par). Second, our results suggest that the conclusions of theorists emphasising elite or governmental dominance in sourcing need to be revisited and revised (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). All are premised on the dominance of nationally situated, governmental or political elites. Livingston and Bennett (2003: 366) do subtly shift their definition of who should be indexed to included "...political elites whom journalists regard as decisive in the outcomes of the issues...". This shift perhaps allows for the inclusion of "...supra-governmental organizations (such as the United Nations) and their spokespersons, ministers and leaders." (373). But this is distinctly at odds with earlier – and later (Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston 2006) emphasis on *national* elites, and is implausible in the light of this. Our results, and the weight of non-elite sources therein, seriously problematise the notion of such national governmental (or national political elite) dominance. The weight of *foreign* sources is also at odds with elite theory more generally (Davis 2003; Evans 1995; Marsh 1995) which tends to focus on relatively homogenous, socially embedded, but nationally situated social groupings (unless the term 'elite' is stretched to near meaninglessness).

Our findings are closest to those of Althaus, Edy, Entman and Phalen (1996), who are critical of Bennett and his colleagues' emphasis on sourcing narrowed down to national elites. They note that foreign governments can get greater representation in coverage than national (in this case American) political elites. They conclude, "Regardless of how the indexing hypothesis is revised, it is clear that the concept of 'official debate' must be expanded to include foreign elites" (Althaus et al. 1996: 418). Our results underwrite that conclusion and confirm their prediction that, "In other cases...reporters following professional norms and routines may create a more diverse and oppositional discourse in the news than has arisen amongst US elites." (Althaus et al. 1996: 418). However, the

assessment of Althaus et al (1996: 418) is still predicated on the notion that this diversity revolves around those actors who have “...a significant say over policy outcomes.”. Here our results suggest that this too is rather narrow, as many of those sourced in our corpus could not be described as having a ‘significant say’. So, the British press, in this instance, could be said to be extending source pluralism in a fuller manner.

Source	<i>Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>The Sun</i>	Total
Scientific Community	19	8	0	27
UK Government/Delegation	13	10	3	26
Developing Countries	17	5	1	23
NGOs/Activists	13	7	0	20
UN officials/Negotiators	14	5	0	19
US Government/Delegation	10	4	1	15
Business Community	5	4	0	9
Other Developed Countries	7	2	0	9
BASIC countries	7	2	0	9
Public/Vox Pops	7	1	0	8
Think Tanks	5	1	0	6
EU Representatives	3	2	0	5
Other	15	6	2	23

Table 4.3 - Source distribution in articles on the key themes by newspaper²³ (UK)

Table 4.3 gives a fair indication of the types of sources which are most successful in gaining access to particular titles. But there are differences between the number of articles analysed from each newspaper. As a result of this, it is helpful to examine the source distribution in terms of the proportion of the newspapers’ articles, which quote a certain group. This allows for an assessment of any significant differences in the tendency of each newspaper to give space to particular actors²⁴.

As Figure 4.7 illustrates, there are only a few places where the proportion of stories varies to any significant degree. Here the figures for the *Sun* need to be viewed with caution in

²³ The ‘other’ category includes actors not grouped as any of the above categories, such as former politicians, religious leaders, police representative, lawyers and architects.

²⁴ Please note that due to the very low number of articles in *The Sun*, the percentages exaggerate the differences. For example, the 60 percent for the UK government and delegation is the result of 3 articles quoting that category.

comparison to the broadsheets, since the very low number of articles mean numbers in the figure may be an unreliable guide to substantive differences. *The Sun* may be inclined to reference the government and ‘others’, but the clear picture here is that, overall, its small number of short items use very few sources. As a result of this, *The Sun’s* readers were exposed to a very limited range of perspectives. The *Daily Telegraph* (35 percent), on the other hand, does include UK government sources significantly more than does the *Guardian* (18 percent). The *Daily Telegraph* is also more inclined to access the business community, but less likely to use the public as a source. But for the rest of the categories of sources there is scarcely anything by way of eye-catching differences. This does not appear, on the face of it, to seriously contradict our perception of a lack of dominance by nationally situated government actors. And it does not suggest there is a uniformly applicable structure to the way the ideological position of the respective titles impinged on their choice of sources.

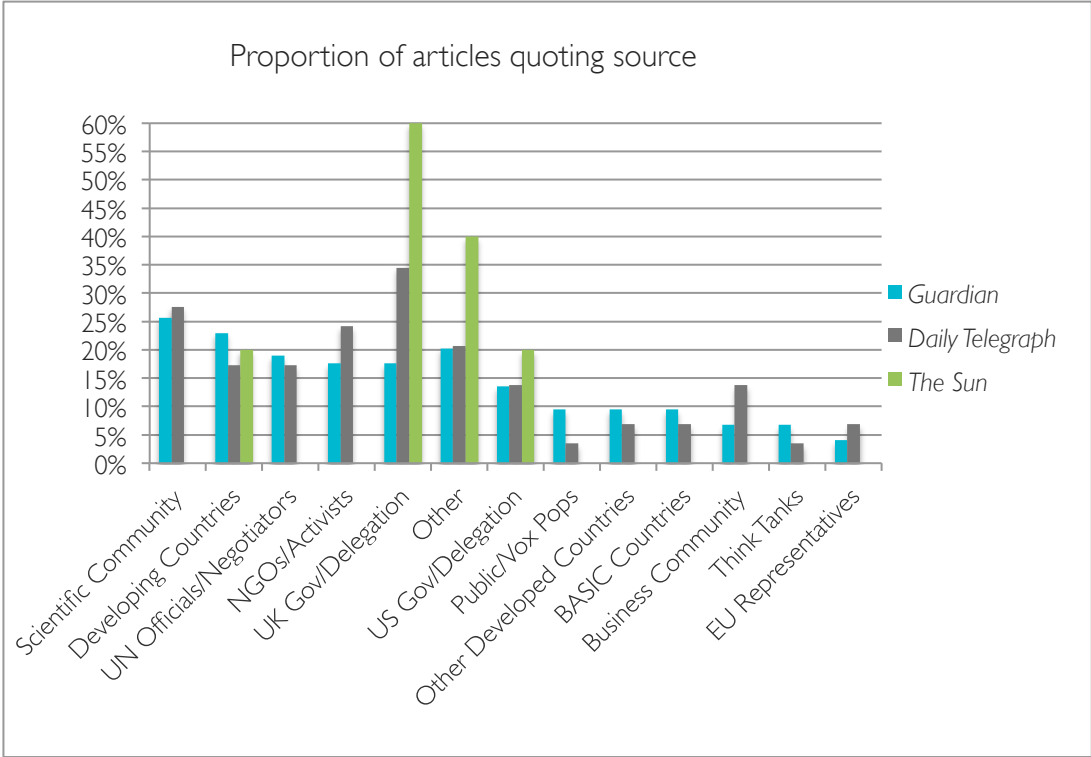


Figure 4.7 - Proportion of articles on the key themes citing each actor (UK)

The ways in which sources are associated with certain issues and not others can be seen in the distribution of the key themes that these sources get quoted on. Figure 4.8 below highlights which actors speak most on particular themes. As we can see the scientific

community – one of the most often cited – is strongly associated with the ‘consequences’ theme, followed by statements on ‘carbon emissions’. It is not surprising that scientists tend to speak on these topics. Nor is it surprising that the other themes, such as ‘financing’ or ‘future generations’, ‘negotiating process’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ are almost completely ignored by scientists too. These are the more political issues, and this fits with the ethos of science, which is supposed to take on the neutral and non-political stance seen in the IPCC’s aim to be policy relevant, but at the same time “...policy-neutral, never policy prescriptive” (IPCC 2011). This would suggest that scientists are being faithful to their remit. These findings are also consistent with previous studies on the role of scientists in the context of climate change. Trumbo (1996) found in his framing analysis that scientists were most associated with what he called the ‘causes’ frame, whilst political and special interests sources were more concerned with the ‘judgment’ frame. In line with this, research has also suggested that as climate change has become increasingly politicised, scientists have lost definitional control of the issue (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Weingart et al. 2000). The problems and solutions to climate change are now defined by wider range of actors. This further highlights how climate change is no longer merely a scientific issue, but has become a political one, which is discussed at various levels of society.

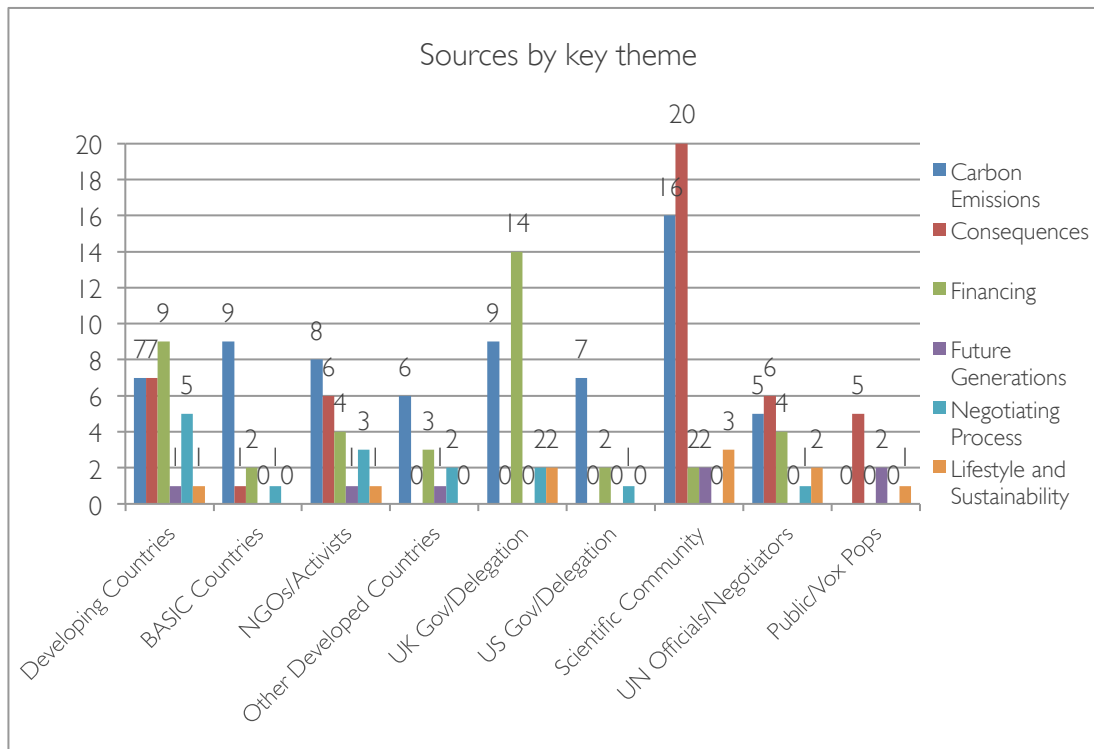


Figure 4.8 - Actors quoted on a particular theme in British newspapers²⁵ (UK)

Beyond this, what were the most striking features? UK government sources spoke most often about ‘financing’ and were most inclined to do so overall. This reflected Gordon Brown’s rhetoric at the conference which often focused on securing financing for developing countries. However, the UK government was not quoted discussing the ‘consequences’ theme at all. ‘Financing’ was also the theme that developing countries were more inclined than most to emphasise. The large emerging economies that make up the BASIC group, were much more vocal about ‘carbon emissions’, but here were on a par with most other sources. However, one of the most salient features of Figure 4.8, is that ‘future generations’ (most often absent), ‘lifestyles and sustainability’ and ‘negotiating process’ had limited exposure via most actors, save for the developing countries emphasising the last of these. This suggests that the sources do have an important role to play when it comes to the overall message, both in terms of inclusion and exclusion. The various actors at the conference clearly emphasised – or failed to emphasise – different aspects of climate change, thereby playing a role in defining the parameters of the debate.

²⁵ This figure shows the number of times an actor makes a statement on the respective themes. As such, it is not directly comparable to the overall source distribution, since actors could also make statements which were not associated with any of the themes.

In order to assess in more detail how the various actors or sources colour the debate, it is worth looking at how they are associated with the various perspectives. We have therefore examined whether there is a difference between how cosmopolitan or communitarian various sources tend to be. As highlighted in the methodology chapter, cosmopolitan arguments would have a global perspective, whilst communitarian arguments would focus on the local and British perspective²⁶. Figure 4.9 shows the association of various actors with cosmopolitan and communitarian arguments. Overall, the coverage is predominantly cosmopolitan, although there are some variations among the actors. As Figure 4.9 illustrates the actors most strongly associated with cosmopolitan arguments are the developing countries, the scientific community and the NGOs (85 percent and above). The BASIC countries were the most communitarian, with 43 percent, followed closely by business sources (38 percent). Approximately two thirds of the statements by UK government and the UN sources were cosmopolitan. The US government and its delegation, on the other hand, bucked the overall trend, and were most likely to favour communitarian themes.

²⁶ See Figure 3.1 for the typology of themes and perspectives.

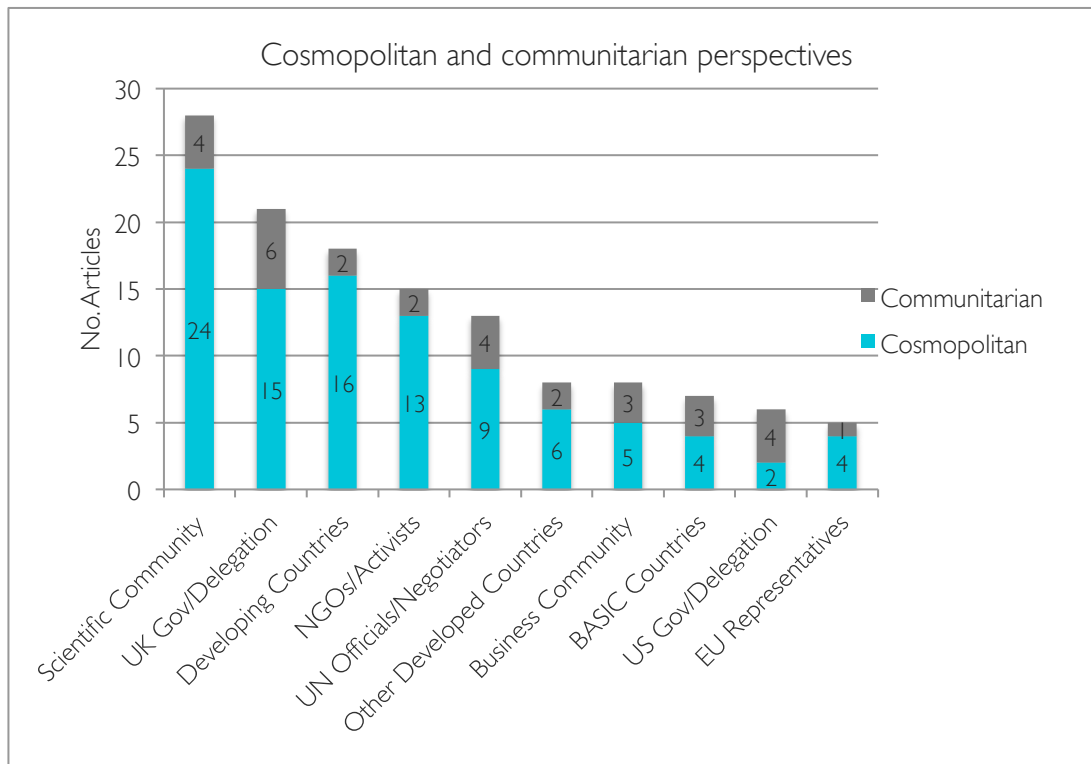


Figure 4.9 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by sources (UK)²⁷

Overall, the actors varied quite substantially in how cosmopolitan they were in their perspectives, but is noteworthy that NGOs, developing countries as well as the scientific community were proportionately most cosmopolitan. Therefore it is clear that a large presence of these sources in the coverage is more likely to result in a more global perspective.

4.1.4. Values in British Press Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

Thus far, this chapter has provided an insight into how newspapers varied in the attention they gave to the key themes. It was highlighted that coverage of the key climate change themes became less prominent across the three newspapers for COP16. The following sections on newspaper coverage will examine how cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives were embedded in the coverage across the three newspapers and the two

²⁷ Shown here are the 10 actors most frequently associated with either cosmopolitan or communitarian values. As a result of this, the actors are not the same ones as in figure 4.8.

periods. Thus, it will focus on the values in the media coverage and will provide illustrative examples²⁸ (Olausson 2010) which add to our understanding of how the six themes identified earlier were represented, and the ways in which cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives were portrayed in reports. From Figure 4.10 we can see that, overall, the *Guardian* was the most cosmopolitan newspaper. Some 92 percent of their articles contained cosmopolitan arguments, whilst 53 percent contained communitarian ones. The *Daily Telegraph* was less cosmopolitan with 83 percent and a higher proportion of articles containing communitarian elements (62 percent). The *Sun* gave equal attention to both cosmopolitan (60 percent) and communitarian perspectives (60 percent) within their reports.

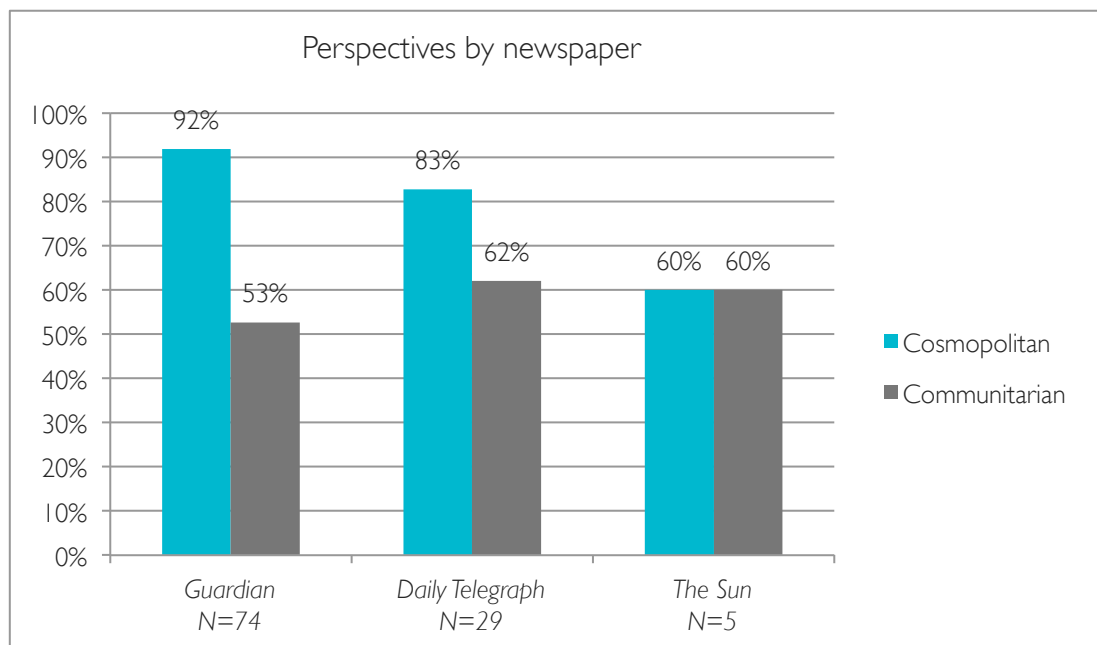


Figure 4.10 - Proportion of articles focusing on the key themes with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspective by newspaper (UK)²⁹

Since the same article can contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives, it is useful to consider the distribution between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism in terms of the proportion of the articles which have a certain perspective – i.e. the number of

²⁸ The examples also serve to increase the transparency between the empirical material and argumentation (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Olausson 2010).

²⁹ Since articles could contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives, the figures add up to more than a 100%.

words coded as cosmopolitan or communitarian³⁰. When these factors are taken into consideration, the analysis reveals that the communitarian point of view has less prominence across all three newspapers (see Figure 4.11). With this in mind, the *Guardian*'s proportion of cosmopolitan coverage is 80 percent, whilst communitarian arguments only amount to 20 percent of the words coded. Cosmopolitan arguments also became more prominent in *The Sun* and the *Daily Telegraph*. This suggests that although the articles might mention communitarian perspectives, cosmopolitan arguments are often more prominent within stories, especially in the *Guardian*.

The relative distribution of cosmopolitanism in the three newspapers is not surprising considering the findings above. This suggests that ideology does play a role – if only a modest one – in relation to the distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. The *Guardian* is clearly the most dedicated to discussing the key issues with a noticeably more global outlook, both in terms of story numbers and word length. On the other hand the two other newspapers (*The Sun* and *Daily Telegraph*) have more items featuring communitarian themes, and more space dedicated to them than the *Guardian*.

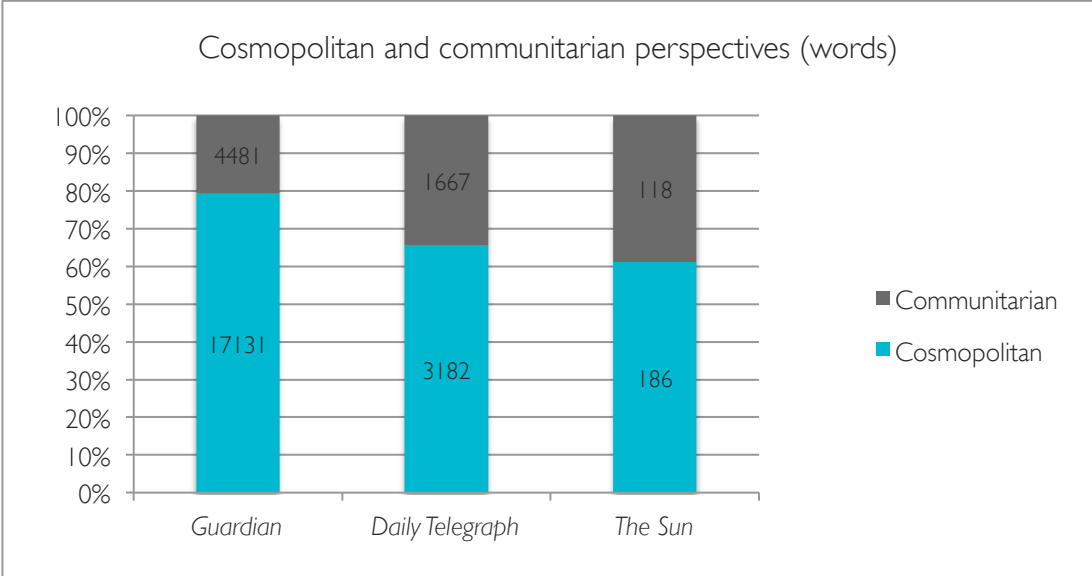


Figure 4.11 - Word distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by newspaper (UK)

The next stage of the analysis involved identifying where in the coverage the cosmopolitan and communitarian arguments were most likely to emerge. This allowed for a better understanding of the role that values play in public debates on climate change. The

³⁰ Since each sentence was coded as according to Table 3.1 on page 94 above, it is possible to determine how many words are coded in relation to cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives

following section examines the prominence of values within the different themes. For instance, some topics might be discussed more in relation to cosmopolitan perspectives, whilst others to communitarian ones. Furthermore, it is of importance not only to understand the prominence of each value, but also how this is embedded within coverage. As Table 4.4 below shows, there are considerable differences between the various themes.³¹

For example 'lifestyle and sustainability' is the least cosmopolitan theme overall. The *Daily Telegraph* (83 percent – 5/6³²) is predominantly and *The Sun* (100 percent – 1/1) is entirely communitarian in relation to the theme, whilst the *Guardian* (86 percent – 12/14) is predominantly cosmopolitan. Communitarian arguments are also quite prominent when it comes to 'carbon emissions' where 48 percent (24/50) of articles in the *Guardian* are communitarian, whilst the corresponding figure is 60 percent in the *Daily Telegraph* (12/20). *The Sun* actually is predominantly communitarian in their treatment of that theme with 100 percent (2/2). The remaining themes are very cosmopolitan overall. *The Sun* made no cosmopolitan or communitarian reference to the themes of 'negotiating process', as well as 'consequences', whilst the *Daily Telegraph* had no relevant reference to 'future generations'. The 'financing' theme was slightly less cosmopolitan in the *Guardian* (72 percent – 27/34) than in the other two papers, although almost three quarters of the arguments were still cosmopolitan.

The data suggests that perhaps some themes lend themselves easier to cosmopolitan perspectives. For example the 'consequences' theme is predominantly discussed in relation to distant countries or on a generally global scale. On the other hand, debates about cutting 'carbon emissions' - and to a lesser extent 'lifestyle and sustainability' - had more room for communitarian commentary. For instance, the former often focused on what individual countries should cut and the competition between them in making sure that they do not cut more than others. The latter also had significant communitarian strands, in that the debate on lifestyle changes often takes place within the local context. However, as Table 4.4 highlights, there were also articles, which focused on the issue of 'lifestyle and sustainability' on a more global scale, especially within the *Guardian*.

³¹ It is important to note that cell frequencies are often small and that themes and perspectives can overlap within individual stories.

³² '5/6' refers to 5 out of 6 articles/reports.

Key theme and emphasis	<i>Guardian</i>		<i>Daily Telegraph</i>		<i>The Sun</i>	
	N=74		N=29		N=5	
Carbon Emissions	50		20		2	
Cosmopolitan	38	76%	15	75%	1	50%
Communitarian	24	48%	12	60%	2	100%
Consequences	38		13		1	
Cosmopolitan	31	82%	11	85%	0	0%
Communitarian	5	13%	2	15%	0	0%
Financing	34		15		1	
Cosmopolitan	27	79%	12	80%	1	100%
Communitarian	10	29%	0	0%	0	0%
Future Generations	11		0		1	
Cosmopolitan	10	91%	0	0%	1	100%
Communitarian	2	18%	0	0%	0	0%
Lifestyle and Sustainability	14		6		1	
Cosmopolitan	12	86%	1	17%	0	0%
Communitarian	6	43%	5	83%	1	100%
Negotiating Process	7		1		0	
Cosmopolitan	6	86%	1	100%	0	0%
Communitarian	1	14%	0	0%	0	0%

Table 4.4 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives within each theme by newspaper (UK)³³

The next section will briefly explore how these values are discursively embedded within the coverage. This provides a better illustration as well as understanding of how these values underpin the debate on climate change.

Cosmopolitan Perspectives

Overall, cosmopolitan perspectives were more prominent and the themes used varied substantially. The most cosmopolitan theme was ‘consequences’, with the proportion of articles putting forward this perspective being 82 percent and 85 percent in the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* respectively (See Table 4.4). Such cosmopolitan articles highlighted the serious consequences of climate change happening to people in distant places. For instance, in an article headline: “In the same leaky boat: The climate crisis unites the Maldives and Britain” (*Guardian* 10.11.09), a range of consequences of climate

³³ The percentages refer to the percentage of articles focusing on the theme with a cosmopolitan and communitarian perspective respectively.

change across the world were highlighted (rising sea levels, droughts, natural disasters). The headline here was cosmopolitan in implying that the entire world was in it together.

Cosmopolitan perspectives were also a strong feature of the articles on the 'negotiating process'. However, this needs to be put in the context of the overall number of articles in this category, which was very small. The theme was predominantly associated with COP15, since the process was much more criticised due to the leaked drafts³⁴ and the marginalisation of the developing countries. Articles had a greater focus on the conflicts between the different countries. For example, the only article focusing on this theme in the *Daily Telegraph* stated: "The row broke out after the draft text of a deal allegedly prepared by the Danish government emerged, which campaigners claimed favoured rich countries and risked squeezing poor nations out of the negotiations" (*Daily Telegraph* 09.12.09). However, only one article dealt in-depth with global unequal power relations in highlighting the unequal access to resources for developing countries (*Guardian* 07.11.09).

Cosmopolitan perspectives were also very prominent in relation to the 'financing' theme (40/50 articles). It was common for articles to engage with 'financing' and 'carbon emissions' within the same sentence. Such cosmopolitan articles highlighted for example that, "The world is looking to the United States to come forward with an emission reduction target and contribute to financial support to help developing countries." (*Daily Telegraph* 26.11.09) or that "...it is broadly recognised that countries that have already industrialised, and so already pumped billions of tonnes of carbon into the atmosphere, ought to subsidise the transition to greener energy elsewhere" (*Guardian* 06.12.09). However, in such instances the engagement with the issues or cosmopolitanism was often somewhat brief. Another theme, which was predominantly cosmopolitan, was that relating to 'future generations'. It was represented weakly in the coverage, only being mentioned in 12 articles overall (11 in the *Guardian* and 1 in *The Sun* and never in the *Daily Telegraph*). The *Sun* brought it to the forefront when quoting Prince Charles speech at the COP15 conference thus it did not engage with the topic as such. 'Future generations' were also

³⁴ During the first days of the COP15 negotiations a draft, which had only been seen by a few countries, was leaked to the *Guardian*. It resulted in a lot of mistrust and suspicion about the transparency of the process, especially on the part of the developing countries (Diringer et al. 2009; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009).

mentioned briefly in other instances, when for example, the *Guardian* (16.11.09) highlighted “...the longer the world delays in putting in place the aggressive emissions reductions needed to avoid dangerous climate change, the more risk we are placing before our children and grandchildren.”

Overall, the theme of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ was one where, as already noted, communitarianism figured fairly consistently. However, the *Guardian* was the only newspaper which took a predominantly cosmopolitan approach in relation to it (12/14). This was highlighted in one article: “...in the end, the human instinct for survival must triumph over the urge to consume at any cost” (*Guardian* 13.01.10). Furthermore, this represents a rare example of how stories challenged the current consumerist way of life, and clearly took a global perspective in relation to the issue of sustainability.

‘Carbon emissions’, which was by far the largest theme, had a mix of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. Some 54 out of 72 articles in this category contained a cosmopolitan perspective. They highlighted issues such as the duty western countries had to cut emissions due to historical responsibility. One notable article suggested that “...industrialised countries such as the US and UK have emitted by far the most carbon and still emit vast amounts per person, so they have a responsibility to make deep cuts” (*Guardian* 07.12.09). This was exceptionally clear in its cosmopolitan outlook and its recognition of the inequalities in current carbon emissions. However, only 10 articles contained similar perspectives. The most common articles, although they contained cosmopolitan perspectives, were those which mentioned the need to cut carbon emissions on a general level, without engaging with who was responsible to make the deepest cuts.

Communitarian Perspectives

Communitarian values were not as prominent in the sample, overall, as cosmopolitan ones. Communitarianism was most prevalent in relation to the themes of ‘carbon emissions’ (38/72), and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (12/21). When it came to ‘carbon emissions’, what characterised the communitarian articles was a realist perspective, where countries were placed against each other and the competing interests between countries were

emphasised. For instance, one *Daily Telegraph* (22.11.10) article stated that “...global carbon dioxide emissions are expected to reach record levels this year as countries such as China and India burn more coal”. Here the absence of information concerning historical or per capita emissions implies that China and India are responsible for the record level of emissions. Another *Daily Telegraph* (08.12.09) article focused specifically on the consequences the cuts of carbon emissions would have for Britain, highlighting that “...such a testing target would require a raft of new carbon reduction measures in Britain, such as road tolls and higher petrol taxes”. By highlighting the cost to the British consumer, the cuts in carbon emissions are framed as an unattractive policy option.

‘Lifestyles and sustainability’ had a communitarian dimension in all the newspapers, but more so in the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*. What characterised such communitarian articles was a focus on what the individual could do to switch to more environmentally friendly lifestyles. These explored issues such as community efforts to cut carbon emissions (*Guardian* 02.12.09), encouraging people to buy more locally sourced foods (*Daily Telegraph* 03.01.10) and cut down on meat and dairy (*Daily Telegraph* 12.12.09). However, there was a lack of engagement with fundamental issues of sustainability and international inequality. These practical stories never properly challenged the basic issues of ever increasing consumerism.

In contrast to ‘lifestyles and sustainability’, only 7 out of 52 articles mentioning the ‘consequences’ theme contained communitarian perspectives. For instance, the *Daily Telegraph* (01.12.09) highlighted the consequences of sea level rise in the low-lying Britain and for the Thames area. Nevertheless, the article, also highlighted that rich countries such as Britain would be able to build defences, but that “...developing countries, where millions of people live in low-lying areas, were more likely to suffer” (*Daily Telegraph* 01.12.09). So it also included a cosmopolitan perspective.

Overall 10 out of 50 articles represented communitarian perspectives on ‘financing’, all of which were from the *Guardian*. One such article offered a particularly strong communitarian viewpoint. Peiser critically commenting on science, financing and the UNFCCC framework wrote:

“In view of what increasingly looks like an unbridgeable stalemate and after years of inflamed global warming alarm, we are beginning to see a period of sobering up, where national interests and economic priorities are overriding environmental concerns and utopian proposals.” (*Guardian* 20.12.09)

Another article in the *Guardian* (14.12.09) touching on ‘financing’ presented a communitarian perspective, highlighting that “...last night it appeared that many did not want to risk being pressured into signing an agreement they believed would be against their national interests”. The article clearly appreciated the difficulties in balancing attempts to address climate change with the national interest. Nevertheless, it did not portray a very clear judgment concerning how the national interest should be prioritised. It only made an observation in relation to the conceived rationales of the different actors at the conference.

Some Preliminary Conclusions

Thus far, this chapter has explored newspaper coverage of the ethical dimensions of climate change, demonstrating how values are embedded in this debate. Crucially, in line with other research (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Painter 2011), the analysis flagged the role of ideology in shaping coverage. The assessment found that most of the coverage was to be found in the left-leaning press, with the *Guardian* engaging substantially more with the key issues than did its right-wing counterpart the *Daily Telegraph*. But there was substantially less coverage in the tabloid newspaper than in both of the broadsheets. So the nature of the newspaper concerned made a difference to the way the key themes were conveyed as well.

Differences between the papers could also be seen in the actors that were given prominence within the coverage, for example, the *Guardian* quoted developing countries more than did the other newspapers. Both the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* quoted the UK government and delegation most frequently, whilst the *Daily Telegraph* gave more space to the voices from the business community. However, it was clear that there was more variability in the range of sources in coverage on the key challenges of climate change than might have been expected from the literature (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). Here nationally and internationally situated elites were nowhere like as dominant as we might expect, and science sources made a

significant contribution. These sources also varied in how cosmopolitan they were in their perspectives. Therefore it is also clear from our findings that, through the inclusion of the voices of some actors rather than others, the journalists made certain interpretations of climate issues more prominent than others. All this has importance since the ways in which the media frame an issue can serve as a bridge between elite discourse and the public comprehension of an issue (Nelson et al. 1997). Graber (2003: 154) put this succinctly in stating that the public “...may not mirror the opinions expressed in the media but they use news stories as raw materials for shaping their own views.”

The preceding assessment demonstrated that the *Guardian* was the most consistently cosmopolitan newspaper, whilst the *Daily Telegraph* had the highest proportion of communitarian perspectives in relation to the key themes. The analysis demonstrated that some themes lend themselves easier to cosmopolitan perspectives. The most obvious was ‘consequences’, where both broadsheets emphasised this theme. In other instances, such as with regard to ‘lifestyle and sustainability’, there were clear differences between newspapers on the values put forward – for instance, the *Guardian* took a predominantly cosmopolitan approach in relation to that theme, whilst the remaining newspapers contained predominantly communitarian perspectives. The two broadsheets also varied in terms of which aspects of climate change they gave prominence. The *Guardian* had a higher proportion of articles on ‘future generations’, whilst the *Daily Telegraph* had a much higher proportion of articles touching upon ‘financing’ and largely overlooked the other issues, such as ‘future generations’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. So, the findings suggest that ideology has played some part not only in conditioning how much attention a newspaper gives to the key issues, but also which themes it gives attention to and the cosmopolitan or communitarian values that it represents them through. There is not much to be said about the coverage focusing on the key issues in the tabloid newspaper, *The Sun*, as this was largely non-existent. The few times it did engage with the themes, it was in a somewhat superficial manner. As such, *The Sun* did very little to contribute to public understanding of the key issues around climate change. This finding is particularly significant considering that the paper is read by such a large number of people, and thus has (largely unfulfilled) potential to make a contribution to public debate in this domain.

The findings here are consistent with existing research demonstrating the diminishing quantity of newspaper coverage after COP15 (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011). In fact, three quarters of all coverage examined here was from the COP15 period. Whether this is a sign that climate change is slipping off the media agenda, remains to be seen. It is possible that the declining coverage might be due to particular characteristics of the conferences. Although both were major international summits, COP15 was by far larger, attended by celebrities and over 100 world leaders, including those of the most powerful nations, alongside a record number of NGOs and activists (Dimitrov 2010a). In many ways COP15 had intrinsic and overwhelming 'news value' (Galtung & Ruge 1965). The COP16 conference, in contrast, was much more low key and attended by very few heads of state (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). These features could conceivably have influenced the amount of coverage by effectively reducing the news value of the Cancun event. In addition, it is plausible that the global momentum leading up to COP15 was stifled by its disappointing outcome and it was never really regained for COP16. It is likely that few politicians will have the inclination or the courage to associate themselves with what might be a damp squib or, worse still, a failure. The resultant lack of leadership input could, then, go some way to explaining newspapers' evident lack of enthusiasm for covering the subject. The significance of this is that not only did it reduce the coverage of climate change overall, but also the space therein to explore the key issues.

In terms of the implications for the quality of public debate, there are some reasons for optimism. It can be argued that the *Guardian's* coverage was quite extensive, it was the most cosmopolitan and it focused the most on the key themes. In fact, coverage in the *Guardian* could be classified as constituting a cosmopolitan and ethical interpretation of climate change. Nevertheless, the *Sun's* coverage is a cause for concern considering its dominant place in the newspaper market. This has negative repercussions for public understanding, since research suggests that the public tend to get the most of their information on climate change from the media (Stamm et al. 2000; Whitmarsh 2009). It should be acknowledged that there is no objective criterion for judging how much coverage is enough, since this judgment depends on political priorities and news values (Gavin 2007b; Norris 2000). Nevertheless, the less coverage there is, the less informative it is likely to be. In this case, the vast majority of readers get very limited coverage on the ethical

dimensions of climate change and are unlikely to be adequately equipped to participate in a proper and rich public debate on climate change.

It was also apparent that not only *The Sun* failed to engage substantially with the fundamental issues of 'future generations', 'lifestyle and sustainability' or 'negotiating process'. This was a modest component of both the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* commentary too. Therefore, this cannot be put down to their ideological complexion. Nevertheless, what we can say is that the absence of a rich debate on the ethical dimensions of climate change is likely to have negative repercussions for public understanding of the issue, and therefore also, for public support for effective policies on climate change. In addition, it is important to make clear that even though newspapers made references to the key themes, they rarely discussed the issues in great detail and depth.

It is also clear that the themes, which were most prominent in the articles, i.e. 'carbon emissions', 'financing' and 'consequences', were also central to the negotiations. Whilst this is not entirely unexpected, it seems plausible that the reason why journalists overlooked certain key themes was that sources at the conference rarely mentioned these particular aspects of climate change. This is consistent with research arguing that the media follow closely elite debate on a subject. However, this is only the case with a definition of 'elite' that is somewhat at odds with the way it is handled in the literature (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). The 'elite' that defined the debate during the negotiations not only includes the politicians of the dominant nations, but also the voices of other participants in, and outside, the deliberations (for instance, some NGOs such as WWF or Greenpeace, and vox pop voices, which cannot be considered part of the political elite).

Still, no assessment of the quality of the public debate is adequate without taking into account television, the public's main source of political information (Globescan 2006; Ofcom 2007). Whilst an overwhelming majority (65 percent) of respondents identify television as their main source of news, only 14 percent mention newspapers (Ofcom 2007). Therefore it is necessary to examine television news coverage to be able to draw any qualified conclusions concerning the overall quality of the public debate on climate change

in Britain. To gain a better understanding of the role of values within the media the final part of this chapter extends the analysis to television – the public’s most trusted source of political information (Edelman Trust 2012).

4.2. BBC’s Coverage of COP15 and COP16

As Chapter 2 noted, there has been scant academic attention devoted to television coverage of climate change in the UK. The chapter also highlighted that considering the time limitations of television news (Cole & Harcup 2010; Iyengar 1994), one could speculate that television was less able to inform its viewers on climate change than newspapers. The BBC³⁵ has been considered the model institution for public service broadcasting across the world (Holtz-Bacha & Norris 2001; Raboy 1995). But to-date there has been limited research on how the BBC fulfils its democratic duty in relation to climate change³⁶. As a public service broadcaster, the BBC is expected to be impartial and informative in its coverage of climate change.

The BBC covered COP15 quite extensively with approximately 30 staff in Copenhagen (Carrington 2010). In addition to conference material, the BBC also aired several reports on how people across the world (including Bolivia and Mali) were suffering from climate change. However, the situation for COP16 was very different. In an article headlined ‘Chilean miners leave BBC too broke for live coverage of Cancun climate talks’, a leaked BBC memorandum was discussed (Carrington 2010). The article, published in the *Guardian*, highlighted that due to large spending on covering the Chilean miners rescue story earlier in the year, the COP16 could not be a ‘live event’, and the BBC would only send one correspondent to that conference (Carrington 2010). This was partially reflected in the coverage as there was only one report sent directly from the negotiations in the entire body of coverage from COP16. This highlights the increasing financial pressures the BBC is currently under, and how such considerations can affect the ability of the organisation to perform its duty to the fullest. But there have, in fact, been other instances

³⁵ For an introduction to the BBC, see Chapter 3.

³⁶ For an exception, see Gavin and Marshall (2011a) and Hargreaves et al (2003).

where financial constraints have affected the BBC's climate coverage. For instance, Richard Black, BBC environment correspondent discussed the possibility of spending some time pouring over the emails in relation to the leak at the Climatic Research Unit at the University of East Anglia, but was unable to do so, since BBC did not have the resources in the face of other pressing demands (Painter 2010). The remainder of this chapter assesses the nature of the BBC's coverage of the key issues around climate change, and the implications that follow for public debate. The next section gives an overview of the quantity of coverage on the BBC.

4.2.1. An Overview of Television Coverage

Overall there were 46 reports broadcast on the BBC's *News at Six* during the two three-month periods assessed (See Table 4.5). In terms of the overall quantity of the BBC's coverage, this shows that the coverage of climate change was substantially higher in the period of analysis used in this thesis than the previous assessment by Hargreaves et al (2003). In their seven and a half month period of analysis from January to September 2002 of the *BBC News at Six* they identified approximately 41 minutes of coverage on climate change. In the six-month period analysed here the BBC had more than three times as much coverage (134 minutes). However, as with newspaper coverage, it should be acknowledged that this does not necessarily represent a universal and uniform upsurge in coverage. For both these media, as for the world, the COP15 proceeding in particular represented a landmark event, and an upturn in coverage was to be expected. However, in line with the patterns emerging from newspaper coverage, where three quarters of articles were from the Copenhagen negotiations, 74 percent of the television news reports were from the COP15 period, amounting to 34 items. The average length of reports was 2 minutes 54 seconds overall, although the reports focusing on the key themes were longer than reports in general with an average of 3 minutes 7 seconds.

Reports from the COP16 negotiations were also longer on average, although this was partially due to one very long report of over 9 minutes, which did not even focus exclusively on climate change, but on the tuition fees vote in parliament. Climate change was only mentioned in this report because Chris Huhne, the climate change secretary who

was attending the talks in Mexico, had to fly back to vote in parliament, only to then get back on the plane to re-join the negotiations. Nevertheless, the very fact that this is mentioned as part of that story is important since it is an example of how climate change can be mainstreamed into discussions of other issues.

Overview of BBC's Coverage	COP15	COP16	Total
Total number of reports	34	12	46
Average length of all reports	2 min 41 sec	3 min 30 sec	2 min 54 sec
Average length of reports focusing on the key themes	2 min 50 sec	4 min 11 sec	3 min 7 sec
Number of reports focusing on the key themes	21 (62%) ³⁷	5 (41%)	26 (57%)

Table 4.5 - Overview of coverage on the BBC (UK)

Over and above the fact that there were substantially more reports from the COP15 negotiations, a higher proportion of these also focused on the key issues. Overall, 57 percent of the reports touched upon one or more of the key themes. There was a higher proportion of reports which discussed one of the themes than in newspapers (The equivalent figures in the press ranged from 37 percent at the highest for COP15 in the *Guardian* to 10 percent at the lowest in *The Sun* for COP16). This might suggest that television coverage, although it has more time and space constraints, still manages to briefly squeeze in commentary on these issues. However, when the proportion of coverage touching on one of the key themes is examined by period, the difference in focus becomes very clear – 62 percent of reports from COP15 touched on one or more of the topics, whilst the corresponding figure was only 41 percent for COP16. This means that overall the public received substantially less information on climate change at COP16, a feature also apparent in press coverage (and not specific to particular newspaper titles, regardless of their ideological position). It is also important to mention that the television news reports had less in-depth engagement with the key issues and they rarely made normative judgements within their coverage. The remaining part of this chapter is dedicated to an analysis of all the reports (26), which made a reference to one of the six previously established key themes.

³⁷ The percentage figures in this row refer to the proportion of reports focusing on key themes in the respective conference periods.

4.2.2. Sources in Television Coverage

The rationale for looking at sources is the same as that for the comparable assessment undertaken with respect to the press. Table 4.6 below highlights the source distribution for all reports focusing on the key issues. The actors quoted most often were the scientific community and NGOs and activists. Both these groups were quoted in 9 (35 percent) stories each. The British government and the public were also represented in the coverage, with their voices being heard in 8 reports each (31 percent). This means that in BBC reports the public was quoted more often than in newspaper coverage, where they figured in no more than 9 percent of items in the broadsheets and in none of *The Sun's* items. This high presence of public vox sources in television is consistent with television coverage of economics (Gavin 2007b). Some have considered the prominence of public voices in television as further evidence of the dumbing down of media content (Bek 2004). However, their prominence could also be considered a strength for public debate, since it allows a plurality of perspectives to be voiced, including those of ordinary people rather than just the elites. These perspectives are necessary to inform citizens how developments impact on fellow citizens (Habermas 1989).

The BBC reports quoted developing countries (5 reports) and UN officials (2 reports) less frequently than did the newspapers. Furthermore, the BASIC countries were only quoted twice in the entire television sample. This might suggest that there is less breadth in the coverage of climate change issues in television than newspapers, and therefore viewers are likely to get a more narrow range of perspectives from the former. However, this is probably due to the fact that television just has less space and time to incorporate such a wide range of sources. It is clear that when it comes to the BBC and its engagement with the key themes, NGOs have much better access to the medium. In comparison to newspapers, television reports also gave more space to the public. It is argued that allowing viewers to share in the experiences of their fellow compatriots is one of television's most important contributions to effective debate (Gavin 2007b).

Therefore the source distribution in the BBC has some positive and negative implications. On the one hand, the BBC was able to highlight the perspectives of public voices. On the other hand, there was less diversity in the overall range of sources used within television coverage and this has negative repercussions for the breadth of public debate. Nevertheless (and importantly), like the press coverage, the range of voices represented extends well beyond the narrow political elite flagged in much of the literature on media sourcing (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003).

BBC Source	Reports Focusing	Percentage of Reports
Distribution	on Key Themes	Focusing on Key Themes
Scientific Community	9	35%
NGOs/Activists	9	35%
UK Government/Delegation	8	31%
Public/Vox Pops	8	31%
US Government/Delegation	5	19%
Developing Countries	5	19%
BASIC Countries	2	8%
UN Officials/Negotiators	2	8%
Business Community	2	8%
Think Tanks	2	8%
Lawyers	2	8%
UK Opposition	1	4%
DK Government/Delegation	1	4%
UK Climate Change Committee	1	4%
Energy Sector	1	4%
Royal Family	1	4%

Table 4.6 - Source distribution in BBC reports focusing on the key themes (UK)

In order to examine the relationship between the use of sources and the potential topics discussed, it is useful to explore which actors get quoted in relation to which themes. The scientific community was only quoted in relation to the ‘consequences’ and ‘carbon emissions’ themes (see Figure 4.12). The scientific community also emphasised these two

themes much more frequently in the press coverage. The main themes that developing countries were associated with on the BBC were ‘consequences’ and ‘negotiating process’, whilst NGOs spoke on ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. With respect to newspapers, the largest theme for developing countries was ‘financing’ (9 reports), followed by ‘carbon emissions’ (7 reports) and ‘consequences’ (7 reports). The top two themes that NGOs emphasised in the newspapers were the same as in television, with ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘consequences’ being the largest. The patterning was therefore somewhat similar, especially for the scientific community and NGOs and activists. Similar to NGOs, the UK government was most often quoted in relation to ‘carbon emissions’ (3 reports), followed by the ‘consequences’ theme (2 reports) and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (2 reports). This means that by marginalising certain actors, the BBC might at the same time limit the emphasis on a particular theme. However, it is also noteworthy that, like the press, a number of themes were largely or completely unexpressed by most of sources. In BBC coverage, this was most apparent with respect to ‘future generations’, ‘negotiating process’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘financing’. And it would appear that the former two in particular are consistently underemphasised by both press and television commentary.

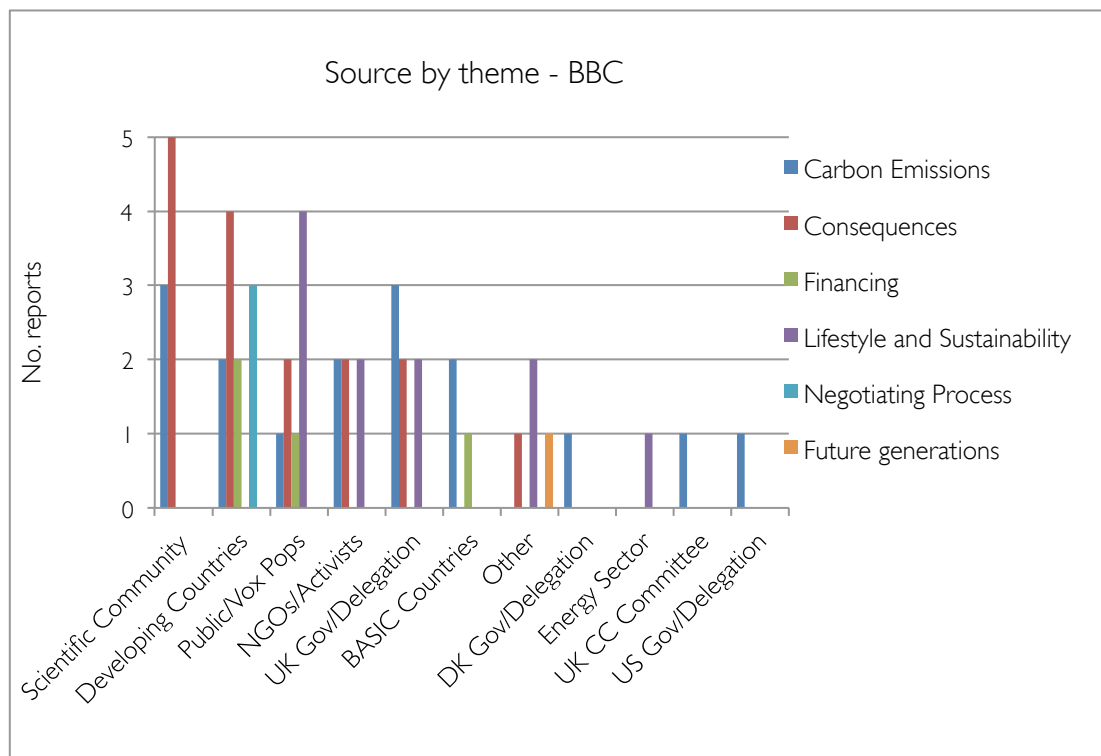


Figure 4.12 - Sources quoted by key theme on BBC (UK)

The particular actors also varied in their association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. When examining the number of words quoted in relation to the two perspectives, the scientific community, developing countries and UK government were the most cosmopolitan, whilst the public and quite surprisingly NGOs were more communitarian (see Figure 4.13). The predominance of cosmopolitan values in the statements of the scientific community and developing countries in particular is consistent with the analysis of press coverage. However, the prevalence of communitarianism within the quotes of NGOs and activists is in contrast to the findings in relation to newspapers where they were more cosmopolitan. One potential explanation could be the BBC's large emphasis on 'lifestyle and sustainability' in the British context. These reports often included the voices of national NGOs, such as Friends of the Earth, as we will see in the later in the illustrative section.

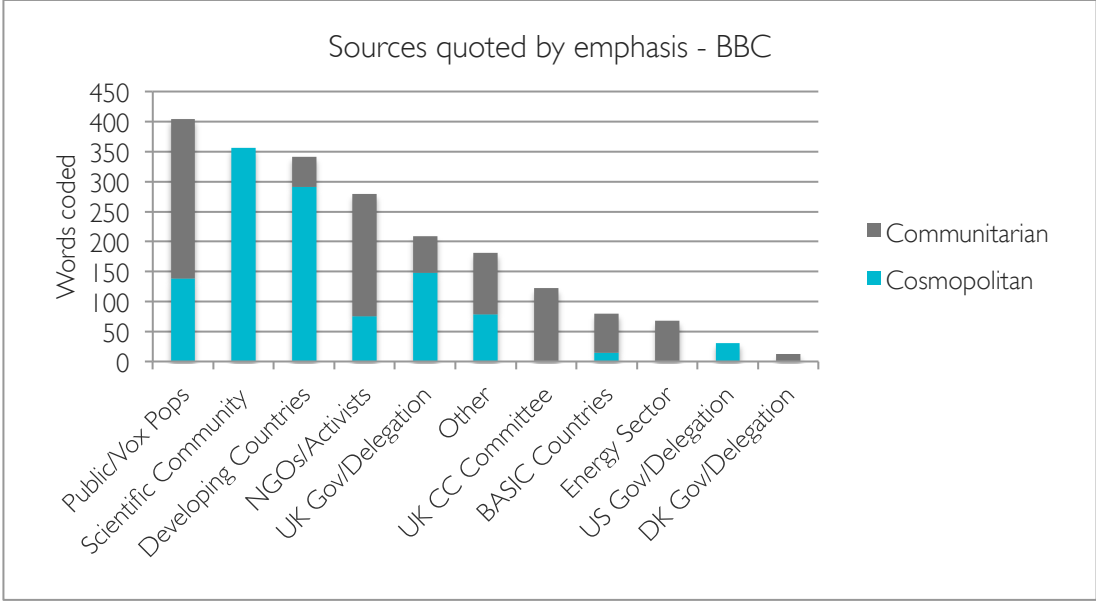


Figure 4.13 - Number of words quoted per source with either a cosmopolitan and communitarian emphasis (UK)

To sum up, similar to newspapers, the BBC gave substantially less attention to COP16 than to COP15. This was partially due to economic reasons and the distance of Mexico compared to Denmark, as well as the fact that COP16 was not perceived as newsworthy (Galtung & Ruge 1965). The next section will explore the underlying values portrayed in the 26 stories touching on the key themes on the BBC.

4.2.3. BBC's Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

There were 26 stories which focused on one or more of the six themes. Of these, 21 were in the COP15 period. In terms of the themes covered, a very clear similarity to the patterning in newspapers rather obviously emerged. 'Carbon emissions' was the largest theme (17 reports), followed by 'consequences' (12 reports) (see Figure 4.14). This indicates that the patterning was not entirely due to ideological factors. One potential explanation could be that certain themes were inherently more central to the negotiations. Having considered source distribution in the press and the television, it can be concluded that there was a clear connection between the themes most emphasised by sources and the most prevalent themes in coverage. It is likely that the media were prompted to consider these issues by the actors at the conference. As Gans (1980: 145) argues: "Sources alone do not determine the news, but they go a long way in focusing the journalists' attention [...] Neither do sources alone determine the values in the news, but their values are implicit in the information they provide." However, the journalists might also have sought out the appropriate statements to complement the overall focus of their story. The sources seeking access to the media can only make themselves available. At the end of the day, it is the journalists who decide which sources are appropriate (Gans 1980).

Despite many similarities between the tendency of the press and television to focus on some issues, one interesting difference appeared in the television sample. 'Lifestyle and sustainability' was the third largest theme with six reports, followed closely by 'financing' and 'negotiating process' with five reports each. This means that the issue of 'lifestyle and sustainability' was given more attention overall in television coverage compared to the press coverage, whilst the BBC focused less on 'financing' than did the press. Like in the newspapers, the 'future generations' theme was also marginalised, with only one report mentioning it.

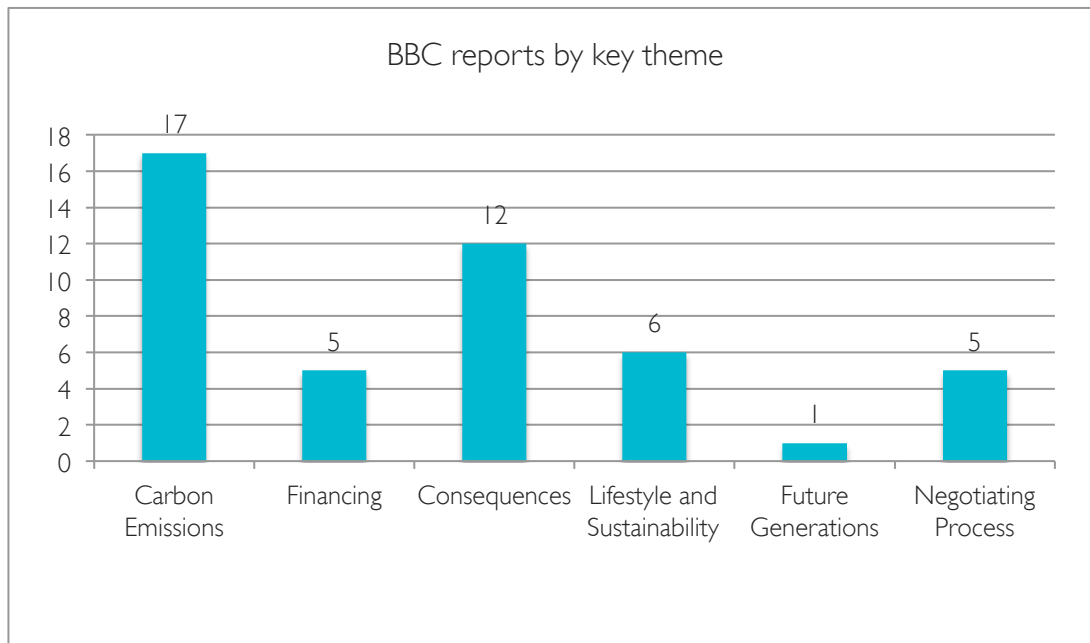


Figure 4.14 - Number of BBC reports focusing on the key themes (UK)

4.2.4. Values in British Television Coverage of the Key Climate Change Issues

When considering the question of how cosmopolitanism and communitarianism came across in coverage, there were substantial differences between the different themes. Every report on the ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’ themes contained cosmopolitan arguments within them (and for these same themes the communitarian perspective was only represented once for each respectively, see Table 4.7³⁸). In a similar vein, ‘negotiating process’ was exclusively cosmopolitan. ‘Future generations’ had this profile too, but appeared only once in the sample. The ‘carbon emissions’ theme contained a mix of cosmopolitan and communitarian elements, with 76 percent of reports putting forward the former and 53 percent the latter. Reports on ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ were exclusively communitarian.

³⁸ The percentage figures in the columns refer to the proportion of articles mentioning a particular topic with a cosmopolitan or communitarian perspective respectively.

Key Theme	Cosmopolitan		Communitarian		Total
	No. Reports	% of topic	No. Reports	% of topic	No. Reports
Carbon Emissions	13	76%	9	53%	17
Financing	5	100%	1	20%	5
Consequences	12	100%	1	8%	12
Lifestyle and Sustainability	0	0%	6	100%	6
Future Generations	1	100%	0	0%	1
Negotiating Process	5	100%	0	0%	5

Table 4.7 - Overview of BBC reports focusing on the main issues by theme and perspective (UK)

However, these figures only show the number of reports containing a particular argument. Since reports can contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives, and like before, it is useful to consider the proportion of reports containing each perspective. When this is examined by the number of words coded as cosmopolitan and communitarian, the exact proportion of these perspectives in relation to the themes becomes clearer.³⁹ For example, communitarianism becomes even more prominent when it comes to the theme of ‘carbon emissions’ (60 percent), and marginally more so with respect to ‘financing’ (29 percent). At the same time, the ‘consequences’ theme is even more clearly cosmopolitan when examined by number of words (see Figure 4.15).

Thus far the quantity of coverage focusing on each key theme and the distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian values within these has been established. In order to get a better understanding of the ways in which these values and issues become embedded in television coverage, it is necessary to examine the discourse used in relation to these themes.

³⁹ Since each sentence was coded as according to the coding table presented in Chapter 3, it is possible to determine how many words are coded in relation to cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives.

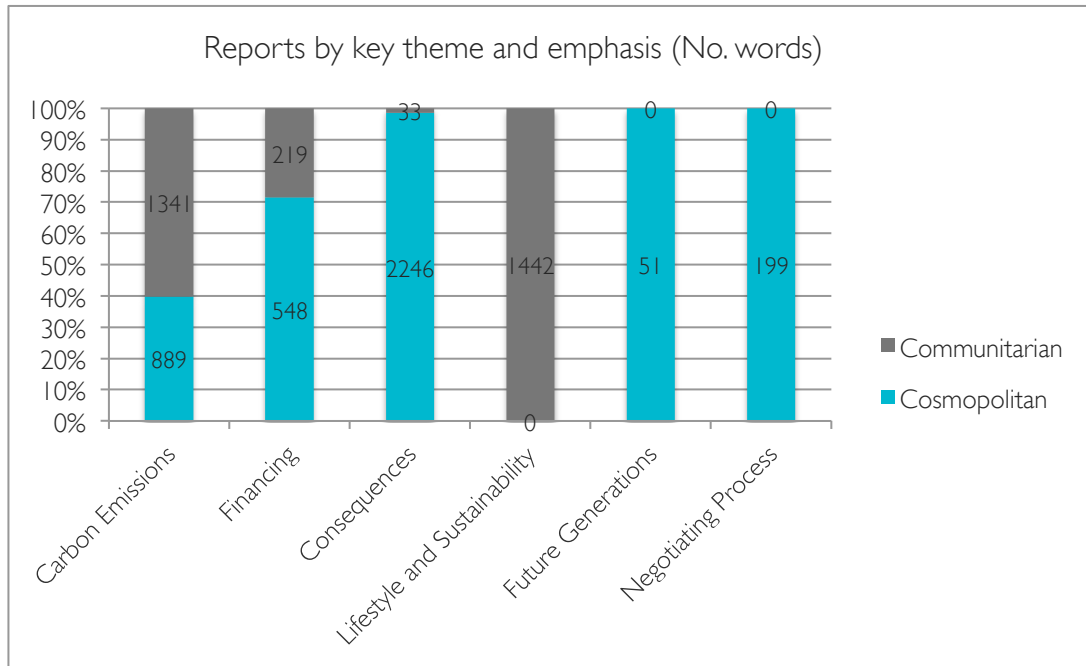


Figure 4.15 - Number of words coded by emphasis and key theme on the BBC (UK)

Cosmopolitan Perspectives

As with the newspapers, cosmopolitan perspectives were quite dominant in the television sample with an even larger proportion of BBC reports containing them. The most cosmopolitan themes were the ones with small numbers of stories - ‘future generations’ (1/1) and ‘negotiating process’ (5/5) (see Table 4.7). The former theme was also marginalised in the newspaper coverage. Thus any cosmopolitan engagement with this theme was almost completely absent. On this occasion, as a result, the BBC was not able to fill the gap left by shallow newspaper coverage. The only direct broadcast reference to ‘future generations’ was brought forward in a report from the COP15 negotiations, where Prince Charles delivered a speech saying:

“As our planet’s life support system begins to fail, and our very survival as a species is brought into question, remember that our children and grandchildren will ask not what our generation said, but what it did. So let us give an answer of which we can be proud” (BBC 15.12.09).

This exact reference in the speech was also quoted in the newspaper coverage, and was the only reference to ‘future generations’ in *The Sun*. Therefore it is clear that ‘future generations’ was almost completely overlooked in the television coverage, possibly due to

the fact that it is a complex theme and does not easily fit with the format of television news.

The theme of 'negotiating process' was also exclusively cosmopolitan and was mentioned in five reports in total. In such stories, the reporter would highlight the perspective of developing countries in particular, and would also focus on conflict and the marginalisation of particular actors at the conferences. This could be seen in a report where David Shukman, the BBC Environment editor, discussing evidence of rising temperatures stated: "Now projections like that are really scary for the poorest countries, those most vulnerable to climate change and their big worry is that they are being carved out of the negotiating process" (BBC 08.12.09). In another example from the final day of the negotiations, David Shukman highlighted: "But others were angry that key countries were brokering a deal in private. We reject any deal, said Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez, which Obama slips under the door and he was speaking for several Latin American countries" (BBC 18.12.09). Although such cosmopolitan reports highlighted the disagreements and the fact that developing countries felt marginalised, at no point was there any notable engagement with the UN process itself, such as whether it was fair or otherwise. Unlike the press, the television coverage never brought up the inherent inequalities of the UN process, either in terms of power, capacity or resources. Therefore when this theme was mentioned it was mainly very briefly without any substantial discussion of the issue, but rather to add some drama to the report. Yet, perhaps engaging too fully with the issue of inequality would be to risk sailing too close to the wind in terms of editorialising on this politically controversial issue.

All of the reports (5/5) and a good deal of the commentary on 'financing' and almost everything on 'consequences' (see Figure 4.15) (12/12) also presented cosmopolitan perspectives. The cosmopolitan reports focusing on the latter often took a very humanitarian approach, highlighting the cost of climate change in Bolivia (BBC 04.12.09) and Mali (BBC 11.12.09). The Mali report focused on the encroachment of the desert and drought on Lake Faguibine, the voice-over stating that:

"Once upon a time this was some of Africa's richest farmland but for 30 years lake Faguibine has been losing the fight against drought and against the Sahara desert. An ecosystem that once fed hundreds of thousands of people has all

but died. Until now, digging for survival, these villagers are taking part in a massive campaign to try to save the Lake and push back the desert” (BBC 11.12.09).

However, the feature which separates this report from others that focus on the ‘consequences’, was that the villagers of Mali were presented as fighting back and with a lot of agency. They were not victimised. The report quoted the project coordinator, stating that: “...the climate will get worse but we have no right to sit back and let the desert takeover. It is possible to fight back.” It then showed the villagers dredging to try to unclog the lake. The report closed with the correspondent saying: “For now, though the lake continue to flourish, evidence from the frontlines of climate change that we can still change; that we can still make a difference” (BBC 11.12.09). Therefore this report added a positive perspective to efforts to deal with climate change, and emphasised that action on climate change was not too late.

Other reports just mentioned the ‘consequences’ very briefly to add drama and urgency to the issue. This could be seen in a report about the start of the COP15 negotiations, in which David Shukman opened with:

“It is described as one of the greatest threat to mankind, a change in the climate, fuelled by our pollution. The impact potentially felt in every country on Earth and now the world has come together to try to forge a response” (BBC 07.12.09).

If we turn to ‘financing’, it received less attention in the BBC than it did in the press. Only five reports focused on the theme, none of which focused exclusively on it. In some instances, ‘financing’ was mentioned as part of the coverage of the key issues at the conference. Such reports did not offer any judgements concerning who should pay who and how much, again understandably, as this could have been criticised as taking a position. Rather they just described what was happening at the talks:

“...and on finance, to help the poorest countries, many are demanding \$200 billion a year; well this morning America offered to help mobilising \$100 billion by 2020, but that all depends on getting a deal here” (BBC 17.12.09).

Noticeable here is the lack of engagement with any duty to support developing countries and the allusion to America offering to ‘help’ mobilise the money. Through this lack of engagement with the rights and duties of the different parties, America is once more

portrayed quite positively in the context of addressing climate change. Two other reports also mentioned 'financing' in passing, and one focused on Gordon Brown's proposal for a "...global fund of \$10 billion to help developing countries curb their emissions..." prior to the Copenhagen conference (BBC 27.11.09).

'Carbon emissions' also had a prominent cosmopolitan strand in a number of stories (13/17). The reports featuring this theme varied in their engagement with the issue, with some just mentioning it very briefly. For instance, one such report explained that President Obama would attend the Copenhagen negotiations and that he was proposing a cut of 17 percent in carbon emissions from the 2005 levels. BBC's engagement with this cut thereby differed from newspapers' discussion of the issue, where several articles were quite critical of the US pledge, arguing that it only amounted to 4 percent, since generally this is discussed with 1990 levels as a baseline. However, the newsreader George Alagiah claimed in the studio that "...these are quite impressive targets..." with no discussion on what such targets meant or any comparison with what other countries were doing (BBC 25.11.09). Therefore, on this instance the BBC gave an uncritical impression that the US had done their fair share going in to the negotiations. So BBC's coverage in that instance failed to provide the contextual information so that the viewer could get a more complete picture of the US targets.

Two cosmopolitan reports did, however, engage clearly in normative judgements concerning responsibility for carbon emissions. The first one, which mainly focused on the consequences climate change is having for people in Bolivia because of melting glaciers, quoted a local scientist saying that: "Bolivia has not created this problem but is facing the consequences. We need urgently help from the international community to respond to those challenges" (BBC 04.12.09). The report had a cosmopolitan perspective and focused on the consequences climate change was having for individuals, such as no access to water for people living in poor conditions. The second story was an interview with Gordon Brown from the final stages of the COP15 conference, where he stated: "I do see a way forward but it does depend on each continent wanting to bear its responsibilities and to accept that they have got to go to a higher level of ambition" (BBC 16.12.09). Yet the BBC reporter did not emphasise this perspective at any other time in the report.

The theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability' contained no cosmopolitan perspectives in the BBC's television coverage, thus there was no engagement with global issues of sustainability and international inequality. This has negative repercussions for the public debate since it means that viewers were not encouraged to consider these issues. Therefore, the BBC could, in that instance, have done much better to inform viewers of such an important aspect of climate change.

Communitarian Perspectives

Communitarian perspectives were not as prominent in the BBC's coverage as in newspapers, with the exception of one theme. The theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability' (6/6) was exclusively communitarian. Three of these focused mainly on renewable energy, such as wind farms and hydropower, and one focused on the production of an electric car - all within the UK context. Whilst some of the reports just mentioned targets for renewable energy and the development of new more sustainable technologies, two focused on the public opposition to renewable energy schemes around the country. The BBC highlighted in the introduction to one of these reports that "The Government's target is to produce 30 percent of our electricity from renewable sources by 2020 [...] but as Jeremy Cooke reports, public resistance means that target may not be met" (BBC 07.12.09). The report also quoted Ed Miliband, the then Energy Secretary, saying that it should be socially unacceptable to oppose such developments. Still, the reporter suggested that:

"...such is the seeming disconnect between policymakers and communities on the ground that it is estimated that there are at least 100 organisations across the country, each one of them dedicated to blocking the renewable energy scheme in their neighbourhood" (BBC 07.12.09).

Only one report engaged more deeply with the theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability' in its focus on a court case, where an individual argued he had been sacked for his environmental beliefs. The report headlined with "Going green is like a religion". The individual involved, Tim Nicholson, was quoted on screen saying:

"Mine is not a faith-based or a spiritual-based belief. It is grounded in the overwhelming scientific evidence and it is the combination of that scientific

evidence with the moral and ethical imperatives to do something about it that is distinct from a religion” (BBC 03.11.09).

The report followed Mr Nicholson and his family around at a farmers’ market in Oxford, and highlighted the changes they had done to their lifestyle, such as travelling by bicycle and limiting themselves to one child. That story focused more specifically on what the individual could do to combat global warming, although at no point did the reporter put forward those arguments himself. Rather the lifestyle changes were brought to the forefront representing the actions of this particular individual.

The second most communitarian theme was ‘carbon emissions’ with just over half of the reports containing such arguments (9/17). These reports highlighted, for instance, the British targets on achieving cuts in their emissions (BBC 07.12.09; 08.12.09). One was about research on insulating houses, but was reported from the angle that energy bills were high. The report did mention that “Leaky homes are obviously a problem for the people that live in them, but also for the government that is trying to hit pollution targets” (BBC 26.01.11). In discussing ‘carbon emissions’ eight reports touched on the difficulty in reaching an agreement due to the various interests and parties involved. For example, the newsreader said in the introduction to a report that “...there’s growing agreement on the need to reduce greenhouse gases but still plenty of disagreement about who will make the deepest cuts” (BBC 07.12.09).

One BBC report was very critical concerning China’s carbon emissions. It highlighted that:

“China’s massive use of coal is what makes this country the biggest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world today. The real question is what happens in the next 20 to 30 years because China’s use of coal could double or even treble and if it does, what every other nation may not matter if China doesn’t clean up its act” (BBC 14.12.09).

The language used in this report is quite strong (‘massive’ and ‘if China doesn’t clean up its act’). The lack of focus on historical emissions also makes China’s carbon emissions seem more substantial. Although the report does later mention China’s wind farms, it closes with “...if a million Chinese end up emitting more per head than Europeans, the future for climate change could be bleak” (BBC 14.12.09). The report clearly makes China look like a

problematic actor in the context of climate change. It is, however, worth noting that the BBC on a different day focused on the carbon emissions that are hidden within the exports from China. In the introduction to the item, the newsreader said: “Countries like China are being accused of emissions while they are manufacturing the goods we buy” (BBC 17.11.09). The report then focused on a Chinese factory producing energy-saving gadgets for tumble dryers for the UK market. It stated: “We get the emissions savings, they get the carbon blame” (BBC 17.11.09). Therefore these two reports had completely different ways of looking at carbon emissions. In the one instance China was considered as the bad guy of climate change, and in the other, it was highlighted that people in the West are responsible for much of China’s carbon emissions. This means that whilst the former report gave a distorted view of China’s carbon emissions, the latter managed to give a more nuanced interpretation of them.

The remaining themes contained very little communitarianism within them. Communitarian arguments were present in only one report out of five for ‘financing’ and one out of twelve for ‘consequences’. The themes of ‘future generations’ and ‘negotiating process’ were exclusively cosmopolitan. The story focusing on ‘financing’ was about EU pledges of financing with a headline: “European leaders pledge 6 ½ billion pounds to help the world’s poorest nations reduce carbon emissions”. There were several noteworthy aspects of this report. From a very communitarian perspective the reporter was keen to stress Britain’s individual contribution stating that: “The UK is the biggest contributor. It upped its offer to one and a half billion pounds, just ahead of France and Germany” (BBC 11.12.09). Therefore, it highlighted that Britain’s efforts were key to reaching this agreement.

The only story on ‘consequences’ containing communitarian elements focused on the science of climate change, presenting research evidencing steadily increasing temperatures. However, it asked “...but what about Britain? There were two major heatwaves in the past decade and more are forecast, but remember this from a few months back? The drizzle of the so-called barbecue summer?” (BBC 08.12.09). It then immediately followed up with the sceptical perspective stating that:

“To many the new Met office figures might not add up. Now not everyone accepts this data and here in a Copenhagen side street, there is a gathering of climate change sceptics, highly critical of what is going on in the main conference and here they are holding their own gathering.” (BBC 08.12.09).

The reporter then interviewed Lord Monckton from the Science and Public Policy Institute, suggesting that the temperature rises are entirely within the natural variability of the climate. Therefore, although the BBC presented the perspective of climate sceptics, David Shukman never questioned the science, highlighting that: “A few dozen meet to hear how global warming is not man-made. This is a tiny event compared to the vast UN conference”. Furthermore, he finished the report by stating that

“...these new Met office projections are backed by mainstream science, on the left, warming if greenhouse gases keep rising; on the right, how a deal could keep temperatures in check. Now projections like that are really scary to the poorest countries, those most vulnerable to climate change and their big worry here is that they are being carved out of the negotiating process.” (BBC 08.12.09).

Therefore, by emphasising the limited size of the climate sceptic gathering, highlighting that the projections were backed by mainstream science, and mentioning those most vulnerable to climate change, the BBC did not give much credibility to the sceptical view on the science of climate change.

Discussion and Conclusions

Thus far, this chapter has outlined how the selected newspapers and the public service broadcaster, the BBC, have dealt with the issue of climate change and its ethical dimensions. Some of the conclusions from the press coverage discussed earlier in the chapter were also mirrored in the television coverage. Like the press, the BBC reduced its overall attention to climate change substantially for COP16 and dedicated a smaller proportion of their reports to the key topics. As a result, both television viewers and newspaper readers received very limited coverage on the key challenges of climate change for the COP16 period. These findings are in line with other research demonstrating the diminishing attention to climate change following COP15 (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011).

The limited focus on the key issues in all media outlets analysed here has potentially negative repercussions for public understanding considering the centrality of these themes to a comprehensive debate on climate change. The analysis conducted here demonstrates that the quality of coverage actually deteriorated for the latter time-period. There were not only fewer stories on climate change, but also less in-depth engagement with the key topics. Naturally, the more coverage there is, the more space there is to explore key issues. As such, should coverage drop further in the future, this could have serious implications for public understanding and engagement with the issue.

This chapter also explored aspects relating to the source distribution. There were some notable differences between the voices that spoke on television compared to the overall figures for the press, with television giving much more space to the members of the public to voice their opinions within reports. But the BBC was considerably more parochial in its selection of who got to speak at the conferences, by giving less space to developing countries and UN officials than the press did, especially the *Guardian*. Therefore there was clearly less diversity in television coverage engaging with the key themes than in newspapers. Nevertheless, overall there was clearly greater plurality in the sourcing in commentary than the literature might suggest. Sourcing was in no way confined, or 'indexed', to nationally situated political elites. It extended well beyond this to a range of 'extra-national' sources, many of which could not even be characterised as an 'international elite'.

The cited sources also varied in how they emphasised cosmopolitan or communitarian perspectives in the various outlets. In the press, all the sources cited put forward more cosmopolitan perspectives than communitarian ones, with only one exception. The only actor to stress communitarian values more frequently was the US government. The BASIC countries and the business community also put forward the two perspectives in relatively equal measure, but these were amongst the sources least frequently cited. Developing countries and the scientific community were the most cosmopolitan sources for both television and the press. But NGOs and activists, an actor amongst the most widely cited across press and TV, were predominantly cosmopolitan in press coverage whilst they were largely communitarian on the BBC. The public which was one of the larger sources within

television was also amongst the most communitarian ones. In general terms, the BBC differed from the press in that communitarian perspectives were much more common amongst the actors they quoted.

This chapter also assessed how the outlets compared in terms of the exploration of the key themes. Although the proportion of reports which focused on one of the key themes was higher for television, any in-depth and meaningful engagement with these was scarcer in television than in the press. Naturally, comparing television and newspaper coverage has its challenges and difficulties, since their formats and functions vary substantially. This conclusion could be explained by the fact that the newspapers have more space to go into detail concerning complex issues such as climate change, whilst television is naturally a more brief and descriptive medium.

There were strong similarities in the themes that the outlets in television and press tended to focus on. All media outlets emphasised ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘consequences’. In addition, all newspapers dedicated a lot of attention to ‘financing’. The *Guardian* had a larger focus on ‘future generations’; a theme almost completely overlooked in the other media outlets. Two themes in particular were underemphasised across press and television: ‘future generations’ and ‘negotiating process’. ‘Lifestyle and sustainability’ was also an issue overlooked to some extent by the press and television, whilst the BBC also had a very limited engagement with ‘financing’. As such, some fundamental issues were almost completely overlooked in our corpus of coverage. Consequently, citizens would only get a partial appreciation of the complex issues around climate change from the media. This lack of in-depth coverage could result in a diminished public understanding of climate change.

This all has implications for an important issue concerning BBC’s role as a public service broadcaster. It has been argued that public service television should aim to fill the gaps left in coverage by a commercial press, largely driven by profit motives (Gavin 2007b). From that perspective, the findings are somewhat disconcerting. The BBC did not manage to fill the gap left in the coverage by the press. It did not have a larger emphasis on the themes underexplored in the press. In fact, coverage was not as in-depth on the BBC either. Television’s coverage of an issue is of central importance since it is the public’s main and

most trusted source of political information (Edelman Trust 2012; Globescan 2006; Ofcom 2007). As such, television has a strong potential to add to informed debate – a potential which could have been fulfilled to a larger extent.

The actors cited also varied in terms of the themes they focused on. The scientific community focused the most on the ‘consequences’, followed by ‘carbon emissions’ in both press and television. The UK government was the source which focused the most on ‘financing’, followed by ‘carbon emissions’. ‘Financing’ was also the theme that developing countries were most frequently cited on. They were also the actor that was quoted most often in relation to ‘negotiating process’. For BBC, the scientific community, NGOs and UK government were the largest sources. On television, developing countries were cited mainly on ‘consequences’ and ‘negotiating process’, whilst NGOs were quoted on ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and the ‘negotiating process’. The marginalised themes were therefore overlooked by most actors, bar developing countries’ emphasis on the ‘negotiating process’.

As mentioned earlier, there was greater plurality in the source distribution than might have been expected from the academic literature on elite dominance (actors such as developing countries, NGOs, scientific community and the public were given a voice on many occasions across the outlets). However, this does not seem to have contributed greatly to more plurality in terms of the themes emphasised across the outlets.

This general tendency of all the outlets to overlook the same topics could be a result of several factors. It could be that some issues are inherently less interesting, inaccessible, or have less news value. These might also have been deemed less ‘important’ or central to the negotiations by journalists. Another plausible explanation could also be that some themes, such as ‘future generations’ as well as ‘negotiating process’ are somewhat complex and abstract to deal with in a concise manner. It is also possible that the lack of engagement on the part of the press with the key issues is a result of lack of public interest in the issue, since newspapers are commercial entities. As such, they need to write stories that sell. If that is the case, there is a need to make climate change more ‘interesting and relevant’ to stimulate public engagement.

This chapter also explored the role of the ideology in relation to mediated climate change. It was clear that there were some differences in terms of the ideological affiliation of newspapers, with the left-leaning *Guardian* not only having the most articles in general, but also a higher proportion of these focused on the key themes. This patterning in terms of quantity of coverage is consistent with previous research on mediated climate change (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). The *Guardian* was also the newspaper which had the highest prevalence of cosmopolitan perspectives, although the difference between the two broadsheets was not all that large. Even so, it must be acknowledged that in some ways the differences between left and right-leaning were not always apparent, for instance, no strong patterns emerged when the source distribution in the newspapers was analysed. All outlets, both TV and press reduced their coverage substantially for the COP16 period, suggesting that there were other factors than ideology at work. These could plausibly include the diminished newsworthiness of the COP16 conference, the geographical distance to the conference making it expensive to cover and possibly a general reduced interest in the issue (Masters 2013). In addition, the qualitative section demonstrated that all outlets, although to varying degrees, lacked a fundamental engagement with wider issues of sustainability and international inequality. In that sense, our findings mirror those of Carvalho (2005) who argued in her analysis of British broadsheet coverage that there was no sustained critique of constant economic growth within the papers. Rather the discourse took place within the broad ideological parameters of neo-liberalism and free-market capitalism.

The conclusions presented above all relate to concerns about the quality of public debate in the UK. With regards to this question, there are some reasons for optimism. This thesis considers a focus on the key topics identified as a crucial and necessary aspect of a healthy debate on climate change. In this respect, it can be argued that the *Guardian's* coverage was quite extensive; it focused the most on the key themes and was the most cosmopolitan. Still, *The Sun's* coverage is a cause for concern given its dominant place on the British newspaper market. The result is that the vast majority of readers get very limited coverage on the key issues around climate change and are unlikely to be adequately equipped to participate in a proper and rich public debate on climate change. However, it could be

argued that *The Sun* plays a less important role as a tabloid, as it is the broadsheets that are more influential as agenda-setters (Carvalho & Burgess 2005). With regards to television, it was clear that a relatively high proportion of coverage did touch on one or more of the themes. However, the engagement with these themes was often brief and more implicit. The BBC was more communitarian than the press when it focused on several of the themes, such as 'carbon emissions' and 'lifestyle and sustainability'. Perhaps this could be related to the role of public service broadcasting in representing the national interest.

Which medium provides citizens with more comprehensive information on climate change is therefore difficult to say. It is clear that the television has strength in its accessibility and in terms of its reach. As Hargreaves et al (2003) suggest, the BBC (and especially its environment correspondent David Shukman), does quite well in giving its viewers a brief but informed overview of the science and the negotiations. At the same time, as the illustrative section showed, the BBC lacked the contextual information for the viewer to be fully informed. It is clear from the amount of ink spilled on the topic that the broadsheets are able to deliver much more analysis concerning the issue, and therefore also to engage in more depth with the key challenges of climate change. Consequently broadsheet readers, in particular, will receive more detailed and in-depth information about climate change than television viewers as well as tabloid readers. Considering viewing and circulation figures⁴⁰, it is clear the vast majority of people receive coverage that is lacking in breadth and comprehensiveness. However, it is difficult to assess the quality of BBC's coverage without comparing it to other public service broadcasters beyond the UK. This will be done in Chapter 7, where television coverage across the three countries will be discussed, allowing for a comparative assessment of the broadcasters.

It could be argued that when it comes to global problems such as climate change, which require drastic and expensive solutions on a global scale, a certain degree of cosmopolitanism could prove helpful in mobilising support for such measures. It has been suggested elsewhere that the media often focus on conflict and competition, as well as the national interest and that of their readers (Cottle 2009). It seems when it comes to the

⁴⁰ The average viewing figures for the BBC's early evening news are about 4.4 million (BBC 2011b), whilst the daily circulation figures for *The Sun* are about 2.8 million (Guardian 2011a).

main issues around climate change, there is a space for the media to take on a more cosmopolitan ethic and focus more on the interests of distant and vulnerable others. Therefore, climate change provides us with a good case study of how the media can speak to and perhaps even contribute to a more cosmopolitan citizenship or identity, giving a voice to citizens from around the world rather than necessarily representing the national citizens.

Such cosmopolitan commentary can be seen as encouraging and even necessary since it could potentially contribute to persuading the public that political action is necessary. Still, it could be argued that some presence of communitarian perspectives is not in itself a bad thing, since people often care about issues that are more concrete and closer to home. A local perspective could help keep the public interested in the issue. Making climate change more directly relevant and immediate could perhaps lead to improved public engagement with the issue. However, it is possible that this preponderance of cosmopolitan perspectives is specific to the UK context. Analysing media coverage across different national contexts allows us to examine the extent to which a common ethical representation of the issue of climate change exists. The next chapter will examine the extent to which this is the case in television and print coverage in the Danish media.

Chapter 5 - Danish Media Coverage of Climate Negotiations

Introduction

COP15 in Copenhagen was a landmark event on a global level, but even more so in Danish history. It was the largest international summit ever to be held outside New York, and therefore could have been expected to be at the top of the Danish media agenda. Naturally, there was also quite a strong focus on the practicalities surrounding the event, concerning policing, catering, transport etc. Denmark provides a particularly interesting case to look at in terms of media coverage of climate negotiations due to the fact that the COP15 was taking place in the Danish capital. This provides an excellent opportunity to examine in more detail how media in the locale deal with such massive international events. 'Proximity' has also been demonstrated to be an important news value (Galtung & Ruge 1965). By looking at both COP15 and COP16, which took place in Cancun, Mexico, it should be possible to draw some conclusions about the impact of the proximity of the event on Danish media coverage. This chapter examines how three national newspapers, *Politiken*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*, and the public service broadcaster, DR, portrayed climate change during the two major international negotiations on climate change. Like the British sample, these newspapers represent the largest left-leaning, right-leaning and tabloid in terms of daily circulation, and therefore will give a good indication of the ways in which ideological affiliations and format, as well as locale, relate to coverage.

The overarching concern of this chapter is to assess the overall quality of the public debate on climate change in Denmark. In addition to looking at issues around quantity of coverage and how this relates to the literature on mediated climate change, the main emphasis will be on examining how the media cover the key challenges of climate change and how, in doing so, they put forward cosmopolitan or communitarian arguments in their coverage. This chapter also explores the voices that are given prominence in the debate around the key issues around climate change and how these voices are connected to the respective themes and values. This chapter has a similar structure to the previous one

devoted to the British media coverage. It is organised in two main parts, the first one dealing with the newspaper coverage and the second one - television. Each one will focus first on the quantity of coverage in the Danish media, since the first requirement for addressing an issue is an acknowledgement of its existence as a problem. In these sections, the amount of articles/reports across the different media outlets and time-periods will be explored. Although it is a necessity for public understanding that the issue of climate change is on the media agenda, it is also essential to gain an understanding of how the issue is portrayed in the media. As such, this chapter will progress to examine the proportion of coverage focusing on the key themes in the various outlets, and which of these are given most prominence. The sources used in the reports and articles will also be explored in order to assess whether some voices are associated with a particular perspective or another. This also allows for an assessment of whether some media are more inclined to give more space to particular actors over others. Finally the ensuing sections will consider how the media outlets represent the themes outlined in Chapter 3 and where and when we are most likely to see cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives within the coverage.

All of this will allow us to make some inferences concerning the overall state of media coverage and the quality of the public debate on climate change in the Danish context. This assessment – similar to the British case – is based on the already outlined key aspects of climate change from the academic literature. The chapter also explores how the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism are portrayed within the respective media outlets. In addressing these issues, this chapter will consider how television and the press differ in their reporting of key climate change issues. The potential implications for public understanding of the issue will also be briefly explored.

5.1. Danish Newspaper Coverage of COP15 and COP16

5.1.1. An Overview of the Quantity of Coverage

This section examines the quantity of coverage across the three selected newspapers - *Politiken*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*, over the two negotiations periods. The newspapers analysed here gave a great deal more attention to COP15 than COP16. Figure 5.1 illustrates that 81 percent of the newspaper coverage was from the COP15 period.

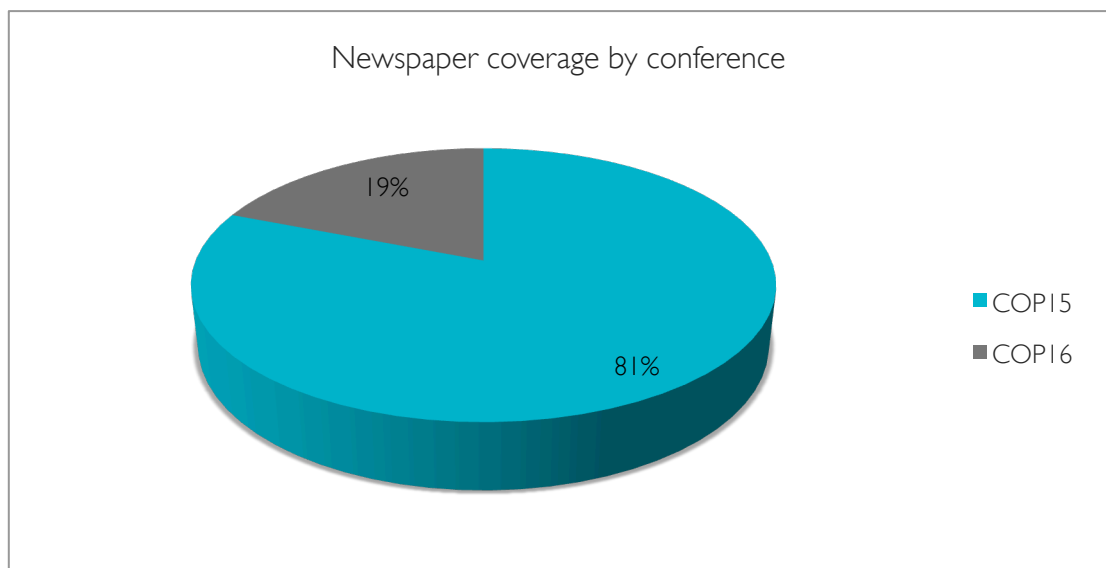


Figure 5.1 - Proportion of overall newspaper coverage by period (DK)

The newspaper titles also varied substantially in how much attention they gave to the issue. *Politiken* published the highest total number of articles (507 articles), followed by *Jyllands-Posten* (348 articles), whilst *Ekstra Bladet* published only 126 articles (See Figure 5.2).

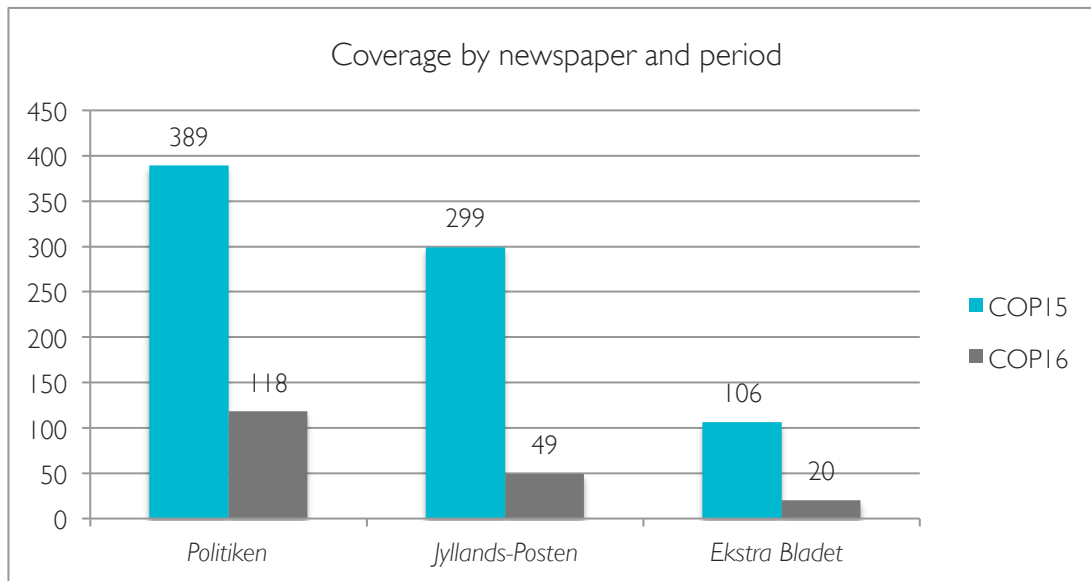


Figure 5.2 - Distribution of coverage by newspaper and period (DK)

This means that *Politiken* readers had more exposure to climate commentary than the readers of the other two newspapers, and especially *Ekstra Bladet*, as Figure 5.3 demonstrates.

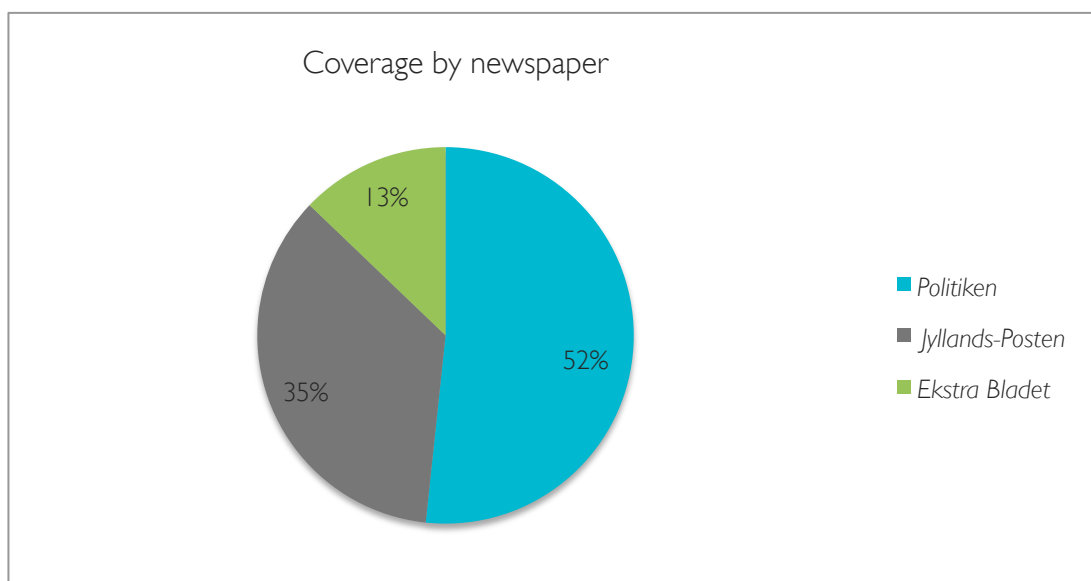


Figure 5.3 - Proportion of coverage by newspaper (DK)

The disparity between the attention the different newspapers give to climate change is further reinforced by the average length of stories (see Figure 5.4). *Politiken*, which was the paper with the highest number of articles, also had the longest articles for both periods, followed relatively closely by *Jyllands-Posten*. In contrast, *Ekstra Bladet's* articles are around

half the length, in both periods, compared to those in the two broadsheets. Noticeably, the length of articles in *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet* remained relatively steady throughout both periods, whilst *Politiken* cut their average article length by almost 100 words for COP16. Overall, this picture is consistent with research from elsewhere in the world, suggesting climate change is most likely to be found on the pages of broadsheet newspapers (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Gavin 2009; Painter 2010).

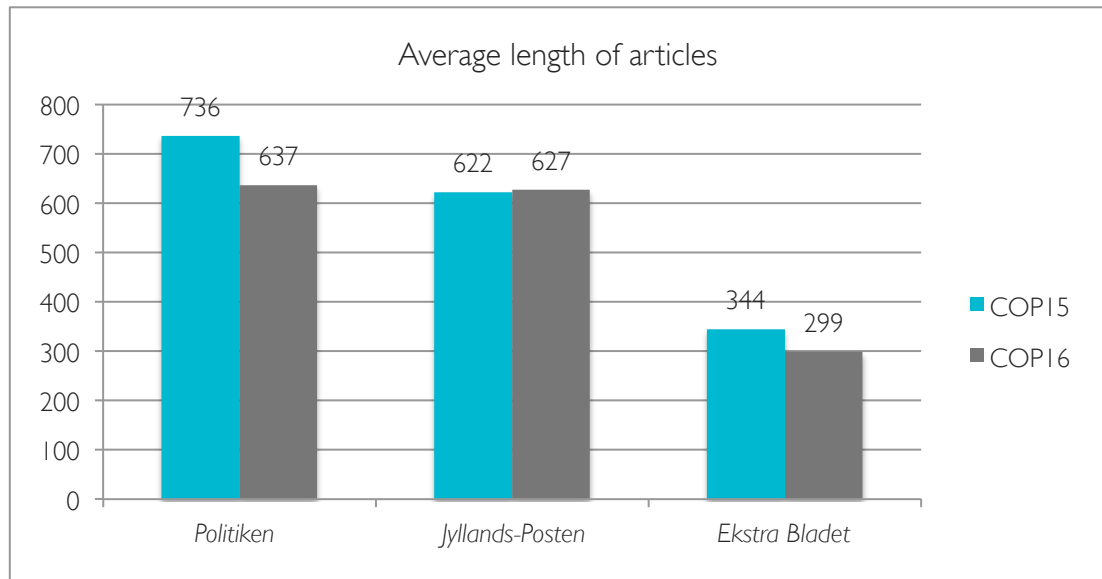


Figure 5.4 - Average article length by newspaper and period (DK)

It is apparent that although the overall number of articles is high for COP15, there are some notable differences between the various newspaper titles. The data suggests that the articles in *Ekstra Bladet* are likely to be less comprehensive than those in the other newspapers. At the same time, it is clear that the left-leaning newspaper *Politiken* has the most extensive coverage, both in terms of length of articles as well as in terms of absolute number of articles. These findings are consistent with studies elsewhere highlighting the same feature (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011).

5.1.2. Newspaper Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

Thus far, this chapter has established that readers received much less information on climate change during the COP16 period than COP15. This has potential implications for

public understanding, given that the public appear to get most of the knowledge on the issue from press and television reporting (Stamm et al. 2000; Whitmarsh 2009). However, as Chapter 1 highlighted a certain appreciation of the key challenges of climate change is crucial if the public is to get a comprehensive understanding of climate change. The media have an important role to play in setting the agenda for public debate in this respect, and how they convey information in relation to the issue is of fundamental importance. It is argued that a public debate which overlooks the key themes is inadequate, as it fails to inform citizens of essential aspects of climate change (Gardiner et al. 2010). A rich public debate would include a discussion of the key issues around climate change. The next section explores how these are portrayed in coverage, by identifying which themes were most prominent and in which newspaper titles. It goes on to explore how the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism were embedded in coverage. This is of crucial importance since exploration of the ethical dimension or the values underpinning the debate on climate change have been completely overlooked in the literature on mediated climate change so far.

Chapter 1 identified six themes, which were central to the debate on climate change. These were:

- a. Carbon emissions (Issues relating to carbon emissions, such as reduction and disparities between countries)
- b. Consequences (Issues relating to the impact of climate change across the world)
- c. Financing (Issues relating to the compensation/financing between countries to help mitigate and adapt to climate change)
- d. Future generations (Issues relating to the impact of the current generation's environmental behaviour on future generations)
- e. Lifestyle and sustainability (Issues relating to sustainability, consumerism and lifestyle choices in general)
- f. Negotiating process (Issues relating to the power distribution and procedural fairness within the UN negotiating process itself)

Overall there were 375 articles that touched on one or more of the key topics (see Table 5.1). Between COP15 and COP16 *Politiken* had the highest number of items referring to one of the key themes, whilst *Ekstra Bladet* had by far the least.

Key Themes	<i>Politiken</i>		<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>		<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>		Total		
	COP15	COP16	COP15	COP16	COP15	COP16	COP15	COP16	Total
Carbon Emissions	130	27	88	14	18	1	236	42	278
Consequences	100	26	67	15	16	3	183	44	227
Financing	66	19	54	8	8	2	128	29	157
Lifestyle and Sustainability	23	5	20	2	3	0	46	7	53
Future Generations	14	1	5	0	2	0	21	1	22
Negotiating Process	27	4	16	0	6	2	49	6	55
Total	167	42	117	17	27	5	311	64	375

Table 5.1 - Distribution of themes by newspaper and period (DK)⁴¹

The number of articles focusing on one or more of the key themes was dramatically lower for COP16 than COP15, with only 64 articles during the COP16 period. This means that 83 percent of articles touching on one of the topics appeared during the Copenhagen conference. However, since the newspapers varied in the number of articles focusing on the key themes published, it is useful to examine the proportion of articles which touched on particular issues, in order to get a clearer idea of how inclined they were to bring them up.

In terms of percentages, the public reading the broadsheets not only receive much fewer articles on COP16, but a smaller proportion of these touch upon the key themes (the change in the case of *Ekstra Bladet* while present is less noticeable). Again, *Politiken* has the highest proportion of articles that focus on the key challenges of climate change throughout both periods, although the difference between it and *Jyllands-Posten* is not substantial. However, when the overall number of articles is considered, it is clear that *Politiken* had substantially more articles, which focused on one of the key themes than did the other two newspapers, as Figure 5.5 illustrates. *Ekstra Bladet* had quite a small proportion of articles, which focused on any of the six themes (25 percent), although this did not really vary between COP15 and COP16. In addition, it also had less than half the number of articles of the other two newspapers, which means that coverage of the key issues in *Ekstra Bladet* was more limited in the period of analysis.

⁴¹ Please note, that since the same articles could discuss several themes, the columns do not add up to the total.

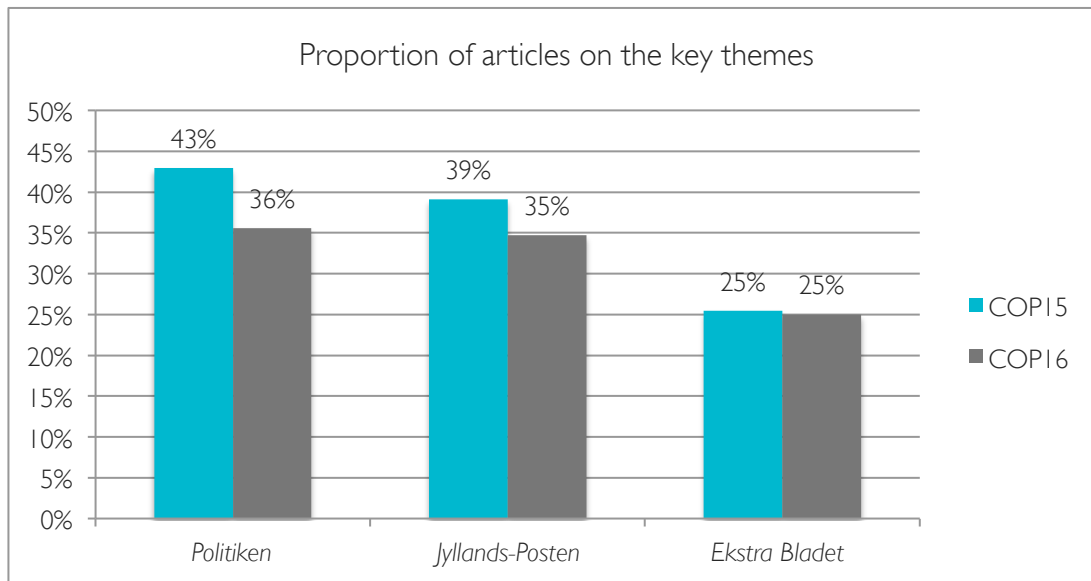


Figure 5.5 - Proportion of articles focusing on the key themes (DK)

Thus, the left-leaning newspaper, *Politiken*, is not only the newspaper with the greatest number of articles, but it also has the longest articles on average. In addition to that, *Politiken* also dedicates the highest proportion of its coverage to the key themes relating to climate change. This suggests an important role of the newspapers' orientation in determining the quantity and length of articles as well as the focus on key themes in newspapers. Nevertheless, the overall drop itself in articles focusing on the topics cannot be ascribed to ideology, considering that this is a feature of all the newspaper titles, especially the broadsheets.

In order to establish whether there are any substantial differences between the types of themes that the various newspapers tend to focus on, the proportion of coverage touching on specific topics must be considered. As Figure 5.6 illustrates there is some variation among the newspapers. However, what is more striking are the similarities, especially in terms of the overall prominence of the themes. 'Carbon emissions' is clearly the biggest theme, followed by 'consequences' and 'financing'. The only (less than striking) difference here is that around three quarters of all articles focusing on any of the key themes in *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten* focus on 'carbon emissions', whilst the corresponding figure is 60 percent for *Ekstra Bladet*.

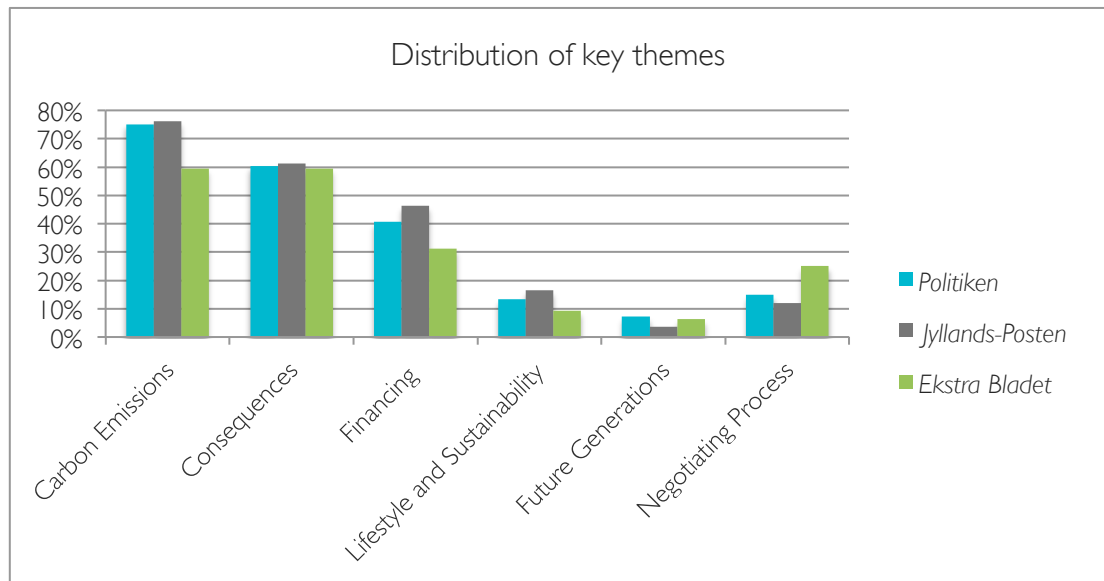


Figure 5.6 - Proportion of the respective themes of the total articles on the main issues (DK)⁴²

The right-leaning newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* had, marginally, the highest proportion focusing on ‘financing’ (46 percent), whilst the corresponding figure for *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet* was just over 40 and 31 percent respectively. *Ekstra Bladet* had the highest proportion of articles focusing on the ‘negotiating process’ (25 percent). There was therefore a clear difference between the overall attention dedicated to the six different themes, with the first three themes much more prominent than the latter three. These similarities between the newspapers might suggest that some themes are inherently more newsworthy than others. A potential explanation might be that they are more central to the negotiations. In all cases, the lack of focus on the last three themes in all the newspapers is unlikely in any significant way to be a function of ideology affiliation or type of newspaper.

If we examine the overall proportion⁴³ of articles touching on the key themes in the various newspapers, we see that *Politiken*’s large focus on the main challenges of climate change is even clearer (see Figure 5.7). *Politiken* had 56 percent of the coverage on these, whilst *Ekstra Bladet* had only 8 percent. Therefore the differences between the various

⁴² *Ekstra Bladet*’s percentages must be considered with caution due to the low number of articles focusing on ethics overall (31).

⁴³ i.e. the percentage of articles focusing on one or more of the key themes of the newspapers’ total articles on climate change.

newspapers established earlier become all the more apparent when it comes to coverage on the key issues around climate change.

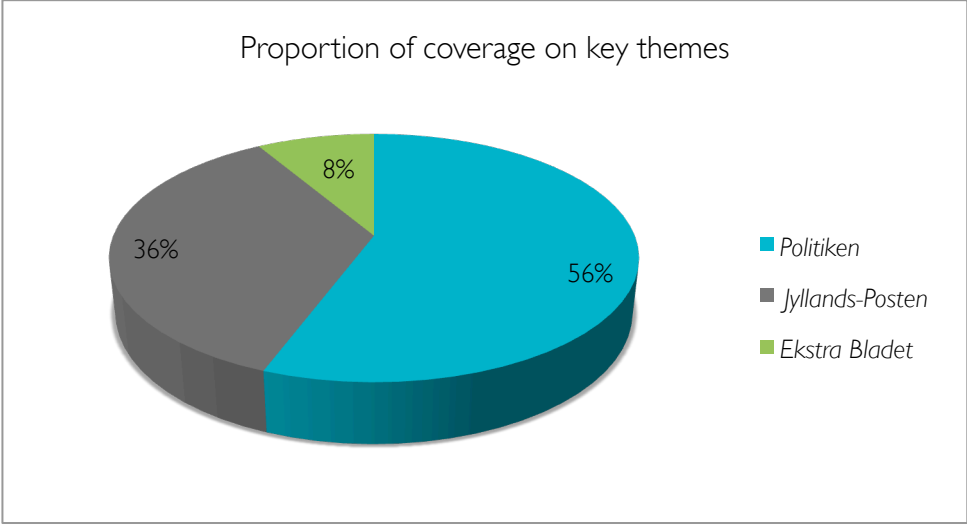


Figure 5.7 - Percentage of coverage focusing on the key themes by newspaper (DK)

The data so far suggests that the coverage on climate change and its main challenges is almost limited to the broadsheets. *Ekstra Bladet* not only has the fewest and shortest articles, but also the smallest proportion of articles focusing on the key themes. Therefore *Ekstra Bladet's* readers are less likely to be well informed about the main issues around climate change. The previous section gives us some indication of the prominence of climate change and the engagement with the respective themes in the various newspaper titles. This confirms a structure in coverage relating to the ethical dimension of climate change that others have found more generally (Boykoff & Mansfield 2008; Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Gavin 2009). This research has found that left-wing newspapers give most prominence to climate change, while tabloids have substantially less coverage than broadsheets.

Whilst these results may have implications for the quality and breadth of the public debate, they do not shed light on how the key themes are discursively represented in the coverage. In order to proceed with this form of analysis, a representative sample of articles, which focused on any of the key themes, was selected. As outlined in Chapter 3, this stratified sample, consisting of 94 articles, was isolated by sorting the articles first by newspaper, then by date. Every third article was chosen for analysis. In what follows the sources that are given space within each title, and the extent to which these are associated with

cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives will be explored. The values portrayed in relation to the established themes will also be considered. By assessing the prominence of the respective themes and how they are discursively embedded in coverage, it should be possible to gauge whether the structure of coverage of the key challenges of climate change has significant patterning or gaps. This, in turn, may have implications for the quality of the debate, and the public engagement with the issue.

5.1.3. Sources in Newspaper Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

As Chapter 2 stated, the media have a key role to play as a gatekeeper and can determine which voices get heard within a particular debate. This section explores the sources that the various titles use in their coverage of the key issues around climate change. In doing so, it examines the differences and similarities in how often they use their respective sources. It also assesses which themes and perspectives actors are associated with by exploring the direct and indirect quotes in the articles. Research has suggested that media coverage is dominated by elite sources (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Franklin 2004; Herman & Chomsky 1988) and that journalists are drawn to the news value of 'elite nations' (Galtung & Ruge 1965). The sources that are voiced within coverage can have fundamental implications for the overall message conveyed, since frames are shaped by competing stakeholders seeking to define the issue (Carragee & Roefs 2004).

Table 5.2 illustrates the overall source distribution in all the newspapers⁴⁴. It shows the number of times particular actors have been quoted either directly or indirectly⁴⁵ by the various newspapers in the representative sample of 94 articles focusing on the key themes.

⁴⁴ For an overview of the source categories and how sources were analysed, see Chapter 3.

⁴⁵ Indirect quotes are those, which paraphrase what an actor has said, whilst a direct quote contains the statement word for word in quotation marks

Source	<i>Politiken</i>	<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>	<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>	Total
DK Government/Delegation	9	9	2	20
Scientific Community	15	5	0	20
US Government/Delegation	7	10	1	18
Developing Countries	7	8	2	17
NGOs/Activists	10	7	0	17
BASIC Countries	7	7	2	16
UN Officials/Negotiators	9	7	0	16
Other Developed Countries	6	6	1	13
Think Tanks	5	5	1	11
Media/News Agency	5	3	2	10
EU Representatives	2	7	0	9
Business Community	5	1	0	6
Public/Vox Pops	5	1	0	6
DK Opposition	2	2	1	5
Energy Sector	2	3	0	5
Other	14	8	1	23

Table 5.2 - Source distribution in articles on the key themes by newspaper⁴⁶ (DK)

Overall, the Danish government and the scientific community were quoted most frequently - in 20 articles each. This was followed very closely by US Government sources (18 articles), developing countries (17 articles), NGOs and activists (17 articles), the BASIC group (16 articles), and UN officials (16 articles). The sources, which were mentioned less frequently included Danish opposition political parties (5 articles), the energy sector (5 articles), members of the public (6 articles) and the business community (6 articles). In terms of the individual newspapers, the actor, which was quoted most frequently in *Politiken* was the scientific community (9 articles) whilst in the case of *Jyllands-Posten* this was the US government (10 articles). *Ekstra Bladet* quoted very few sources, with the Danish government, developing countries, BASIC countries and other media and news agencies cited in two articles each.

In total there is marginally more emphasis on government sourcing than there was in the UK press sample. However, the DK government was not the most often cited voice in

⁴⁶ The 'other' category includes a combination of sources, which could not be grouped under any of the above categories, such as authors, former politicians and artists.

either of the newspapers with the most commentary (*Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten*), where scientists and the US representatives topped the scale. And, like in the UK, many of the sources did not come from the political or governmental elite that a range of others researchers consider to regularly dominate commentary (Bennett 1990; Bennett et al. 2006; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). The findings (also like those for the UK) suggest that some of the sources cannot be characterised as having “...a significant say over policy outcomes.” (Althaus et al. 1996: 418), notably NGOs, ‘others’ and, probably, ‘developing countries’ too. In this context, this is further confirmation that we need to reassess the notion of the dominance of nationally-situated elite or government in sourcing, at least with respect coverage relating to the key challenges of climate change.

However, due to the differences in the number of articles that each newspaper printed, perhaps the percentage of news items which quote a particular source, is a more useful guide to the differences between the newspapers. This would allow for more nuanced comparisons across news outlets. Figure 5.8 shows that the scientific community was quoted in the highest proportion of articles in *Politiken* (28 percent), but only in less than 15 percent of articles in *Jyllands-Posten*⁴⁷. Similarly, there was a substantial difference between the percentage of articles which quoted the US government: around 30 percent of articles in *Jyllands-Posten* quoted that category, whilst the corresponding figure for *Politiken* was merely 13 percent. *Politiken* also gave a lesser proportion of space to Danish government sources than did the other newspapers. Therefore it seems that the right-leaning *Jyllands-Posten* was more keen to give a voice to national government actors such as the US and Danish government (and less climate scientists), than its left-leaning counterpart *Politiken*. *Jyllands-Posten* also provided considerably more space to EU voices than did *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet*.

⁴⁷ Sometimes these percentages are based on quite a small number of articles. They should therefore be treated with some caution.

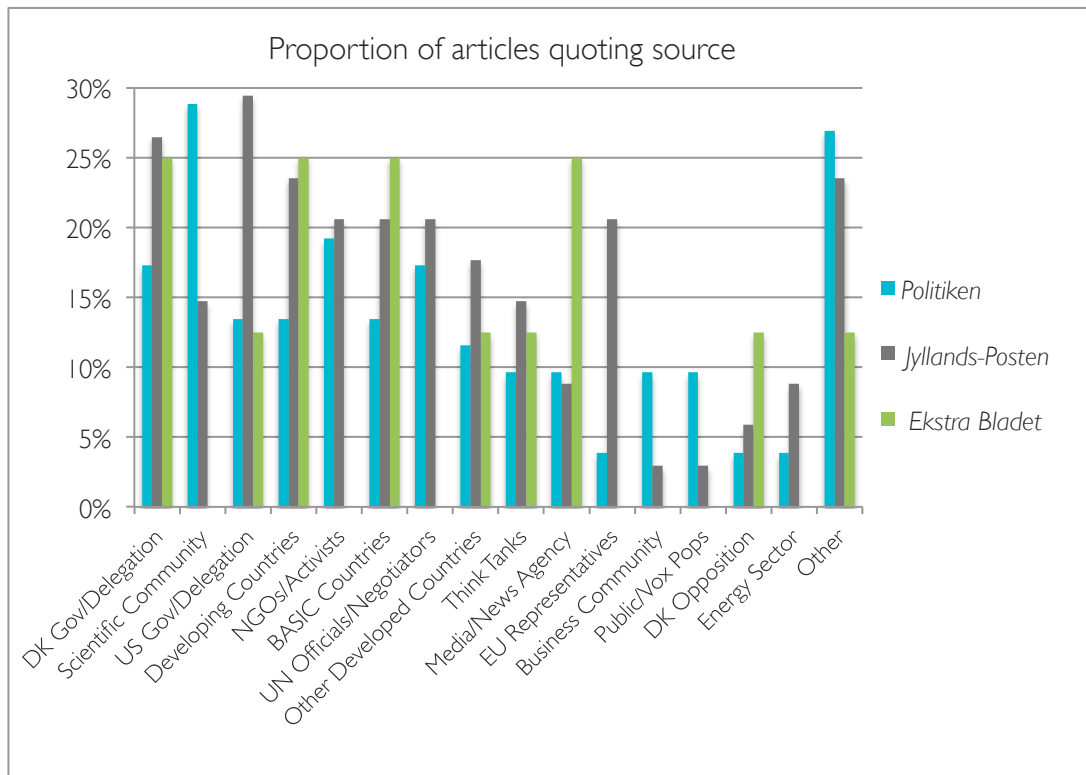


Figure 5.8 - Proportion of articles on the key themes citing each actor (DK)

A very limited range of sources were accessed in the tabloid newspaper *Ekstra Bladet*. Here the scientific community, the UN officials and the NGO/activists were completely left out of the coverage. It is, therefore, clear that the readers of these tabloid newspapers received a narrow range of perspectives on climate change and its central aspects. This could have negative implications in terms of the diversity of the public debate on the issue.

As the discussion so far has demonstrated, actors compete over access to the media as they attempt to define the issue in a way that suits them. But the importance of a particular source over another only comes to light when we examine which issues the various actors are associated with, i.e. which theme they are quoted on. As Figure 5.9 illustrates, ‘carbon emissions’ is often the biggest theme for a wide variety of actors. This is not surprising, considering the dominance of that theme overall in the sample of articles. BASIC countries for example, are almost exclusively associated with the theme of ‘carbon emissions’ (11 articles). This is also partially the case with the US government, which also gets quoted on ‘carbon emissions’ in 11 articles. The scientific community is mostly associated with the ‘consequences’ (13 articles), followed by ‘carbon emissions’ (9 articles).

It is noteworthy that the three themes ('lifestyle and sustainability', 'future generations' and 'negotiating process') consistently underemphasised within the newspapers are very rarely brought up and by very few actors. For instance, developing countries are the only actor to highlight on several occasions the 'negotiating process', whilst only three actors mention the theme of 'future generation' (scientific community, developing countries and the public) on one occasion each. The theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability' was however, emphasised by a slightly wider range of actors.

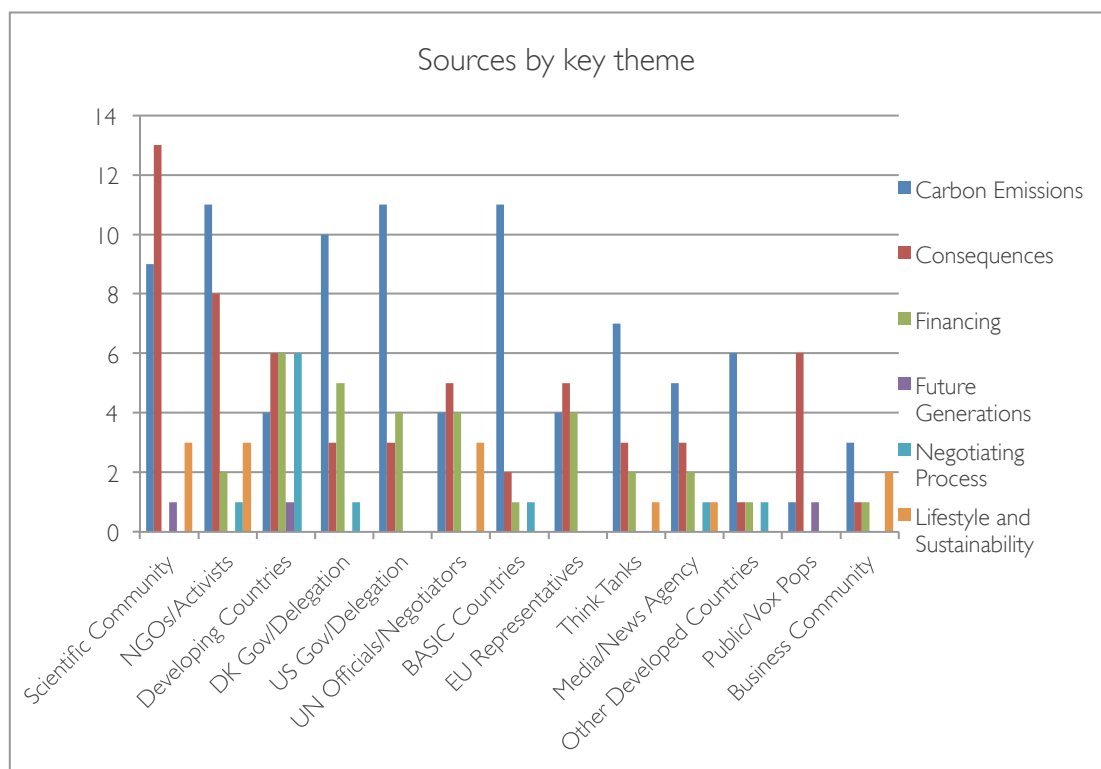


Figure 5.9 - Actors quoted on the respective key themes in newspapers (DK)

NGOs also tend to speak about 'carbon emissions' (11 articles), followed by the 'consequences' (8 articles), whilst developing countries tend to speak on a range of topics, such as 'financing' (6 articles), 'consequences' (6 articles) and 'negotiating process' (6 articles). It is worth mentioning that the public are quoted most frequently in relation to the 'consequences' (6 articles). There is a very strong association between the most prominent themes in the sample and the themes that sources tend to emphasise. There could be two alternative explanations, both of which are plausible. The first is that journalists seek out the quotes that fit with the overall focus of their articles. The second is

that they get prompted by the actors to consider specific aspects of climate change⁴⁸. Whilst it cannot be said with certainty when it is the source or the journalist who initiates a theme in any particular article, the analysis does clearly demonstrate how the various actors do tend to speak about particular issues around climate change. This is consistent with research suggesting that the scientific community is mainly associated with statements concerning the causes of climate change, whilst political sources are more associated with evaluative statements on who is responsible and what should be done about climate change (Trumbo 1996). In line with this, studies have also found that as climate change became increasingly politicised, scientists lost definitional control of the issue (Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Weingart et al. 2000).

In order to assess in more detail how the various actors or sources might influence the overall tone of the article, it is useful to examine whether there is a difference between the sets of values these actors emphasise in their statements. As outlined in Chapter 3, cosmopolitan values would focus on the global viewpoint, whilst communitarian arguments would take a local perspective (in this case, a Danish one)⁴⁹. As Figure 5.10 illustrates, the coverage is, with a few exceptions, strikingly and almost uniformly cosmopolitan throughout. In total, five actors are solely associated with cosmopolitan perspectives: the developing countries, the scientific community, the US government, the UN sources and the business community. The Danish government and media and news agencies are mild exceptions, the BASIC group and EU representatives, likewise.

⁴⁸ Although both explanations are probably partially applicable, the data analysis process, gave a sense that the actors, through their quotes, directed the article towards a specific theme. Naturally, though, it is the journalist who eventually chooses to include a statement.

⁴⁹ See Table 3.1 for a typology of themes and perspectives

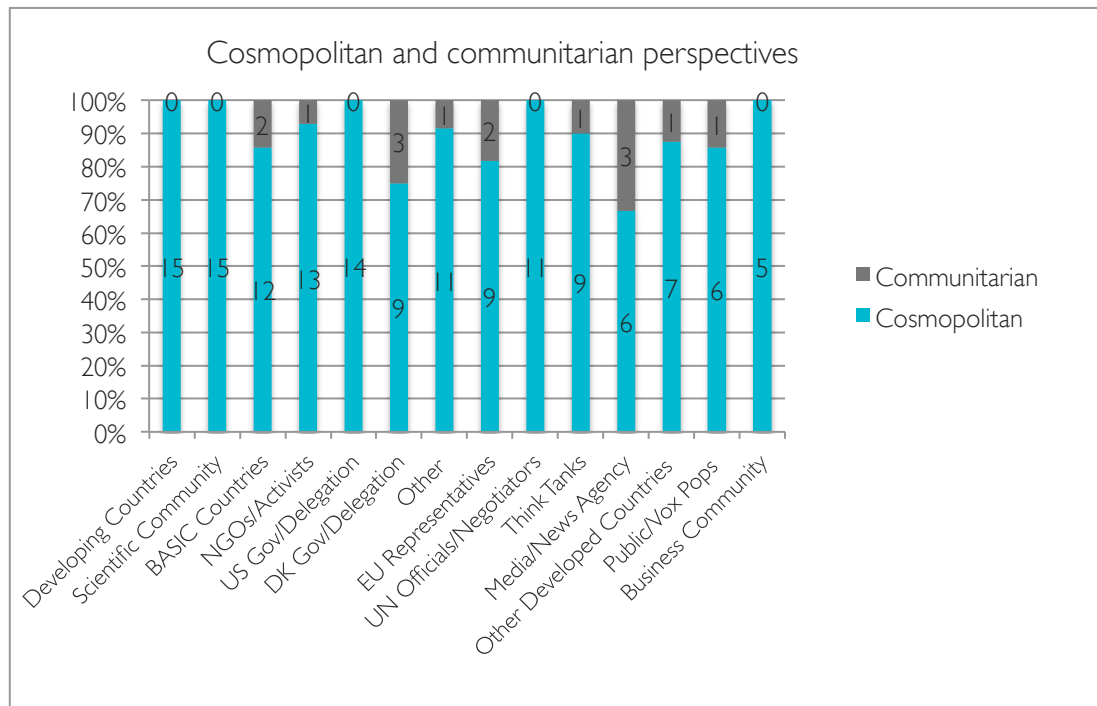


Figure 5.10 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by sources (DK)

Therefore, although some sources do put forward communitarian perspectives, when it comes to the coverage on the main issues around climate change, cosmopolitan perspectives are clearly most dominant for all actors. On the one hand, this prevalence of cosmopolitanism could indicate a one-sided and narrow debate. On the other hand, it could be argued that due to the nature of climate change, cosmopolitanism is a more suitable perspective to discuss this particular issue. The high level of cosmopolitan perspectives in the Danish newspaper coverage could be attributed to various factors. For example, as hosts of a multinational event, they may have been more inclined to examine the issues from a more global perspective. Cultural factors could also influence coverage. As a smaller nation, with less negotiating power than the larger nations, such as the US or China, they have to be more open to international collaboration to secure their interests. This could contribute to higher levels of cosmopolitanism in the press.

5.1.4. Values in Danish Press Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

This chapter has established the differences between the various newspapers in their attention to specific themes and which sources they gave prominence to. The following

section looks at how cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives come across in the various titles and time periods, and then illustrates the ways in which the themes and values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism are embedded within the coverage. Figure 5.11 demonstrates that cosmopolitanism was very dominant across all three newspapers.

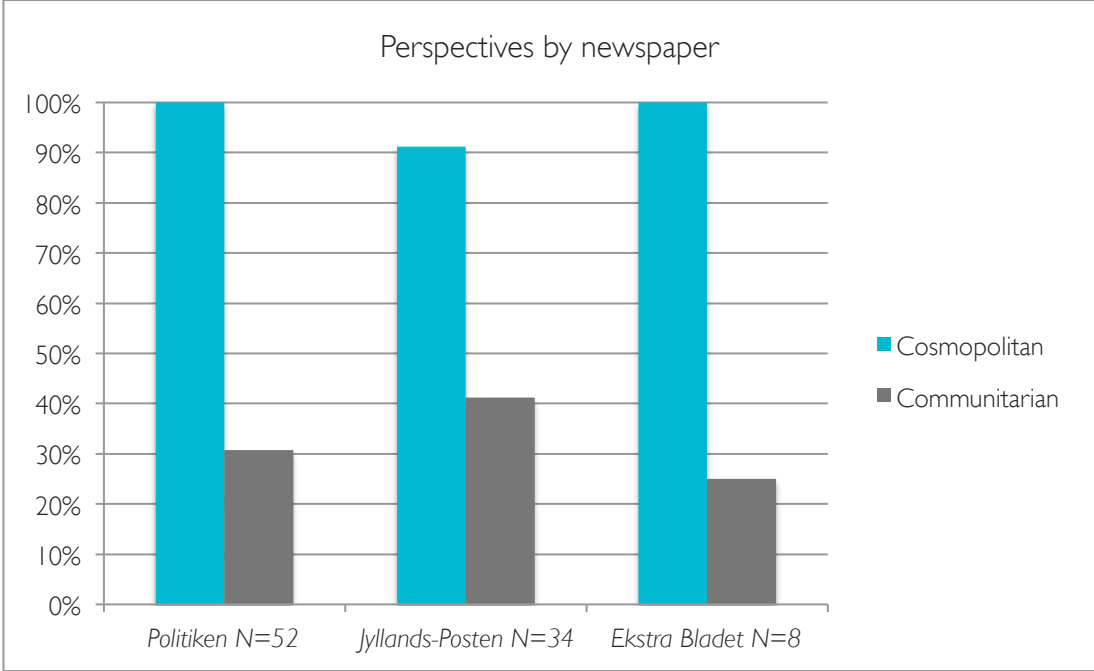


Figure 5.11 - Proportion of articles focusing on the key themes with a cosmopolitan and communitarian perspective by newspaper (DK)

Ekstra Bladet and *Politiken* were the most cosmopolitan newspapers, with all of their articles containing cosmopolitan values within them. *Jyllands-Posten* was a more communitarian newspaper, with 40 percent of their articles containing communitarian perspectives. This, provisionally, would tend to suggest that neither the ideology of a paper nor its style (broadsheet as opposed to tabloid) had a terribly important influence on the balance of cosmopolitan and communitarian commentary.

However, since articles could contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives, it is useful to consider the distribution of the two perspectives in terms of the overall number of words coded as cosmopolitan or communitarian⁵⁰. When this is done, *Ekstra Bladet* becomes the most communitarian newspaper (See Figure 5.12). The distribution of

⁵⁰ This is possible since the articles/reports were coded on a sentence by sentence basis. Therefore articles could contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives.

cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in the two broadsheets also becomes strikingly similar. The above would suggest that, for the broadsheets, ideology was not much of a factor in the cosmopolitan-communitarian balance. But perhaps the tabloid style of *Ekstra Bladet* lent itself to a greater communitarian emphasis.

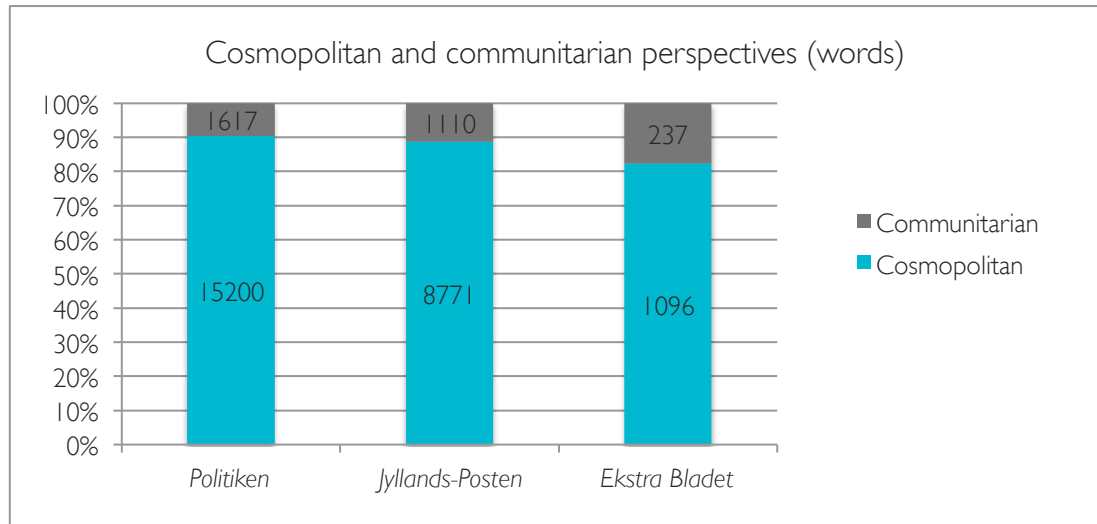


Figure 5.12 - Word distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by newspaper (DK)

The following section will examine the prominence of values within the different themes. In addition, the aim is also to explore how these values are embedded in coverage of the key issues around climate change. Thus, the section will both highlight the prominence of cosmopolitan and communitarian values within the themes and newspapers, then go on to provide some illustrative examples of how these values are embedded in the coverage. Table 5.3 demonstrates the differences between the various themes and newspapers.

Key theme and emphasis	<i>Politiken</i>		<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>		<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>	
	N=52		N=34		N=8	
Carbon Emissions	38		23		4	
Cosmopolitan	37	97%	20	87%	3	75%
Communitarian	10	26%	9	39%	1	25%
Consequences	31		21		6	
Cosmopolitan	30	97%	20	95%	6	100%
Communitarian	3	10%	3	14%	0	0%
Financing	20		16		2	
Cosmopolitan	18	90%	13	81%	2	100%
Communitarian	4	20%	4	25%	0	0%
Future Generations	4		2		0	
Cosmopolitan	4	100%	2	100%	0	0%
Communitarian	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Lifestyle and Sustainability	14		2		0	
Cosmopolitan	13	93%	2	100%	0	0%
Communitarian	4	29%	0	0%	0	0%
Negotiating Process	11		6		3	
Cosmopolitan	10	91%	4	67%	3	100%
Communitarian	1	9%	2	33%	1	33%

Table 5.3 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives within each theme and newspaper (DK)⁵¹

The data shows all themes are predominantly cosmopolitan. ‘Future generations’ is the only theme, which is exclusively cosmopolitan across the broadsheet press, and the ‘consequences’ theme is the second most cosmopolitan across all three titles. ‘Carbon emissions’ is the most communitarian of the themes, especially in *Jyllands-Posten*. The ‘negotiating process’ theme was also predominantly cosmopolitan, but had a more substantial proportion of communitarian perspectives than the other themes, especially in *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*. This might be related to the fact that because the COP15 conference was in Denmark there was a slight tendency to take the side of the Danish leadership in some instances, as will be seen in the following section. It is also worth mentioning that in the qualitative sample, *Ekstra Bladet* never discussed the issues of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ or ‘future generations’. The next section will explore how these values are embedded within the coverage of the six themes in the selected newspapers.

⁵¹ The percentages refer to the proportion of articles focusing on the theme with a cosmopolitan and communitarian perspective respectively.

Cosmopolitan Perspectives

Overall cosmopolitan perspectives were very prominent within both Danish broadsheets (and in *Ekstra Bladet* where the newspaper had some commentary)⁵². ‘Future generations’ was never mentioned in *Ekstra Bladet*, but was the only theme which was exclusively cosmopolitan (6/6)⁵³ across the broadsheet newspapers (although it was a very small theme overall). Generally articles in these titles did not really deal in depth with the topic of ‘future generations’, but mentioned the consequences ‘our children and our grandchildren’ would face in relation to climate change. An exception to this was an article in *Politiken*, which quoted NASA scientist James Hansen saying “...it would be better for the planet and future generations, if the summit in Copenhagen would collapse.” His argument was that then the whole negotiating process could be started again from scratch (*Politiken* 04.12.09). Three articles brought up the theme due to a source mentioning it at the conference, for instance when *Jyllands-Posten* quoted President Nasheed from the Maldives, stating that: “Thanks to the Danes I hope that my grandchildren will see the Maldives” (*Jyllands-Posten* 20.12.09). ‘Future generations’ is a crucial and complex issue, but as the data suggests one which was almost completely overlooked in the sample analysed here. And when it was brought up, with the exception of two articles, it was discussed briefly and without any extended engagement with the complexity of the issue.

‘Consequences’ was also a predominantly cosmopolitan theme (56/58) with these articles highlighting the various effects of climate change across the world. All the articles focusing on the theme in *Ekstra Bladet* (6/6) contained cosmopolitan perspectives, for instance in one article headlined “A real summit”, *Ekstra Bladet* (03.12.09) mentioned that the Nepalese government would hold a cabinet meeting at Mount Everest to raise awareness about the consequences the region was facing as a result of climate change. The news story, originating from Reuters was also published in *Politiken* (03.11.09) and *The Sun* (03.11.09). This may illustrate how newspapers, across a variety of countries, can be reliant on copies from news agencies. But such articles did not have any notable meaningful engagement with the issue. They merely emphasised that the meeting was happening to highlight the consequences of climate change. Similarly, several articles (6) just mentioned

⁵² *Ekstra Bladet* had no article on ‘future generations’ or ‘lifestyle and sustainability’

⁵³ ‘6/6’ refers to 6 out of 6 articles/reports

in passing the efforts to mitigate the potential temperature rises with either a 1.5 °C or 2 °C target, without engaging in any judgments concerning the fairness or otherwise of these numbers (*Politiken* 05.12.10; 06.12.09; 07.12.09; *Jyllands-Posten* 18.01.10; 12.12.09; 23.12.10).

Nevertheless, there were some articles, which were more expansive on the normative link between climate change and other social issues, such as poverty, food security and social justice. For example *Jyllands-Posten* argued:

“It is a scary thought that 1 billion people get too little to eat, when the remaining 5.5 billion have the resources to alleviate the problem and more. Think of the challenges in a few years when the world population reaches 9 billion. The world does not need more summits without results, but political actions, which speed up global trade, help alleviate food security and bring about a far-reaching climate agreement” (*Jyllands-Posten* 16.11.09).

Such cosmopolitan articles, which engaged explicitly with the issue of responsibility for the problem, could also be seen in *Politiken* (16.11.09; 02.12.09). For instance, the paper argued that the climate crisis “...like all other global crises, hits with the same injustices the poorest and weakest the hardest, despite the fact that these have contributed least to the problem” (*Politiken* 16.11.09). *Politiken* (02.12.09). It also linked climate change specifically with hunger and poverty, highlighting that “...climate is closely connected to the fight against poverty”. These examples illustrate how the articles could go more in-depth and deal with overarching issues of justice, rather than merely focusing on the details of the negotiations or the event itself.

Cosmopolitan perspectives were also prominent in relation to the theme of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (15/16). Like ‘future generations’, this theme only received minimal attention (it was not mentioned at all in *Ekstra Bladet*’s subsample). The ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ theme was most obvious in *Politiken*, where 13 out of 14 articles contained cosmopolitan perspectives, and was exclusively cosmopolitan in *Jyllands-Posten* (although it was only mentioned in two of its articles). The cosmopolitan articles engaged in more depth with overarching issues of sustainability and consumption, for example, when *Politiken* stated:

“Despite decades with big global economical growth there are still a billion people living in extreme poverty, and inequality is increasing. At the same time, it is clear that the growth has not been sustainable, but rather threatening for the planet and its climate”. (*Politiken* 06.01.10)

Overconsumption was also highlighted in an article in *Politiken*, originally published in the *Guardian*, headlined “Overconsumption has become a global disease.” It argued that: “Every American consumes on average equivalent of his own weight every day. This fuels a culture of overconsumption, which is the biggest threat towards the planet”(*Politiken* 14.01.10). This article clearly brought to light the unsustainable ways in which we use the Earth’s resources, and called for this overconsumption to be radically changed.

Engagement with overarching lifestyle and sustainability issues was also brought to the forefront when bio-fuels were discussed. In an article, headlined “Bio-fuels. When the green solution is black”, *Politiken* (12.12.10) questioned their sustainability. It highlighted that food based bio-fuels lead to increased deforestation and thereby also increased carbon emissions. It was also suggested that they put increased pressure on global food prices, which in return has terrible implications for the world’s poor.

‘Lifestyle and sustainability’ was not a terribly prominent part of discussions on climate change, and was a somewhat marginalised theme, considering its centrality in humanity’s efforts to combat the problem. And the examples discussed above, challenging consumption levels and engaging with global inequality etc, represented the exception to the rule. Such arguments were most prominent in *Politiken*. And the majority of the time articles on the topic focused on more parochial issues, such as reducing carbon emissions through energy efficiency, clean energy or through recycling.

As mentioned earlier, ‘carbon emissions’ was by far the largest theme. The vast majority of articles on the topic (60/65) did put forward cosmopolitan perspectives. The majority of items just mentioned in passing global efforts to cut carbon emissions. However, there were exceptions. Cosmopolitan perspectives, in relation to the theme of ‘carbon emissions’, were most apparent, for instance, when *Politiken* (23.12.10) focused explicitly on the need for global leadership, stating that: “...EU should lead and increase its reduction targets

from 20 to 30 percent before 2020.” *Politiken* was also emphatically cosmopolitan when it engaged explicitly with the issues of historical responsibility, claiming that:

“The responsibility for global climate change lies especially in the rich countries. We have to combine the reduction in our emissions with help for the poor countries, so that they can fight global climate change” (*Politiken* 02.12.09).

Furthermore, an article in *Jyllands-Posten* (02.12.09) headlined “The financial crisis should be the catalyst” highlighted the need to reduce carbon emissions and stressed that “the transition to a future, where CO₂ emissions are reduced, is not a compromise between wealth and the Earth”. Such articles managed to discuss in detail the principles surrounding carbon emissions.

The ‘financing’ theme, which was the third most represented theme overall, had a total of 33 out of 38 articles which contained a cosmopolitan perspective. Both *Ekstra Bladet’s* articles on the theme were exclusively cosmopolitan and 18 out of 20 articles in *Politiken* contained this perspective. Although articles often (19 overall) just briefly mentioned ‘financing’ in passing, there were reports, which were more normative in their discussion of financing, highlighting the necessity of the transfer of money from developed to developing countries. This could be seen in an article from *Politiken* (21.12.09) stating that “...all those, who, like the undersigned, expected that there would be a financial transfer to the poor countries in excess of the expected amount in order to show good will, were disappointed.” Such arguments were also present in *Jyllands-Posten*, for instance, when the paper stressed the importance of allocating money to reduce emissions and to help adaptation in the developing countries, and that would make a real difference to the world (*Jyllands-Posten* 05.12.09).

Cosmopolitan perspectives were also dominant across all three newspapers with regards to the ‘negotiating process’ theme. The COP15 conference in Copenhagen was characterised by a lot of conflicts over the negotiating process, and there was a lot of criticism amongst delegates over the Danish role as hosts (Diringer et al. 2009; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009). This was also reflected in the Danish press coverage. Even when the theme came up in relation to the COP16 negotiations, 4 out of the 5 articles drew parallels with the previous negotiations in Copenhagen, which were severely criticised for the way they were

lead by the Danish presidency (*Politiken* 10.12.10; 23.12.10; 12.12.10; *Ekstra Bladet* 12.12.10). This could be seen in articles arguing, for instance that “Mexico delivered what Denmark could not [...] There were no ‘do not disturb’ signs on the doors to the negotiations rooms in Moon Palace as there was in Bella Centre during COP15” (*Politiken* 23.12.10). Such articles were clearly implying that the Danish negotiations were marginalising certain countries, and that the COP16 negotiations were much more inclusive. *Ekstra Bladet* (12.12.10) also put forward a similar perspective, in an article headlined “He slept, she [Mexican Foreign Minister and Chair of COP16] triumphed”, referring to the fact that Danish PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen had gone home to bed when the final document was debated in the plenary in the final hours of the negotiations.

Three quarters of the articles (15/20) on the ‘negotiating process’ theme were from the COP15 period. Three of these articles were very critical of the Danish role in the negotiations. However, in many instances, these cosmopolitan articles (7/12) just mentioned the conflicts involved in the negotiations, the leaked drafts and the developing countries’ dissatisfaction. Only one article engaged specifically with the fundamental inequalities inherent in the negotiations. The article, published in *Politiken* (26.11.09) highlighted these explicitly in terms of power and ability to influence the negotiations. It stated that:

“The upcoming climate summit in Copenhagen will once more reveal the uneven power relations in the negotiations regarding who gets to create economic growth at the expense of others. Whereas the US and EU will turn up with an army of neo-liberal economists and lawyers, who will draft agreements for the regulation of carbon emissions and the opportunities for developing countries to adapt to these great challenges, which climate change already is posing to them, the developing countries have but a few overworked negotiators, who have no other method of influencing the negotiations than to walk out” (*Politiken* 26.11.09).

This article therefore engaged in-depth specifically on issues of international inequality and uneven power relations. It highlighted the various, often-overlooked factors that might influence the negotiating process, including lack of resources, staff shortages, and national power.

Communitarian Perspectives

Communitarian perspectives were not nearly as prominent as cosmopolitan ones in the sample. The themes which contained the largest proportion of communitarian perspectives were ‘financing’ (8/20) and ‘carbon emissions’ (20/65). The communitarian perspectives raised in relation to ‘carbon emissions’ often focused on the particular pledges individual countries had made in the negotiations. By doing so, articles could emphasise the competitive nature of negotiations, and imply that particular countries should give their pledges with reference to what other countries had done. An example of this could be seen in *Jyllands-Posten* from COP15 in an article headlined:

“Which is bigger: 4 percent or 45 percent? [...] Which countries are willing to do the most to reduce carbon emissions? Those who pledge a reduction of 3-4 percent, or those that pledge a reduction of 40-45 percent?” (*Jyllands-Posten* 27.11.09).

This article referred to the US emissions reduction pledges for 2020 with a 1990 baseline and the Chinese pledge of a 40-45 percent reduction in carbon intensity. In this instance, the two biggest polluters are placed directly against each other, in order to determine which is the villain and which is the hero. Another example of this tendency to compare carbon reduction efforts and the reluctance of countries to cut too much in relation to their counterparts was mentioned with regards to the EU, when it considered raising its pledge to 30 percent if others were willing to follow. One such in *Jyllands-Posten* highlighted that the EU would not promise new reductions, if other countries, especially the US and China would not follow suit (*Jyllands-Posten* 18.12.09). Communitarian perspectives also came to the forefront when articles highlighted individual countries’ concerns not to commit to large emissions cuts because their industry would lose competitiveness in the global market (*Jyllands-Posten* 02.12.09; 08.12.10; *Politiken* 15.12.09).

Articles on ‘financing’ containing communitarian perspectives were sometimes very critical of developing countries, especially in *Jyllands-Posten*. It published three items in particular, which portrayed developing countries in a bad light. In one, an editorial headlined “Climate Hoax”, *Jyllands-Posten* stated:

“One can only detest a delegate from the murderous regime, Sudan, which is currently showing its true colours in the Darfur region. The fact that he unfortunately has been chosen as a G77 spokesperson, rather demonstrates

that for the majority of developing countries it was all about squeezing as many nice climate billions as possible out of the Western world” (*Jyllands-Posten* 23.12.09).

This article clearly attributed blame to the developing world, accusing them of blackmailing the rich world for their money. Such communitarian articles showed no appreciation of the issue of historical responsibility or the difficulties that climate change poses for these less developed countries. Furthermore, they did not encourage international cooperation, and painted the negotiations in a very negative light. Through such language the developing countries were portrayed as beggars and corrupt. The ‘financing’ issue was again presented here as an issue of Western countries being pressurised to pay money, rather than in terms of fairness or duty. Therefore in terms of ‘financing’ there was a clear split - with some articles being very critical about the financing for developing countries, while others were discussing its necessity. However, the majority of the articles merely mentioned ‘financing’ in quite neutral terms without explicit normative judgements. Furthermore, it is important to note that the majority of ‘financing’ articles (33/38) had a more cosmopolitan feel to them, focusing on the need for financing for developing countries.

Of the ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ articles, only 4 out of 16 contained communitarian perspectives, all of which were in *Politiken*. However, *Politiken* also had the majority of articles focusing on that theme (14/16). These communitarian items focused on local efforts to improve energy efficiency or renewable energy, whilst one focused on how people should try to eat less meat to save emissions (*Politiken* 23.12.10). None of these communitarian arguments suggested a drastic change in people’s lifestyles. Rather they focused on smaller issues, such as reducing carbon emissions through energy efficiency, renewable energy and recycling.

Among the articles touching on the ‘consequences’ theme, 6 out of 58 contained communitarian perspectives. Such articles flagged the consequences of climate change for the Danish population. This was illustrated in stories focusing on the increasing risk of flooding in Denmark (*Politiken* 06.12.09). Or when *Politiken* (18.12.09) implied that the failure of individuals to act was probably due to the fact that climate change did not have such damning consequences for Denmark:

“We do not do anything to avoid them [consequences of climate change]. We cannot be bothered, and there really is not any motivation to do anything about it. Maybe we would be more motivated, if there was a danger that Amager [an area in Copenhagen] would drown from melted icecaps tomorrow. Then most people would not use their car, at least not those that live in Amager.”

Therefore, there were articles which had a more emphatic communitarian emphasis, but the vast majority of the reports had a strong tendency to focus on the consequences that would be seen in faraway places (56/58).

Finally, 4 out of 20 items focusing on the ‘negotiating process’ theme contained communitarian perspectives. These articles took the viewpoint of the Danish hosts and were quite critical concerning the role of developing countries. For instance, one article discussing the ‘negotiating process’ argued that the UN was an “...organisation that often is criticised for being dominated by the third world countries, which are not exactly role models in relation to democracy or economic management” (*Jyllands-Posten* 21.12.09). Discussion about the competing interests at stake in the negotiations were also a feature of such communitarian articles, for instance when *Politiken* suggested: “The countries bring their own agendas and it is not always about the climate. As late as yesterday the African Countries protested half of the day and that cost valuable time” (*Politiken* 15.12.09). By excluding a discussion on the underlying reasons behind the discontent, a certain amount of blame was attributed to the African countries. The ‘negotiating process’ theme was somewhat different to the other themes, in that it referred more to the procedure used in the global system in dealing with climate change, rather than with the specifics of a particular solution to climate change. This theme was characterised by a lot of conflict, concerning walk-outs of negotiations, and judgements concerning the ability of the Denmark and Mexico in hosting the negotiations. Overall, Danish newspapers were quite critical about the role Denmark, especially PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen, had played in hosting the negotiations.

Some Preliminary Conclusions

Thus far, this chapter has examined Danish newspaper coverage of the two conferences. In line with research from other countries (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Gavin 2009; Painter

2010), the left-leaning *Politiken* had substantially more articles, both in general and on the key themes, than did the other two newspapers. The tabloid newspaper *Ekstra Bladet* had considerably fewer and shorter articles than did the other two broadsheets. Furthermore, there was also substantially more coverage in all three newspapers in relation to COP15 than COP16. COP15 was ultimately more newsworthy in terms of the massive presence of powerful heads of state as well as the location of the event (Galtung & Ruge 1965).

There were also differences between the actors that were quoted in the various newspapers, with *Politiken* more inclined to quote the scientific community, whilst *Jyllands-Posten* tended to favour government sources, such as those coming from the Danish and US governments. *Ekstra Bladet* never quoted any NGOs and activists, UN officials or members of the scientific community, all of which could be considered central actors within the discussions on climate change. This means that readers were presented with a very limited range of perspectives within the tabloid newspaper. They were therefore unlikely to have as rich an understanding of climate change and its key challenges as they might have had. Research suggests that elite sources (Herman & Chomsky 1988) and nations (Galtung & Ruge 1965) are favoured by the media. In this case, national government sources were amongst the most quoted in the sample. However actors such as the scientific community and NGOs and activists were both amongst the five most quoted actors. This is again consistent with the notion that nationally-situated elites or governmental sources alone do not necessarily or always dominate coverage. Although the Danish and US governments were most often quoted, there was a range of other national government actors from developing countries, BASIC and developed countries, which were given voice. The fact that the various national government actors are prominent sources is not surprising considering that the negotiations take place within the UN context where sovereign states are the central actors involved in the process.

Gans (1980) also argues that while political elite sources (like the US President) naturally get easier access to the media, less powerful actors need to resort to dramatic interventions, such as courting controversy or resorting to civil disobedience. It could be argued that COP15 in particular, had some conditions which made it easier for them to get access to the media. For instance, there were lots of disagreements concerning the process, including

walkouts and boycotts of negotiations by developing countries (as well as some high profile demonstrations outside the negotiating chamber). This context, therefore, could have made it easier for non-elite sources to voice their opinion. Furthermore, conflicts are an important news value (Galtung & Ruge 1965) and the media naturally seek out the perspectives of parties involved. And in this respect it is significant that the G77 spokesperson made some very controversial statements during the process. NGOs and activists also staged lots of noteworthy protests and demonstrations, including when Greenpeace activists gatecrashed the dinner for heads of state hosted by the Danish Queen. Such events may partially explain the prominence of non-elite nations and civil society actors in the Danish newspapers.

In terms of the specific themes, three were preponderant in the coverage: 'carbon emissions', 'consequences' and 'financing'. These were also most discussed within the negotiations, so their prominence could be anticipated. The other three ('future generations', 'lifestyle and sustainability', and 'negotiating process') were much less dominant. These were also the themes that actors at the conference tended to overlook. It was also clear that 'negotiating process' was a theme, more often linked to COP15, than to COP16. This all has implications for the public likelihood of gaining a rich understanding the climate change from their media. Future generations, wider issues of sustainability and international inequality were overlooked compared to the more dominant topics. In addition to that, what characterised the coverage was that, although articles often mentioned 'carbon emissions' or 'financing', these were rarely discussed in much detail. Rather these themes were described as key issues discussed at the negotiations. Therefore, despite them being mentioned quite often, it was rare that articles engaged specifically with issues, such as historical responsibility, or specific terms within climate policy such as 'polluter pays' (IPCC 1996) or 'the common, but differentiated responsibilities and capabilities principle' (UNFCCC 1992). It was clear that readers were not encouraged to think of these issues in terms of justice for the majority of the time. As such, the engagement with the key themes was rarely, bar a few examples, very in-depth and meaningful.

In terms of whether articles were predominantly cosmopolitan or communitarian in nature, this differed between the various themes. For instance, 'carbon emissions' was a more communitarian theme than 'consequences', which was predominantly cosmopolitan. However, even the 'consequences' theme often failed to engage in-depth with the ethical dimensions of climate change. Communitarian elements were also seen more often in articles on 'financing', which in some cases, especially in *Jyllands-Posten*, suggested that developing countries were trying to blackmail developed countries into paying them large sums of money. This particular suggestion is fundamentally opposed to the conventional principles involved in the debate on climate change in that it completely neglects to mention why these countries would need the money and where the responsibility for climate change lies. *Politiken* on the other hand was more global in its outlook, and it did engage with fundamental issues of global inequality. It also tended to link climate change with other issues such as poverty and hunger more clearly. This suggests that ideology seemed to play a role in shaping the overall framing of the key issues. This is consistent with findings from the preceding chapter, suggesting that not only were articles on climate change more cosmopolitan in the left-leaning press, they also engaged more deeply with the key issues around climate change. Although *Ekstra Bladet* did mention the themes on a few occasions, it nevertheless did not engage actively with the key themes meaning that its readers were left with superficial picture of climate change and its ethical dimensions.

However, in order to assess the overall quality of public debate, it is necessary to consider how television, the public's main and most trusted source of political information (Globescan 2006; Whitmarsh 2009) covers the issue of climate change. The remaining part of this chapter focuses on DR's television coverage exploring the same issues as the first part of the chapter.

5.2. DR's Coverage of COP15 and COP16

5.2.1. An Overview of Television Coverage

Considering the massive historical event that COP15 represented to Denmark, the Danish public service broadcaster could have been expected to cover the COP15 conference happening in the Danish capital quite extensively. Overall, there were 110 reports on DR over COP15 and COP16⁵⁴ (see Table 5.4). The vast majority (95 items, i.e. 86 percent of the total coverage) were from the Copenhagen conference. The proportion of coverage to be found during the COP15 conference as opposed to COP16 on television was even higher than for the newspapers (Figure 5.1), suggesting that television might be even more influenced by the news values of proximity (Galtung & Ruge 1965). Of the 110 climate reports 43 (39 percent overall) touched on one of the key themes, and 84 percent of these were broadcast during COP15 at Copenhagen. Although the absolute number of stories focusing on the main issues was substantially smaller for COP16 than for COP15, the proportion of reports focusing on one of the key topics was bigger for COP16 (47 percent) than COP15 (38 percent). In other words, whilst there were few climate stories at COP16, a greater proportion of these touched on the key themes. One potential explanation for this focus on the COP15 negotiations could have been that this was a massive event for Denmark requiring extensive planning and organising. As such there were lots of news items which touched on these practicalities, rather than on anything else. In contrast, the COP16 conference was physically distant and Danish media focused more directly on the negotiations. This would naturally make the proportion of articles touching on the main issues much smaller for COP15. If we consider the quantity of overall coverage, one thing was clear. Whilst climate change was at the top of the news agenda for COP15, the public received substantially less information on climate change for COP16. There were only 15 television reports in the latter three-month period.

⁵⁴ For an overview of how these reports were identified, see Chapter 3.

The average length of all the reports for the two conference periods was relatively similar, with only two seconds difference between COP15 and COP16 (see table 5.3). However, the reports touching on the key themes (3 minutes 13 seconds) were longer than the average climate change story (2 minutes 48 seconds) in general. This might suggest that engagement with the key themes identified, requires more time than climate change more generally. This makes it a more challenging topic for television to cover, since space is at a premium. From this perspective, the high proportion of reports focusing on the issue could be a positive indication of DR's willingness to engage with it.

Overview of DR Reports	COP15	COP16	Total
Total Number of reports	95	15	110
Average length of all reports	2 min 48 sec	2 min 50 sec	2 min 48 sec
Average length of reports focusing on the key themes	3 min 14 sec	3 min 8 sec	3 min 13 sec
Number of reports focusing on the key themes	36 (38%)	7 (47%)	43 (39%)

Table 5.4 - Overview of coverage on DR (DK)

5.2.2. Sources in Television Coverage

As noted earlier in the chapter, the range of voices that get heard on a particular issue can be influential in framing the issue in a particular way. When examining the TV reports touching on any of the key themes, the source used most often was, by a small margin, the DK government, which was accessed in 17 items (see Table 5.5). The second largest category of voices were those of the developing countries and the NGOs and activists, both quoted in 14 reports each. In terms of other actors, the US government was cited, either directly or indirectly on nine occasions, and the public and UN officials on seven. This demonstrates that nationally-situated political elites, and elite nations, failed to dominate television coverage (much as it failed to in the press), a finding at odds with those of other researchers (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Galtung & Ruge 1965; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003).

In order to be able to compare across newspapers, and television (or countries for that matter), it is useful to examine the percentage of reports quoting a particular category. The scientific community was only accessed in five of the reports touching on one of the key issues, meaning that only 12 percent of items sourced them. This is substantially less than the corresponding figure for Danish newspapers. In terms of percentages the Danish government (40 percent) was cited in a higher proportion of reports than in the newspapers (See Figure 5.8), where *Jyllands-Posten* gave the most space to Danish government with around 27 percent of their articles. For DR, the developing countries were the second largest category of sources, with 33 percent of reports quoting a country from that group. Nevertheless this was higher than for all three newspapers. The US government was the fourth largest category (21 percent). This might suggest that television is more inclined to cite government actors than the press overall, although *Jyllands-Posten* did give a lot of space to such actors. The fact that the scientific community was quoted so rarely in the DR reports might indicate that television coverage is more event driven, i.e. episodic, than newspaper coverage - focusing more on the event itself, rather than on the science or context behind climate change. Similar conclusions about television have been reached elsewhere (Cole & Harcup 2010; Iyengar 1994; Postman 1985).

DR Source Distribution	Number of Reports	Percentage of Reports Focusing on Key Themes
DK Government/Delegation	17	40%
Developing Countries	14	33%
NGOs/Activists	14	33%
US Government/Delegation	9	21%
Public/Vox Pops	7	16%
UN Officials/Negotiators	7	16%
BASIC Countries	5	12%
EU Representatives	5	12%
Scientific Community	5	12%
Media/News Agency	4	9%
Other ⁵⁵	4	9%
Business Community	2	5%
Other Developed Countries	2	5%
DK Opposition	2	5%

Table 5.5 - Source distribution in DR reports focusing on the key themes (DK)

⁵⁵ This category includes sources which could not be grouped under any of the categories above, such as the energy sector, Belle Centre representative and the UK Government

However, two groups were given prominence in DR's coverage. The NGOs and activists were quoted in 33 percent of the reports (compared to about 20 percent in the newspapers). The public were quoted in 16 percent (and less than 10 percent of *Politiken's* articles and 3 percent of *Jyllands-Posten's*). They were never quoted in *Ekstra Bladet's* corpus of articles.

The high proportion of the public and civil society voices can be considered positive for the breadth of the public debate. By including public voices, television may have made the issue more relevant and engaging for the audience. The picture also fits with DR's public service obligations. The prominence of NGOs in DR's coverage might be partially due to DR relatively large focus on demonstrations and citizens' voices⁵⁶. This is perhaps not surprising considering the images that could be incorporated into reports from these. The prominence of NGOs in the overall coverage could also be explained by the fact that the COP15 conference had a record number of NGO representatives and the streets were full of demonstrators. Painter (2010) also suggested that the massive media operations of prominent NGOs might explain their successful presence in reports during the COP15. This is consistent with Jørgensen's et al (2010) research suggesting that the NGOs and activists were given easy access to the media and portrayed in a predominantly positive way in the Danish press and television coverage of the COP15. The authors do not speculate on the causes behind this. Nevertheless, the inclusion of these voices, alongside those from developing countries, is a further indication that nationally-situated elites failed to dominate in the manner which could have been expected.

As section 5.1.3 established, the various actors are also associated with different themes. In some cases, an actor might be quoted in a report but what they said was not related to any of the six themes⁵⁷. Figure 5.13 demonstrates the source distribution with regards to the themes as presented on TV. Here it is apparent that when it comes to direct statements relating to the main issues, the developing countries, the NGOs and activists are the most often quoted, followed by the Danish government.

⁵⁶ For instance, DR had a series of reports where they interviewed NGOs and activists on the Metro on the way to the Bella Centre, where the conference took place.

⁵⁷ For instance, an actor attending the conference might be quoted on saying that he enjoys his visit to the Danish capital. Such a quote would be counted within the analysis, but naturally is not related to any particular key themes.

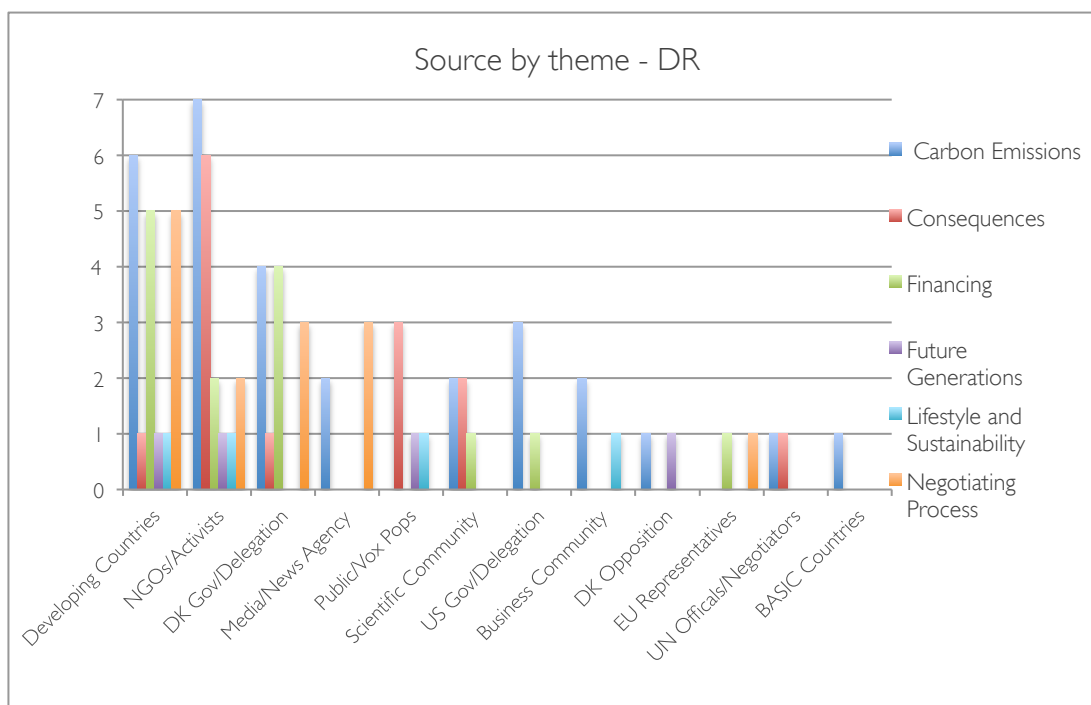


Figure 5.13 - Sources quoted by key theme on DR (DK)

The themes which developing countries focused most on were ‘carbon emissions’, ‘financing’ and ‘negotiating process’. Surprisingly, developing countries were only quoted once in relation to ‘consequences’. This is in contrast to the Danish newspapers, where the developing countries were strongly associated with the theme. Another difference is also that BASIC countries only get quoted on one occasion in relation to one theme, ‘carbon emissions’, in the TV reports. The Danish Government was quoted most often on ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘financing’ (4 each). These were also the top two themes in the newspaper sample, although for the newspapers, the Danish government spoke more frequently about ‘carbon emissions’. The NGOs and activists predominantly get quoted on ‘carbon emissions’ (7 reports) and ‘consequences’ (6 reports) whilst the scientific community gets quoted in relation to ‘carbon emissions’ (2 reports), ‘consequences’ (2 reports) and ‘financing’ (1 report). In broad strokes, however, it is noteworthy that ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’ were touched, at least at some point, by most sources. This was also the case in the press. The scientific community and the public were the only actors which never mentioned ‘financing’ in the press sample. By the same token, ‘future generations’, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ and ‘negotiating process’ – themes also under-emphasised in the press – tended not to figure in source commentary, although the last of these did intrude via the most cited sources (Danish government, developing countries and

NGOs). In the press, developing countries in particular emphasised the ‘negotiating process’, whilst the ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ theme appeared on a few occasion when the scientific community and NGOs were cited.

The various actors also differed on whether they put forward cosmopolitan or communitarian perspectives. Figure 5.14 shows the distribution of words quoted as cosmopolitan and communitarian by each source. The perspectives presented are predominantly cosmopolitan, with several actors, such as NGOs and activists, media and news agencies, US government and BASIC countries, only putting forward cosmopolitan arguments. Only one category of sources - the business community - was exclusively communitarian. This could be explained by the fact that the quotes were from reports focusing on cutting carbon emissions within Denmark. The scientific community, the developing countries and the Danish government all had modest elements of communitarianism within their discourse, but nevertheless were predominantly cosmopolitan.

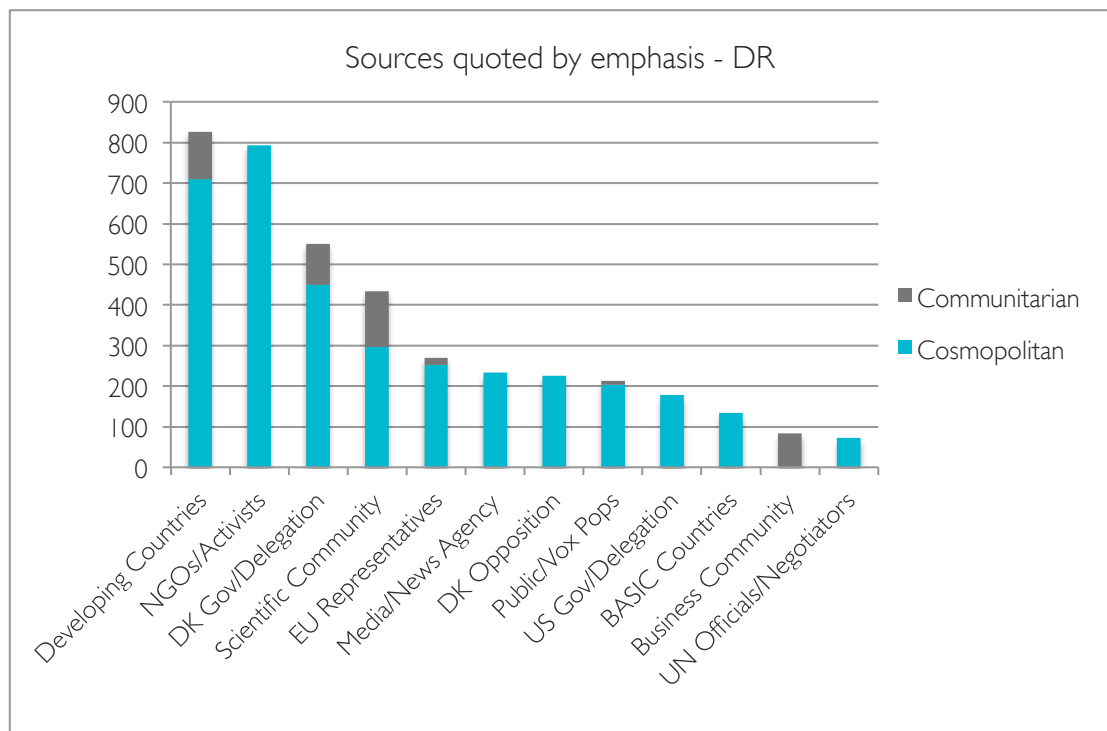


Figure 5.14 - Number of words quoted per source with either a cosmopolitan or communitarian emphasis (DK)

Cosmopolitan dominance was also the case for the press coverage, where a much bigger proportion of words were coded as such. The distribution of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism in television coverage with respect to the individual actor was also

relatively similar to the press, with the NGOs and US government only quoted in relation to cosmopolitan perspectives. However, in terms of the source distribution in the press, developing countries and the scientific community were also exclusively cosmopolitan. The most notable difference was that the business community was coded as exclusively cosmopolitan in the press sample (the reverse being the case for television). However, it is important to notice that the number of words coded as cosmopolitan and communitarian is in some instances, especially within the television sample, very low.

5.2.3. DR’s Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

As mentioned in section 5.1.2, a certain engagement with the key issues is a necessary part of a healthy debate on climate change. Overall there were 43 reports within DR’s sample, which focused on one or other of the themes. ‘Carbon emissions’ was the biggest theme surfacing in 27 reports, whilst 22 reports focused on the ‘consequences’ (see Figure 5.15). ‘Financing’ was the third largest theme with 17 reports. The smallest theme was ‘future generations’ with 3 reports. As with the newspaper coverage, there was a clear division between the three largest themes - ‘carbon emission’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’ - and the attention the remaining three themes got.

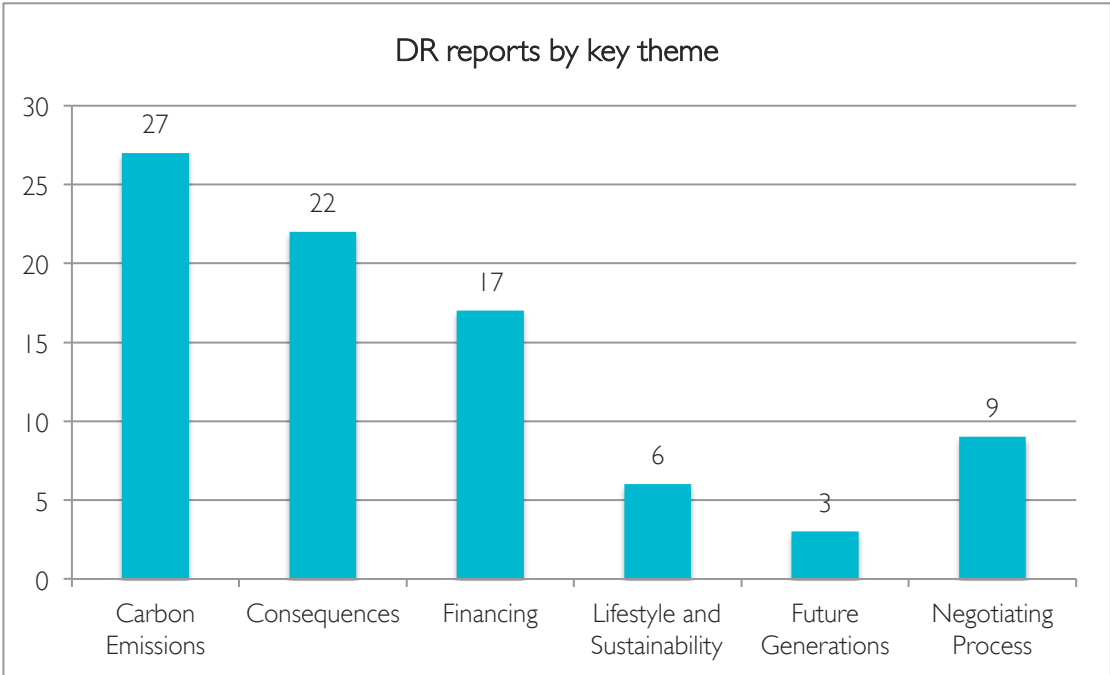


Figure 5.15 - Number of DR reports focusing on the key themes (DK)

5.2.4. Values in Danish Television Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

When the distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives within the themes is examined, some clear differences appear (see Table 5.6⁵⁸). Overall cosmopolitan perspectives were very prominent in DR's coverage. All the reports on 'financing' (17/17), 'negotiating process' (9/9) and 'future generations' (3/3) contained cosmopolitan perspectives. Additionally, the reports which focused on 'financing' and 'future generations' put forward almost exclusively cosmopolitan arguments (i.e. they rarely touched on communitarianism). 'Lifestyle and sustainability' was the most communitarian theme (50 percent), followed by 'negotiating process' which had 4 reports (44 percent) focusing on communitarian elements.

Key Theme	Cosmopolitan		Communitarian		Total
	No. Reports	% of topic	No. Reports	% of topic	No. Reports
Carbon Emissions	23	85%	5	19%	27
Consequences	21	95%	3	14%	22
Financing	17	100%	1	6%	17
Lifestyle and Sustainability	3	50%	3	50%	6
Future Generations	3	100%	0	0%	3
Negotiating Process	9	100%	4	44%	9

Table 5.6 - Overview of DR reports focusing on the main issues by theme and perspective (DK)

However, the previous table only shows the number of reports containing elements of the two perspectives. It is useful to examine the proportion of reports dedicated to the two perspectives. Figure 5.16 illustrates the weighting of perspectives in terms of the number of words⁵⁹. This should give a more nuanced sense of the overall structure. When this is done, we can see that 'financing' is very dominantly cosmopolitan with about 98 percent of

⁵⁸ The percentage figures refer to the proportion of articles mentioning a particular topic, which have a cosmopolitan or communitarian perspective respectively.

⁵⁹ Since each sentence was coded in a similar manner to Table 3.1 in Chapter 3, it was possible to determine how many words were coded as cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives.

words coded thus. Over 80 percent of words coded as ‘consequences’ are cosmopolitan. For television, ‘carbon emissions’ is also a very cosmopolitan theme within DR’s coverage (90 percent). However, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ is predominantly communitarian with 60 percent words coded with that perspective. Details aside, though, the picture here (with the exception of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’) is one of a near dominance of cosmopolitanism. This is different from the Danish newspapers, especially *Jyllands-Posten*, which contain more communitarianism within that theme. ‘Future generations’ was also exclusively cosmopolitan within the newspaper coverage.

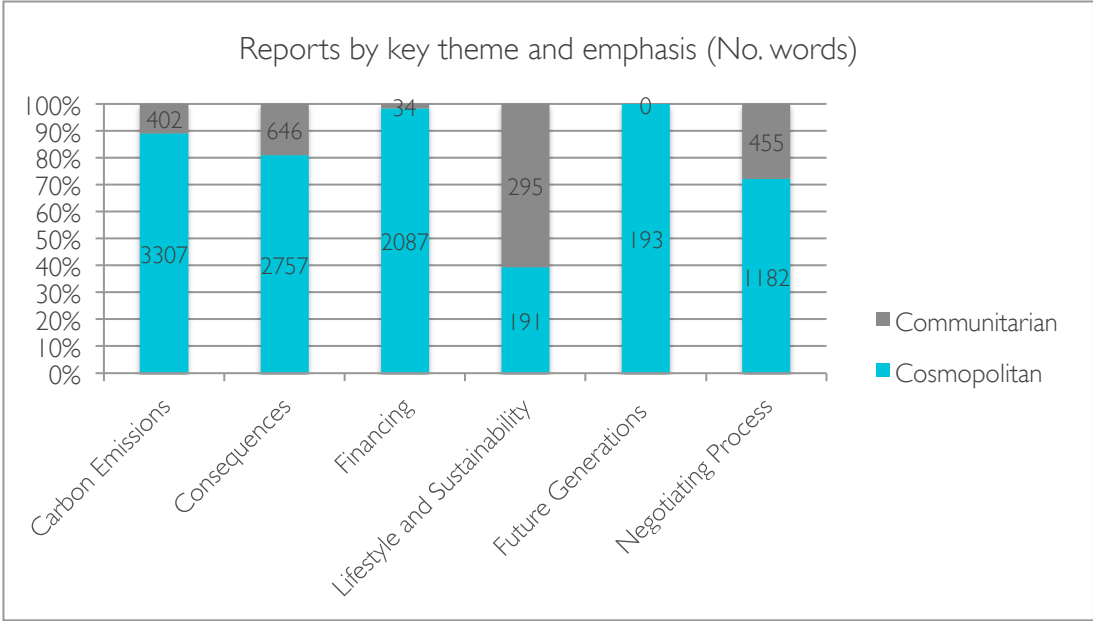


Figure 5.16 - Number of words coded by emphasis and key theme on DR (DK)

The following section offers insight into the ways in which the cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives are discussed within the reporting of the Danish broadcaster. In order to get a fuller appreciation of the ways in which these values and key themes are embedded within the coverage, it is necessary to examine the discourse underpinning the discussions on the themes.

Cosmopolitan Perspectives

In relation to the theme of ‘negotiating process’ cosmopolitan perspectives most often occurred when countries or actors were critical about the Danish leadership. Within DR’s

coverage, this theme was exclusively from the COP15 period, and was closely linked to leaked drafts and general mistrust issues within the negotiating process. Four of these reports presented very critical perspectives concerning the Danish leadership of the negotiations. However, these perspectives only came to the forefront due to quotes from developing countries or NGOs in particular. For instance, in a report on a leaked draft document, DR highlighted how strong the reactions had been from both developing countries and NGOs. It stated that both the NGOs and the developing countries felt:

“...that the text which had been leaked, so that people have been able to read it in the press, had been very provocative because as the developing countries read it shows that the rich countries have once more conspired to decide how this summit should end and that this summit, according to developing countries, will finish in a way which favours the rich countries whilst disadvantaging the poor” (DR 08.12.09).

However, DR was quite careful not to be too critical about the Danish role in the negotiations, and presented the Government’s perspective as well in four of these reports.

Cosmopolitan perspectives were also apparent in all the stories featuring the ‘financing’ theme (17/17). When the theme was discussed the EU was clearly the most central actor mentioned within the DR’s coverage. Four reports discussed specifically EU’s efforts on financing and how EU was expected to bring money to the table. In three instances, reports focused on how the various EU countries were trying to get an agreement on ‘financing’ (DR 10.12.09; DR 11.12.09), whilst in another one demands were put on the EU both by developing countries and NGOs (DR 10.12.09), where the voice-over mentioned: “They have come from all over the world to the Bella Centre in Copenhagen with their hopes and wishes, but the world’s poorest countries do not stop at hoping, they have specific demands for the EU” (DR 10.12.09). Five reports highlighted explicitly the concerns of the developing countries, for instance, when one DR report noted that: “The poor countries are worried that the rich countries will fob them off with peanuts in their fight against climate change” (DR 14.12.09). These cosmopolitan reports on ‘financing’ certainly emphasised the perspective of the developing countries.

In addition to ‘finance’, the modestly covered theme of ‘future generations’ also contained exclusively cosmopolitan perspectives. In the entire sample, ‘future generations’ was never

brought up by the reporter, anchor or correspondent, but was only ever mentioned in passing when certain sources at the conference brought it up. Once it was emphasised by Bolivian activists (DR 09.12.10) and on two other occasions it was highlighted by politicians, for instance, when President Nasheed of the Maldives was shown on a podium saying: “I have two daughters. They are very young and I want to see my grandchildren in the Maldives” (DR 18.12.09). But this theme, or the implications of the behaviour of the current generation on the next, was never discussed at any length within the DR’s coverage. Rather it was only mentioned in passing by the different voices allowed to speak within the coverage, without any engagement on the part of the broadcasters. This may be because the theme of ‘future generations’ is a difficult one. It is abstract, and it is difficult to engage with such a philosophical issue, especially in a time-constrained television news coverage (Iyengar 1994).

The ‘consequences’ theme was also almost exclusively cosmopolitan (21/22). Here the vast majority focused on the consequences in far away places. In four of the stories the consequences of climate change were mentioned briefly and in very general terms, such as when they discussed the UN target of limiting temperature rises to 2 °C (DR 30.11.09; DR 11.12.09). However, a few reports engaged with the consequences of climate change in much more depth such as when DR focused on the melting Chacaltaya glacier in Bolivia (DR 15.12.09) or the threat rising seas posed to low lying islands states (DR 23.11.09). In the former report, DR highlighted the seriousness of climate change by stating that: “They don’t have water, drinking water. The glaciers function as drinking water resources for the people that live at the foot of the mountain so it is an existential problem for the many people that live there” (DR 15.12.09). In the latter item, DR opened by saying “Climate change can have catastrophic consequences for the little island [Kiribas]. It could disappear into the ocean within 30 years” (DR 23.11.09). The report then emphasised the consequences climate change was currently having for the people living there, suggesting that “...the salinity of the water destroys the Coconut palms and the crops that the people are cultivating, and even worse, the drinking water is salty...High dikes could protect against the pacific, but...” (DR 23.11.09). It then immediately quoted the President, Anote Tong, saying: “It is a simple engineering feat, but it is an impossible financial issue, isn’t it? I mean Dubai built islands. We wish we could do the same, but we do not have the

resources” (DR 23.11.09). Therefore this report highlighted the consequences of climate change at its most serious, and discussed how the entire population would need to find some other land to live on, again quoting the President saying: “If we plan, beginning from now, we can move our people gradually over time” (DR 23.11.09). By including this perspective, DR also made very clear the need for financing. So the ‘consequences’ theme was very largely cosmopolitan, where the impacts of the climate change for the most vulnerable countries were emphasised.

The largest theme overall (‘carbon emissions’) was also predominantly cosmopolitan (23/27). In six instances, the references to ‘carbon emissions’ were only very brief and general, such as when DR mentioned that Copenhagen “...had to reach a political agreement on how much the world should reduce its carbon emissions.” (DR 17.12.09). In other instances, the engagement with the topic of ‘carbon emissions’ was much more detailed and profound. Such reports engaged with differences in emissions between rich and poor countries and historical responsibilities. For instance, DR highlighted that, “...the rich world has created the problems with our carbon emissions” (DR 07.12.09). Additionally, in a report about the leaked draft to the *Guardian*, DR stated that “...the draft supposedly has a clause which states that the poor countries in 2050 must not emit more than half as much CO₂ per capita as rich countries” (DR 08.12.09). This was further reinforced with the text on screen saying “CO₂ differences between rich and poor” (DR 08.12.09). By highlighting such perspectives, DR brought to the surface the unfairness in the allocation of carbon emissions. It also emphasised that “...according to the draft, the poor countries are forced to cut their carbon emissions, despite the fact that the emissions of rich countries are many times larger” (DR 09.12.09). So clearly DR, in this instance engaged in depth with the theme of ‘carbon emissions.’

Finally, the least cosmopolitan theme (3/6) was ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. When these reports brought forward cosmopolitan perspectives it was somewhat briefly. These cosmopolitan stories focused on how to stop the use of fossil fuels (DR 17.12.09; DR 07.12.09) and on using renewable energy (DR 14.12.09; DR 07.12.09) on a global scale. There was clearly a lack of engagement with wider issues of international sustainability and ever increasing consumption levels in the DR’s sample. This feature was even more

conspicuous than it was in the press coverage. This could have implications for global efforts to address climate change since unsustainable practices are one of the underlying causes of the problem. Citizens would not have been encouraged by the press or television to consider the essence of this fundamental issue when thinking about climate change.

Communitarian Perspectives

Two themes in particular had a larger presence among the communitarian perspectives. The most communitarian theme was 'lifestyle and sustainability' (3/6), followed by 'negotiating process' (4/9). In relation to 'lifestyle and sustainability' one communitarian report focused on business initiatives to become more energy efficient. The remaining two also highlighted what individuals could do to save carbon emissions. In all of these instances, there was a focus on the money that had been saved by becoming more energy efficient. For example, in one report about a gentleman who had renovated his house using renewable energy, the man argued that "I don't care if it is minus 20 °C outside", since his energy was so cheap (DR 05.01.11). This economical perspective was also brought forward in another report, which opened by saying: "Also in Denmark several businesses have started to make their companies more climate friendly, not so much for the climate's sake, but because there is money in it" (DR 07.12.10). The accompanying text on the screen was "Money in saving energy" (DR 07.12.10), this further reinforcing the idea that money savings were the most important piece of information within the report. What characterised this topic was a tendency to focus on the economic advantages of improving energy efficiency, as well as a focus on practical solutions. This means that the more challenging issues surrounding sustainability and consumption were never questioned in the DR's coverage. In relation to the theme, DR thereby seemed to frame climate change as a technological issue to be solved rather than presenting climate change as a fundamental challenge to western way of life.

The communitarian perspectives raised in relation to the 'negotiating process' theme were often (in 4/9) those, which took the perspective of the Danish negotiators. There was definitely a sense of seeming to understand the difficulty of leading the negotiations. For example, one report highlighted that "...poor countries stopped Lars Løkke's plan..."(DR

17.12.09). The story then suggested that: "...developing countries have twisted Lars Løkke Rasmussen's arm, so that now there are two complicated climate agreements on the negotiating table - one, which is based upon the already existing Kyoto agreement, and the other more long-term into the future" (DR 17.12.09). In such instances, DR made the developing countries appear as if they had bullied the Danish leadership into the problematic position they were in.

Communitarian perspectives were also raised when reports focused on the leaked drafts. Unlike some articles in the press, such stories did not use so strong and critical language about the developing countries, but they were still sympathetic to Denmark's role as a host country. For instance, in one report, John Nordbo, from WWF, was quoted criticising the fact that the Danish leadership had lowered its ambitions, but the same time, the DR correspondent suggested that "Well, what we have seen today is an insight into the process that has started leading up to the summit, which starts in a week, where Denmark is testing the limits, targets, numbers with some of the key countries of the negotiations in Copenhagen" (DR 30.11.09). Rather than criticising the government for only involving very few countries, he suggested that: "It is actually part of the host country's responsibilities" (DR 30.11.09). This illustrates how DR could take a communitarian perspective in displaying some understanding of the role that Denmark was playing. In such reports there was little criticism of the Danish role within the negotiations. Overall, it was quite clear when it came to the 'negotiating process' theme that DR did not seem to be overly keen to criticise the Danish leadership of the conference. In all four communitarian reports, such as those sketched above, they highlighted the difficulties involved in hosting the negotiations. However, at the same time, it was clear that DR was not critical of developing countries either, in a way that was seen in some of the examples from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet* above.

Some 5 out of 27 reports on 'carbon emissions' also contained communitarian perspectives. What characterised DR's coverage compared to the newspapers was a relatively large focus on the efforts of individual countries to cut carbon emissions. This was notable with respect to Chinese carbon emissions, but was also notable, to a slightly

lesser degree, in the US and EU pledges. In doing so, the Danish broadcasters had a tendency to compare and contrast the two leading superpowers:

“China has for long had the perspective that climate problems are first and foremost the fault of the rich countries, but the country has recently taken over the dubious honour of being the world biggest carbon emitter. Measured per capita, the US are a far larger carbon emitter and that is why the Chinese will demand admissions from the Americans” (DR 18.12.09).

China’s role within the negotiations was also discussed when the anchor asked the country’s correspondent about the nation’s label as the bad guy of the negotiations. The correspondent argued that such a judgment was unfair considering what the country was doing on the renewable energy front. He further contributed that they were doing way more than the Americans (DR 18.12.09).

In relation to ‘carbon emissions’, DR presented EU as the climate leader and expected EU to make strong pledges (DR 10.12.09). Two communitarian reports highlighted how businesses had become more energy efficient and therefore had saved the Danish society a lot of carbon emissions. However, in terms of emphasis, the reduction in carbon emissions was secondary to the money that the businesses had been able to save (DR 10.11.09; DR 07.12.09). A similar perspective was also raised in a report focusing on the carbon emissions of Christmas lights. The story suggested how people should change their Christmas lights to more efficient types, and recommended other ways of saving carbon emissions (DR 26.11.09). The report also opened with the price of electricity, as a reason to use less energy. Therefore this was similar to the communitarian reports on ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ mentioned previously which also focused on the economic aspect of energy efficiency. This demonstrates a tendency across the press and television to talk about the economic benefits of saving carbon emissions rather than framing the topic primarily in terms of addressing climate change.

The communitarian perspective only appeared in one report out of 17 focusing on ‘financing’. The report highlighted concerns that climate funds would end up in the wrong corrupted hands, to be used for example to buy weapons. It was then suggested that “...one has to be very concrete about what is supported and how it is supported. And this means that one should not leave too much in the hands of specific corrupt governments, in Africa

or Asia”. By highlighting this, developing countries were portrayed in quite a negative light. In addition to that it could be argued that framing it as a favour to developing countries (rather than compensation) would be unlikely to encourage viewers to be more supportive of such financing efforts, especially in harsh financial times.

Finally, only 3 out of 22 stories on the ‘consequences’ contained communitarian perspectives. During COP15, DR had a running report as part of the weather report, which focused on the various consequences of climate change. One of these focused on Denmark, highlighting that extreme weather events, such as storms, heavy rainfall and flooding would become more common (DR 10.12.09). In addition to that, as part of a report on rising global temperatures, DR also brought to the forefront the consequences it would have for Denmark (DR 09.12.09). It was through such communitarian stories that the DR attempted to make climate change relevant for their viewers.

Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis is concerned with assessing the overall quality of the public debate on climate change and its central challenges by exploring several key questions relating to the quantitative and qualitative nature of the coverage in the UK, Denmark and Faroe Islands. This particular chapter has sought to examine how the key issues around climate change are represented in the Danish newspaper and television news, with a view to explore how it differed between the various outlets, which topics were given prominence and which were overlooked. In addition, this chapter explored the voices that are given prominence in relation to this debate and what implications this might have for the overall message conveyed. It was suggested from the outset that a cosmopolitan focus in coverage could be beneficial in encouraging support for global action on climate change, and therefore one of the key concerns of this chapter has been to assess where and when we are most likely to see cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in relation to the debate on the key issues around climate change. The conclusions all have important implications for the overall quality of public debate in the Danish context. This final section of the chapter seeks to bring together the findings from our assessment in order to answer some of these overarching questions.

The analysis of DR's reporting found that there was an even larger proportion of coverage during the COP15 period on television than there was in the press. This could suggest that television may be even more influenced by traditional news values, such as proximity and elite people and nations, than the newspapers were (Galtung & Ruge 1965). There was also a larger tendency to quote government sources, such as the Danish and US governments within television coverage. At the same time, the scientific community was not quoted as often in the television as in the newspaper coverage. So the focus seems to have been on the COP15 negotiations as a big political event, and there was very little background or context provided in relation to climate change. However, the Danish television coverage was quite analytical with respect to the former feature, with correspondents exploring the positions different countries were coming from. In terms of the focus on individual themes, the distribution was very similar to that in the newspapers with 'carbon emissions' getting the most attention, followed by 'consequences' and 'financing'. The other three themes received much less attention.

With regards to television, there was very little criticism of the Danish leadership of the COP15 conference. The Danish leadership had been widely criticised by voices in developing countries (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009) and other countries, such as UK⁶⁰, but this was not something that the Danish broadcasters were keen to highlight. Furthermore, there were no critical voices from the Danish opposition either. This might lend some support to the indexing hypothesis, suggesting that the views aired within the media, reflect the range of voices within the political elite (Bennett 1990). This is, however, only applicable if by 'elite' one also includes powerful NGOs and non-elite nations. Nevertheless, DR, as a public service broadcaster, did not seem to want to be too critical and seemed keen to portray the conference as a success.

NGOs and activists were quite prominent within DR's coverage, and were often portrayed in a positive light within stories. Organisations such as WWF were consulted as experts and authoritative sources to provide analysis of the targets discussed at the conference. Danish television also went to some length to talk to activists from across the world to get

⁶⁰ See Chapter 4 on British media coverage

their views across. Therefore it could be argued that it may have gone a little way towards counterbalancing the typical way in which NGOs and activists are addressed. This is very often characterised by what is termed the ‘protest paradigm’ (Cottle & Lester 2011; McLeod & Detenber 1999). This refers to how activists and NGOs, when engaged in street protests, tend to dominate the news, especially when their activity involves lawlessness or violence. Such actions are also typically portrayed very negatively, with the activists’ aims and demands marginalised, and their actions delegitimized. This form of reception has been found to be evident in UK television coverage of protest actions at Copenhagen (Gavin & Marshall 2011b) and could have figured in comparable Danish reports. Our findings suggest that if such was indeed the case, DR coverage could also go some way to offset this rather negative form of address. They are also consistent with research by Jørgensen et al (2010) who similarly found that NGOs and activists were portrayed positively in the Danish newspaper and television news, and were represented as the voices of the ‘people’. So the findings presented here, in combination with Jørgensen et al’s (2010), might suggest that Danish media are capable of a contribution to debate that is more rounded and more positive with respect to NGOs than we might have anticipated.

Whilst a number of the findings from this chapter are somewhat encouraging concerning the quality of the public debate, others can be seen as a cause for concern. On the newspapers’ side, *Politiken* for example had quite an extensive coverage of climate change and its key challenges. *Jyllands-Posten* also had quite a large amount of reportage. *Ekstra Bladet* on the other hand was quite superficial and did not engage much with the key themes. It is clear that *Ekstra Bladet*’s readers were unlikely to be informed enough to take part in a rounded debate on climate change. *Politiken* was the most cosmopolitan of the three newspapers, whilst *Jyllands-Posten* was more communitarian. In addition, *Jyllands-Posten* offered a rather critical perspective in some of their articles, presenting developing countries as greedy. In that sense, ideological factors could have played some role in shaping how the newspapers engaged with the key themes. The left-leaning *Politiken* had also substantially more articles, both in general and on the key themes, than did the other two newspapers. So this confirms a pattern identified elsewhere concerning the quantity of coverage (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Gavin 2009; Painter 2010). But apart from that the differences between the left and right-leaning newspapers were not all that strong (for

instance, the differences in the distribution of sources or cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives were not all that substantial) suggesting that the importance of ideology in shaping coverage should not be exaggerated.

Television, although naturally having less space available, nevertheless had a sustained level of reportage. Still, the vast majority was from the COP15 period. During these negotiations, DR managed to put climate change on top of the agenda⁶¹ and inform citizens about the fundamental issues at stake during the negotiations. It did quite a good job at providing an overview of the most important issues facing the negotiations. Furthermore, through correspondents' input, some context and analysis was provided.

A great deal of importance must be attached to television coverage of an issue, since television is arguably the public's most trustworthy source of political information (Edelman Trust 2012; Globescan 2006). The preceding illustrative section indicated that this is perhaps not unjustified. For instance, by presenting both the perspectives of developing countries and the Danish hosts, DR could be seen to be more balanced in its discussion of the negotiations than the press (especially *Jyllands-Posten*). Although *Jyllands-Posten* had a large amount of coverage on the key issues around climate change, it sometimes presented developing countries and their demands somewhat harshly. This perhaps demonstrates how television might be more 'neutral' media than the press, and focuses on providing an overview of events and stories. This also fits in with the public service obligations to provide impartial information and to be free from all economic and political interests (Public service kontrakt 2011).

Overall, the tabloid newspaper *Ekstra Bladet* was the outlet, which most conspicuously failed to perform the role we might hope it would play in informing citizens about climate change and its key challenges. Not only was there relatively little coverage, this was also superficial and there was a very narrow range of voices heard within *Ekstra Bladet*. This will have implications for the perspectives that come across within their coverage, and is likely to do little to encourage readers' understanding of climate issues.

⁶¹ During the data collection and analysis stage of the research, it became evident that climate change was the main topic discussed on television news, often with several reports per day during the COP15 negotiations.

The overall picture here is relevant to the 'knowledge gap' hypothesis. This suggests that media consumers with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire information from media faster and more comprehensively than those in lower strata. The implication is that the gap in knowledge between these groups increases rather than decreases with exposure to coverage (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien 1970). The 'gap' results in the emergence of the 'knowledge rich' and 'knowledge poor' (Gavin 2007b). Considering the readership of the newspapers analysed here⁶², the coverage of the key issues around climate change is capable of contributing to an increasing gap in knowledge between citizens. It will therefore further add to imbalances between the information citizens possess.

However, at the same time there are those who argue that it is the interest in an issue, rather than education, background or intelligence, which makes people more inclined to expose themselves to information on a topic (Gavin 2007b). If this is the case, then it is possible that the lack of engagement with the key themes on the part of the tabloid paper may simply reflect a lack of public interest in the issue. As such, the challenge becomes to make coverage of climate change more engaging to stimulate public interest. The 'knowledge gap' hypothesis was formulated in relation to newspaper coverage, and the authors speculated that since "...television is less correlated with education, there is a possibility that television may be a 'knowledge leveler'" (Tichenor et al. 1970: 170). Later research has confirmed that television has the potential to "...reduce political knowledge disparities across education levels..." (Eveland & Scheufele 2000: 228)⁶³. It therefore follows, that the quality of television coverage and its ability to add to informed debate become all the more important. In this respect, DR may have contributed to more public knowledge in general with its coverage.

However, in some important respects DR did not fill the gap left in coverage by the commercial newspapers. All the media outlets were relatively similar in their attention to the individual themes. The themes 'carbon emissions', 'consequences' and 'financing' were

⁶² See Chapter 3 for an introduction to the newspapers and their readers

⁶³ See also Kwak (1999)

clearly the most prominent within all the outlets, whilst issues such as ‘future generations’, ‘negotiating process’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ were overlooked.

This tendency to focus on the same themes across the outlets again implies that other factors than the outlets’ ideological affiliation or style are at work. Perhaps those issues were deemed to be of more importance, more accessible or more interesting than the others, either by the journalists (who decided to use quotes on those particular topics) or by the sources themselves (who decided to draw attention to particular aspects of climate change). In any event, the findings suggest there is a strong link between the themes most discussed overall and the ones that sources get quoted on most frequently. As such, the source distribution has important implications for the overall message since a large presence of a particular source would mean that certain topics are more likely to be in focus than would be the case if other actors were quoted. The association between the themes and actors could suggest that journalists seek out the statements that fit in with the overall focus of their articles. Alternatively, it could indicate that, through statements mentioned within the negotiations, journalists get prompted to cover specific issues, since the actors draw attention to these. It could be argued that climate negotiations are the site of mainstream debate on the issue. In this context, our findings suggest that both the press and, to a lesser degree, television gave a voice to sources beyond the range of those we might have anticipated from the literature on elite dominance and indexing. In varying degrees across both media, scientists, NGOs, developing nations and the public, were given voice. This suggests more openness than we might have expected, although as we have also noted, this did not necessarily lead to underrepresented themes being more heavily canvassed.

As a case in point, ‘future generations’ was never really brought up as an issue within any of the outlets. Instead, it was generally only mentioned on the few occasions when some source they had quoted decided to mention it. When ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ was discussed it too was mainly focused on a narrow band of topics – switching to more renewable energy sources or practicalities surrounding how people could be more environmentally friendly. Fundamental issues of international sustainability and global inequality were very rarely brought up, especially on DR’s coverage, as well as in *Ekstra Bladet* and *Jyllands-Posten*. The lack of engagement with wider issues of sustainability in

DR was even more profound than it was in the newspapers. This is perhaps no surprise considering the fact that television has less space to go into details about issues than do the newspapers (Cole & Harcup 2010).

The similarities in the themes brought up in all outlets suggest a somewhat consonant media environment, in some respects. Consonance refers to “...uniform or similar tendencies in reporting by different media...” (Noelle-Neumann & Mathes 1987: 404). This is not to suggest that the coverage is identical in every respect, rather “...the consonance of media contents can only be taken as an indication [...] of the clear preponderance of a topic, a point of view or a judgement” (Noelle-Neumann & Mathes 1987: 404). It has been argued that in a country with a range of broadcasters and newspapers, the public would be unlikely to encounter such consonance in coverage of political information (Gavin 1997). However, the findings from this chapter suggest a degree of consonance, not only in relation to the themes presented both in newspapers and TV, but also in the predominance of cosmopolitan perspectives across the board. It has been argued that people generally disregard media content that “...threatens their political opinions and they actively direct their attention towards coverage they feel comfortable with” (Gavin 1997: 134). However, when facing consonant coverage these selectivity options for citizens are reduced. As such, the effect of the coverage is reinforced. This means that citizens, no matter their media consumption or ideological disposition, get a very limited perspective of climate change and its ethical dimension from their media. Yet, at the same time it could be argued that the predominance of cosmopolitan perspectives across the media outlets could be seen as encouraging since it could help contribute towards making Danish citizens more aware of the consequences of climate change across the world and the public’s responsibility to address the issue.

Regardless, ever-increasing consumerism was hardly challenged within the Danish media landscape, and the coverage did not challenge the fundamental notions of neo-liberalism. This means that Danish citizens were not encouraged to consider what implications their way of life has on climate change and people across the world. Overall, the quality of information that was provided to Danish media users varied substantially, with *Politiken* providing the most detailed analysis of the key themes. However, what all of the media

outlets lacked (though some more than others), was a substantial engagement with the issues, in terms of historical responsibility and international inequality, rather than just touching on aspects of the different themes. The next chapter will move on to explore the coverage in the final case study, the Faroe Islands.

Chapter 6 - Faroese Media Coverage of Climate Negotiations

Introduction

The Faroe Islands represent an interesting case study for understanding how the media cover climate change and which factors are influential in shaping coverage. The fact that it is an island nation with a very small population highly dependent on the fishery industry, make it an interesting case for analysis. This is particularly so since the consequences of climate change, especially those involving the oceans, such as stock migration patterns and temperature rises, could potentially have dramatic effects for the islands. They are also an attractive case due to the fact that they could only participate at the climate conferences as part of the Danish delegation and could not be named independently in any agreement emerging from the negotiations. Therefore their exact role in the negotiations was ambiguous. Empirical research on the Faroese media is non-existent, and there has been no study, which explores how the Faroese media cover climate change. With this in mind, this chapter contributes to the knowledge on the workings of the Faroese media, both in general terms, but even more so in relation to how they deal with the issue of climate change. This could also add to the knowledge on how media function in small nations and allow for richer comparisons between countries.

This chapter will explore the media coverage of climate change in two Faroese broadsheets - the right-leaning *Dimmalætting* and the left-leaning *Sosialurin*⁶⁴ - and in the TV news bulletins of Kringvarp Føroya, the public service broadcaster. The focus on only two newspapers is due to the fact that there is no daily tabloid newspaper in the Faroe Islands. The study covers the two major international negotiations on climate change - COP15 in Copenhagen and COP16 in Cancun.

The chapter looks at issues around the quantity of coverage with the main aim to explore how media represent the key challenges of climate change and how, in doing so, they put

⁶⁴ For more information on the Faroese media landscape, see Chapter 3.

forward cosmopolitan and/or communitarian arguments. This chapter has a similar structure to the previous two chapters on UK and Denmark in that it is organised in two main parts. The first one focuses on newspaper coverage and the second - on television news coverage. The two sections will each first examine issues around quantity of coverage in the respective media outlets and compare this to already existing research on the topic. Assessing the quantity of coverage is crucial since it is important that the public are conscious of the problem of climate change, its causes and possible solutions. This section will allow for an appreciation of whether there are differences between the various outlets and time-periods. This could shed some light upon how various factors such as news values and ideology influence coverage. It is also essential to explore how the various outlets portray climate change and the key issues around it. The following sections will explore the proportion of coverage focusing on the different themes identified in Chapter 1 and will assess their prominence. The sources quoted and their association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives will also be examined. This will allow for an understanding whether certain media outlets are more inclined to give space to some voices over others. The final part of each section will be dedicated to exploring the way in which the media represent each issue and where and when we are likely to see cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives.

The discussion of the above will allow for an appreciation of the nature of media coverage of climate change and the state of the public debate on the issue in the Faroe Islands. Through the outlining of the key aspects of climate change, it is possible to assess how comprehensive and in-depth the coverage is on the key challenges of climate change. This chapter also seeks to address the question of the extent to which the media are cosmopolitan or communitarian in their discussion of climate change and the implications this might have for public support for global efforts to combat climate change. Comparing press and television coverage will also allow for an assessment of how television and press differ in their coverage of climate change issues and its potential implications for public understanding.

6.1. Faroese Newspaper Coverage of COP15 and COP16

6.1.1. An Overview of the Quantity of Coverage

It could be argued that in order to raise public support for global attempts to address climate change, it is beneficial that the public understand the complexity of climate change and consider it a problem facing our societies. The media's role as agenda-setters is crucial, as the media can draw attention to particular issues in society whilst ignoring others (Lang & Lang 1966; McCombs 2005; McCombs & Shaw 1972). As Figure 6.1 illustrates *Sosialurin* published slightly more articles (115) than did *Dimmalætting* (87).

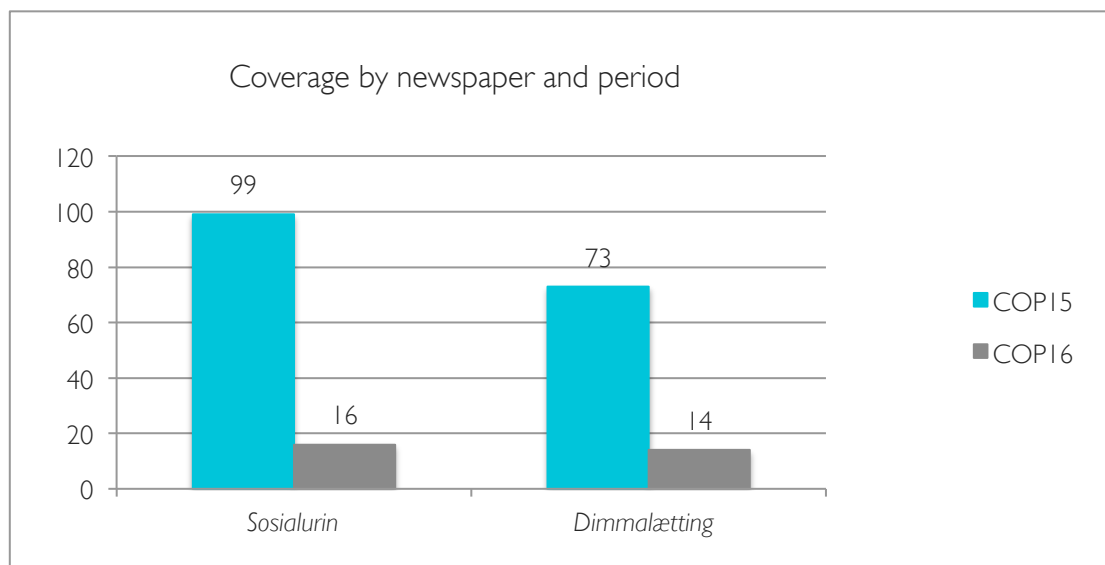


Figure 6.1 - Overview of coverage by newspaper and period (FO)

The left-leaning *Sosialurin* had the higher proportion of articles (57 percent) (see Figure 6.2). This confirms the pattern identified elsewhere (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011) in a new and un-researched area of media coverage.

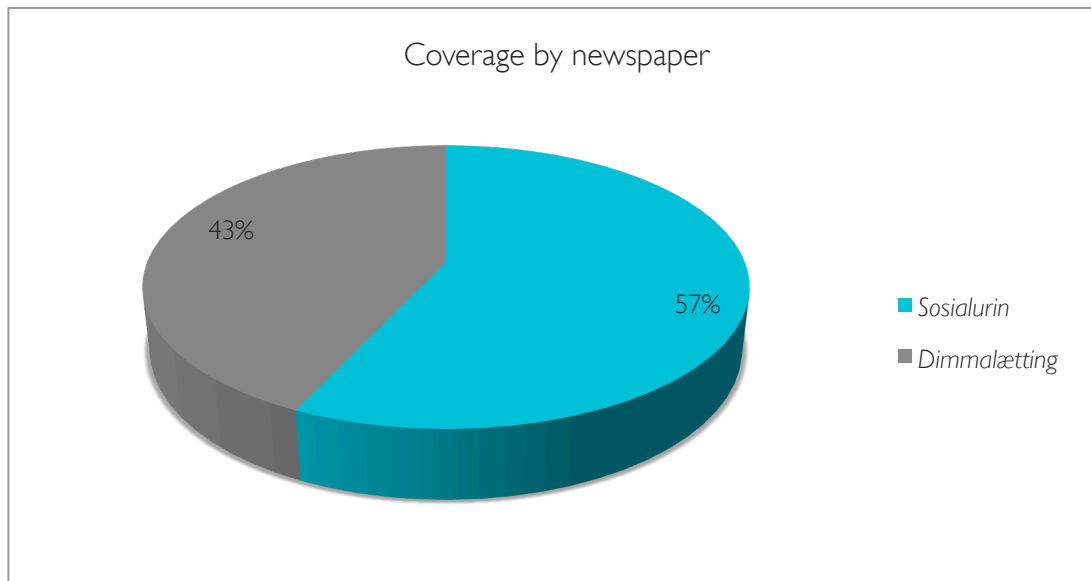


Figure 6.2 - Proportion of coverage by newspaper (FO)

However, this ideological inflection is not as pronounced in the latter period. Both newspapers gave substantially less (but comparable) attention to the COP16 period (see Figure 6.3). Approximately 85 percent of the coverage of climate change in the Faroe Islands appeared during the COP15 period. The newspapers could have been influenced by the fact that the event was taking place in Denmark and were perhaps more interested in the massive political event itself, rather than in climate change as an issue as will be demonstrated below. This is consistent with the notion of news values, where events that are proximate and understandable are considered more newsworthy (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Harcup & O'Neill 2001). Another reason for the limited amount of coverage during the second period could also be that the COP16 conference in Mexico was geographically far away from the Faroe Islands, and therefore sending journalists there to cover the event would be very expensive. Still, it is also possibly due to the very limited resources and low number of staff of the Faroese newspapers, the two papers had only one correspondent each covering the Copenhagen conference

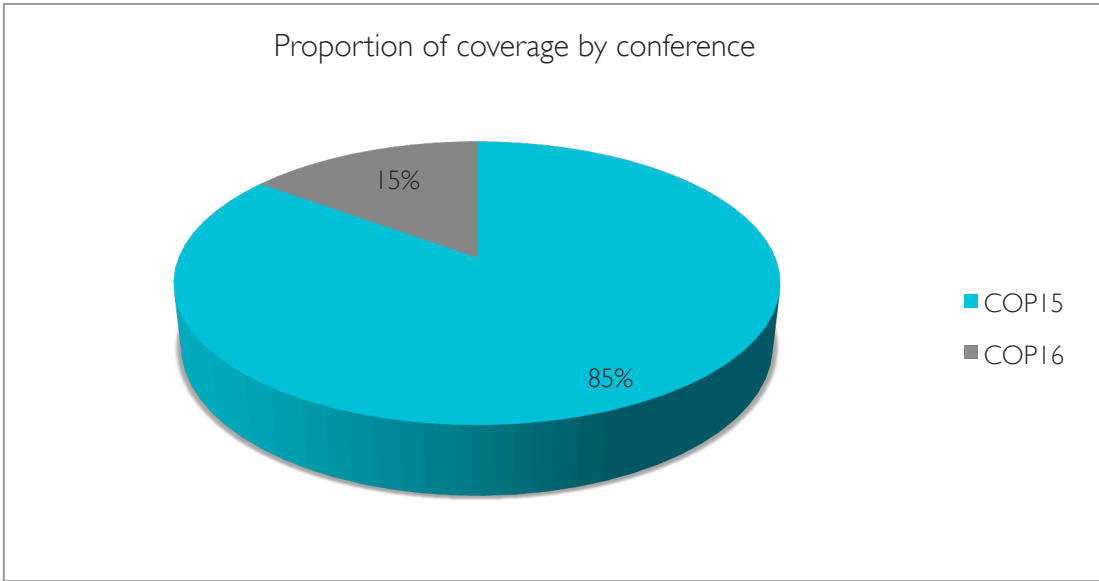


Figure 6.3 - Proportion of overall newspaper coverage by period (FO)

Figure 6.4 highlights that during COP15 *Dimmalætting* had the longer articles with an average article length of 458 words, whilst the corresponding figure for *Sosialurin* was 408 words. This appears to moderate a little the imprint of ideology on the quantity of coverage, if only in terms of word length of articles. Both newspapers increased their article length for the COP16, when *Sosialurin's* average article was 602 words, whilst *Dimmalætting's* was 548. This was unexpected considering both newspapers' low number of articles for COP16.

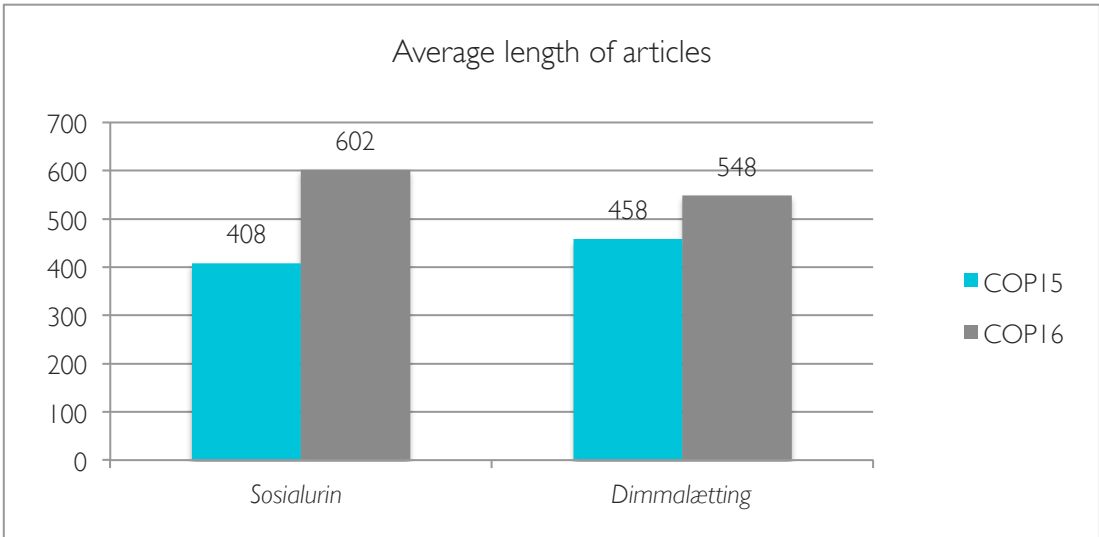


Figure 6.4 - Average article length by newspaper and period (FO)

This could most likely be due to the fact that both newspapers, especially *Sosialurin*, had a large amount of very short articles during COP15 directly from news agencies such as

Reuters, AFP etc. Furthermore, they published short extracts from other international newspapers. Space was at a premium, in a way it was not at COP16. These short articles reflected the significant global focus on COP15. It is also worth mentioning that *Sosialurin* had no articles about the actual Cancun negotiations, whilst *Dimmaletting* had only one. What this suggests is that the Faroese readers received a very limited amount of coverage about the two conferences. In addition, a lot of the articles were just short and superficial ones from news wires with little contextual and in-depth information and when information was provided, it was not made directly relevant to the Faroese public. The reduction in items for COP16 is consistent with research conducted elsewhere suggesting that the quantity of climate change coverage across the world reduced dramatically following COP15 (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011).

6.1.2. Newspaper Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

This thesis argues that how articles portray the key challenges of climate change can have implications for the public understanding of the issue and the public's inclinations to support a global agreement on it. Chapter 1 identified six themes which are central to the debate on climate change. These were:

- a. Carbon emissions (Issues relating to carbon emissions, such as reduction and disparities between countries)
- b. Consequences (Issues relating to the impact of climate change across the world)
- c. Financing (Issues relating to the compensation/financing between countries to help mitigate and adapt to climate change)
- d. Future generations (Issues relating to the impact of the current generation's environmental behaviour on future generations)
- e. Lifestyle and sustainability (Issues relating to sustainability, consumerism and lifestyle choices in general)
- f. Negotiating process (Issues relating to the power distribution and procedural fairness within the UN negotiating process itself)

As already suggested, one would expect a rich public debate to contain a discussion of the key themes identified. The next section focuses on the prominence of the respective issues

within the coverage in the two newspapers and explores how different values were represented in relation to these themes. This allows for an appreciation of how ethics underpin the debate on climate change and whether there are differences between the outlets examined. All the articles in the sample were read with a view to determine which, if any, of these abovementioned themes they made reference to.

Overall, the proportion of articles that focused on any one of the themes was higher for COP15 with regard to both Faroese newspapers. Of the articles in *Dimmalætting* 44 percent focused on one of the key themes during COP15, whilst the corresponding figure for *Sosialurin* was 38 percent (see Figure 6.5). However, in addition to the previously mentioned reduction in the overall number of articles for COP16, both newspapers also reduced their proportion of articles, which focused on the main issues.

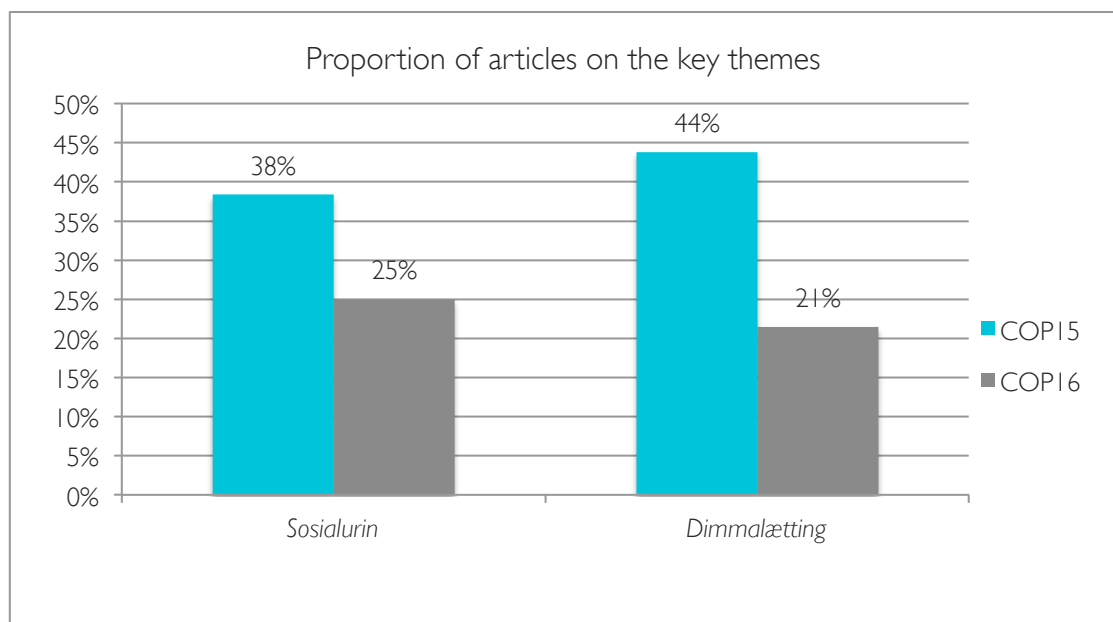


Figure 6.5 - Proportion of articles focusing on the key themes (FO)

In terms of the individual themes, ‘carbon emissions’ dominated the coverage, with 55 and 51 percent of all ethics articles mentioning the theme in *Sosialurin* and *Dimmalætting* respectively (see Figure 6.6). There were also some substantial differences between the attention the various themes were given overall. Still, the two newspapers showed, with the exception of ‘future generations’ and ‘negotiating process’, a relatively similar profile in terms of which topics they tended to focus upon.

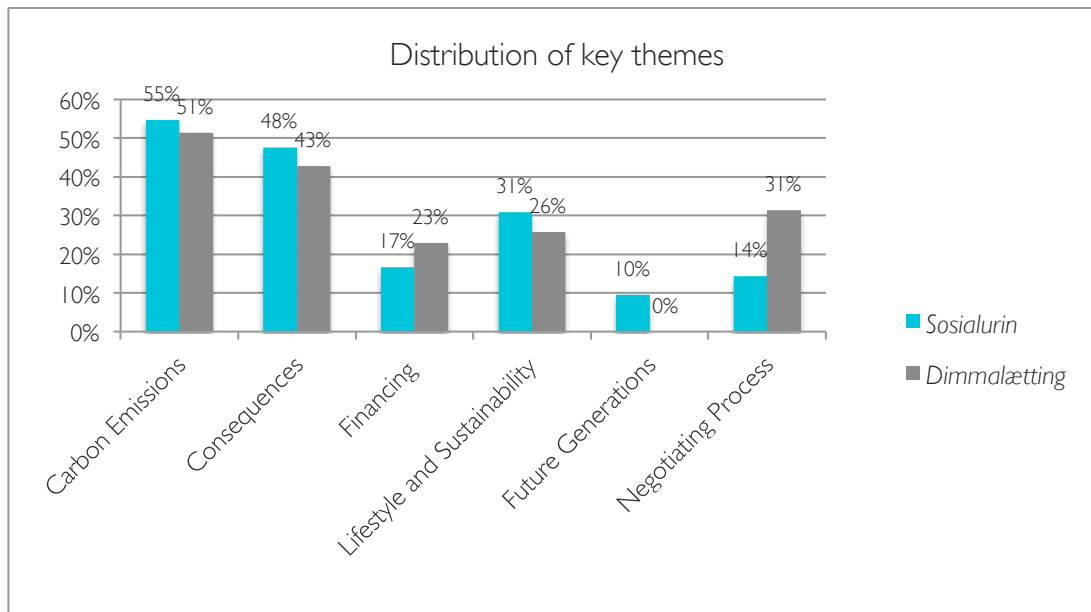


Figure 6.6 - Proportion of the respective themes of the total articles on the main issues (FO)

Dimmaletting made no reference to ‘future generations’ at all, while 10 percent of *Sosialurin*’s did. 11 (31 percent) of *Dimmaletting*’s articles touched upon the ‘negotiating process’ theme (See Table 6.1 and Figure 6.6) while *Sosialurin* published only five articles on it (14 percent). A broad-brush scan of the material suggests *Dimmaletting* focused on the COP15 negotiations in more detail, as they had more stories from the actual proceedings and had a journalist there throughout the conference. Concerning the coverage of the actual negotiations *Dimmaletting* provided more context and analysis than did its left-leaning counterpart. *Sosialurin* seemed to rely more on stories from news agencies. Another difference was also evident in that *Dimmaletting* had nine editorials concerning climate change, whilst *Sosialurin* only mentioned it and the negotiations in three of theirs, despite the fact that they had more articles overall. Nevertheless, *Sosialurin* had 55 percent of the articles focusing on one of the key themes overall (see Figure 6.7).

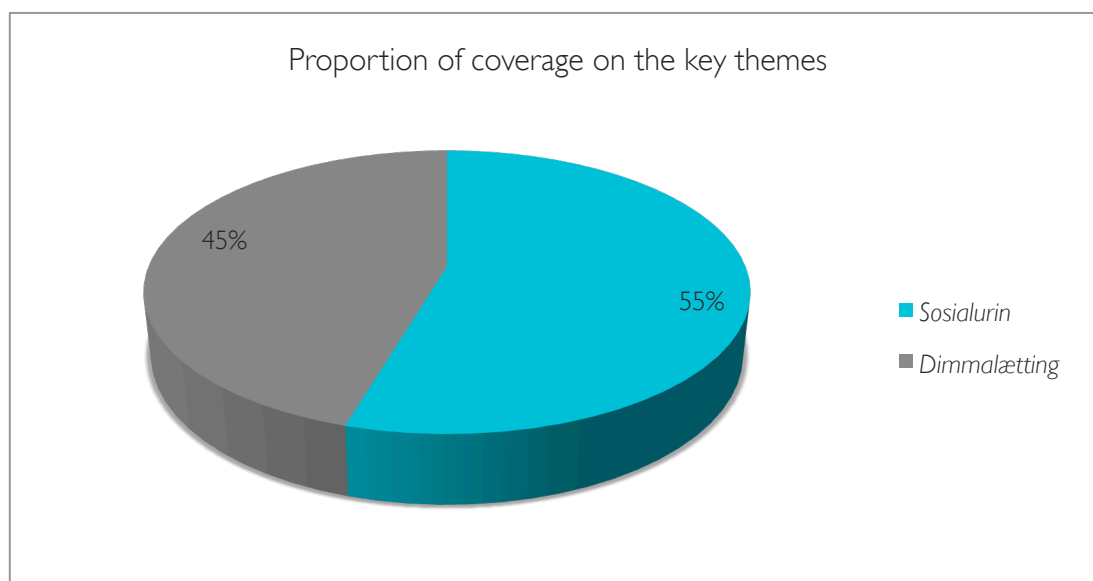


Figure 6.7 - Percentage of coverage focusing on the key themes by newspaper (FO)

Table 6.1 provides an overview of the themes' prominence by newspapers and time-periods. Overall, 'carbon emissions' and 'consequences' were by far the most prominent themes in both newspapers. For *Dimmalætting* 'negotiating process' was the third largest theme, whereas for *Sosialurinn* third in line was the issue of 'lifestyle and sustainability'.

Key Theme	Sosialurinn			Dimmalætting			Total (FO)		
	COP15	COP16	Total	COP15	COP16	Total	COP15	COP16	Total
Carbon Emissions	21	2	23	16	2	18	37	4	41
Consequences	19	1	20	12	2	15	31	4	35
Financing	7	0	7	8	0	8	15	0	15
Lifestyle and Sustainability	10	3	13	8	1	9	18	4	22
Future Generations	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
Negotiating Process	6	0	6	11	0	11	17	0	17
Total	38	4	42	32	3	35	70	7	77

Table 6.1 - Distribution of themes by newspaper and period (FO)

There were also some noteworthy omissions (or near-omissions). For instance, 'future generations' was near-absent throughout. During the COP16 negotiations there were no articles, which mentioned 'financing', 'future generations' or 'negotiating process' in either of the newspapers. Similarly, only one article in *Sosialurinn* touched on the 'consequences' theme during the COP16 period. What characterised the Faroese coverage was the quite limited engagement with one of the major issues discussed in the negotiations, 'financing'. One possible explanation might be the fact that the Faroese government would not be expected to contribute towards any funds going to developing countries⁶⁵. It could be

⁶⁵ Although one article did mention that if the Faroese pledges were to be mentioned independently in any agreement, then the Faroese would have to contribute financially to some extent (*Dimmalætting* 18.12.2009).

argued that the theme of ‘financing’ was not really that relevant for the Faroese public, and as such, it lacked in news value (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Harcup & O’Neill 2001).

Overall the role of ideology in determining coverage in the Faroe Islands is somewhat ambiguous. The fact that the left-leaning press did have more articles overall is consistent with a large body of research (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005, 2007; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). However, the right-leaning newspapers had a slightly higher proportion of articles focusing on the key themes and their articles were also marginally longer on average.

6.1.3. Sources in Newspaper Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

Media play an important role as gatekeepers, allowing access to some voices at the expense of others. As a result, the inclusion of some perspectives over others can have fundamental implications for the overall message portrayed (Carragee & Roefs 2004; Olausson 2009). This section will explore which voices are given prominence in the Faroese press and the implications this might have overall. Table 6.2 illustrates that the scientific community was by far the most prominent source in both newspapers. This is again in sharp contrast to Painter’s (2010) findings suggesting that scientists were actually quite marginalised in the press coverage of Copenhagen. Evidently this was not so across all sub-fields of coverage – in this instance, commentary around key issues around climate change. Developing countries were the second most accessed source, whilst the Faroese government was only quoted in four articles overall, making it one of the least cited actors. Other national governments, EU representatives (5), NGOs and activists (8), the business community (5) were all cited on more occasions. This could be explained by the fact that the Faroese government was not a central actor within the negotiations, since they could not participate as an independent force. However, considering that they did attend the negotiations, it is perhaps unexpected that their views were not used more by the Faroese newspapers as a hinge for the coverage. Rather the Faroese newspapers, especially *Socialurin*, favoured the views of other national governments and actors. That said, the overall picture again qualifies the notion that nationally situated governmental or political elites (Bennett 1990; Bennett et al. 2006; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988;

Livingston & Bennett 2003) or powerful international players (Althaus et al. 1996) do not always or necessarily dominate every aspect of coverage. The most prominent sources (scientists, developing countries, news agencies and NGOs) still do not really fit the bill – at least with respect to the six themes surveyed.

Source	<i>Dimmalætting</i>	<i>Sosialurin</i>	Total
Scientific Community	10	8	18
Developing Countries	5	4	9
Media/News Agency	4	4	8
NGOs/Activists	4	4	8
Danish Government/Delegation	5	2	7
US Government/Delegation	2	5	7
Business Community	0	5	5
EU Representatives	2	3	5
BASIC Countries	2	2	4
Other Developed Countries	1	3	4
Faroese Government/Delegation	3	1	4
Energy Sector	1	2	3
UN Officials/Negotiators	3	0	3
Public/Vox Pops	1	1	2
UK Government/Delegation	0	1	1
Other ⁶⁶	1	4	5

Table 6.2 - Source distribution in articles on the key themes by newspaper (FO)

For the purposes of comparison, since newspapers varied in their overall quantity of articles, it is useful to examine the source distribution in terms of the percentage of total articles quoting a particular actor. When this is done, the proportion of articles quoting NGOs and activists, media and news agencies and developing countries was fairly similar for both newspapers, approximately 8-14 percent (see Figure 6.8). So the results, in respect to the appearance of some of the most prominent non-elite sources, is scarcely moderated by newspaper title. *Dimmalætting* gave more attention to the Danish and Faroese governments, and UN representatives. But it was also more likely to give voice to scientists, while *Sosialurin* seemed more likely to favour the US government. So there is no clear and

⁶⁶ This includes actors not grouped into any of the above categories, such as authors, former politicians and film committee.

consistent patterning to the type of ‘elite’ or ‘non-elite’ actors sourced that can be explained by the title’s ideology alone. In addition, the left-leaning *Sosialurin* quoted the business community in 12 percent of their articles, whilst *Dimmalætting* did not reference it at all. This further reinforces the notion that – in this particular domain – ideological factors are not always the dominant influence in determining the structure of coverage.

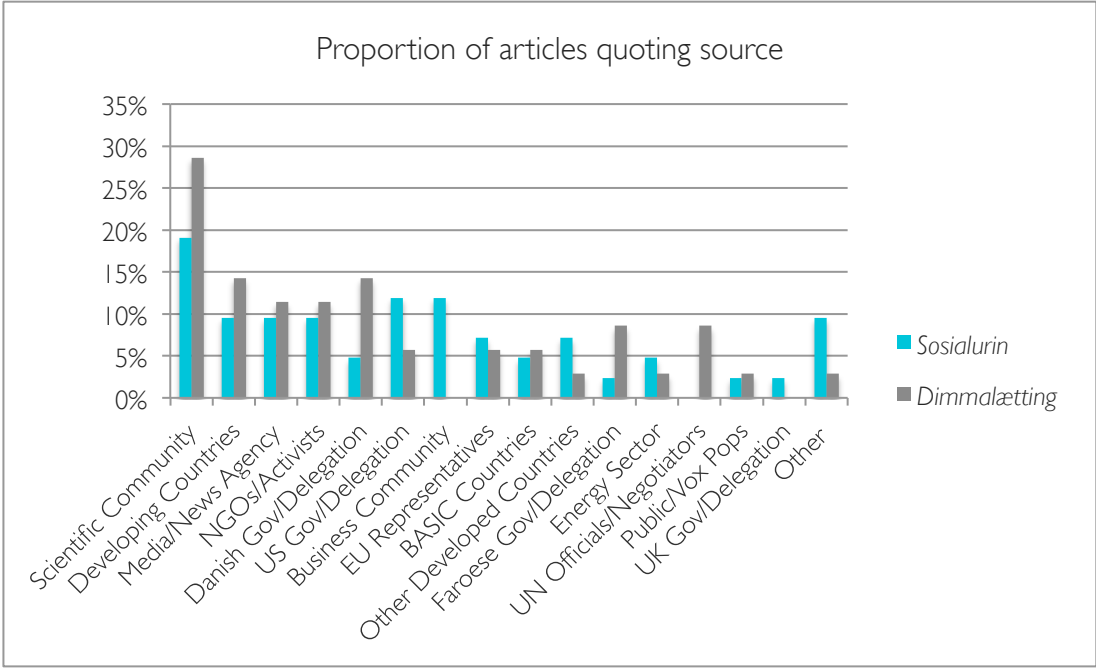


Figure 6.8 - Proportion of articles on the key themes citing each actor (FO)

Journalists can through the language of their articles undermine or reinforce the statements certain voices make. The source distribution between various actors could have implications for the range of messages conveyed. As Figure 6.9 illustrates, various actors emphasise different issues. For instance, the scientific community was quoted predominantly on ‘consequences’. This could suggest that the Faroese newspapers gave more attention to the science of climate change rather than focusing only on the politics of the conferences for example. Such a focus would be beneficial for the public’s understanding of the scientific nature of climate change. The developing countries were quoted mainly on ‘carbon emissions’ and the ‘consequences’. The US government was quoted on ‘carbon emissions’ on three occasions, whilst the DK government spoke more about ‘financing’. NGOs and activists were mainly associated with the ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ theme.

Nevertheless the overall picture is one where some themes (notably ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’) are touched upon by most actors. By the same token, very few actors made statements on the themes of ‘future generations’, ‘negotiating process’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (with the modest exception of scientists and NGOs on the last of these). These were also the smaller themes. This suggests an association between the statements made by actors in the media and the overall emphasis of articles. It is also worthy to note, that through the inclusion of particular actors, the journalists can make certain aspects of climate ethics somewhat more (or less) visible than others (Entman 1993; Philo 2007). For instance, the most accessed source, the scientific community, only made statements on ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and to a lesser extent ‘financing’. The second most quoted actor, the developing countries, never mentioned ‘future generations’ nor ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. Entman (1993: 54) argues that “the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience.” Therefore, the predominance of certain actors may have significant repercussions for the overall plurality of public debate.

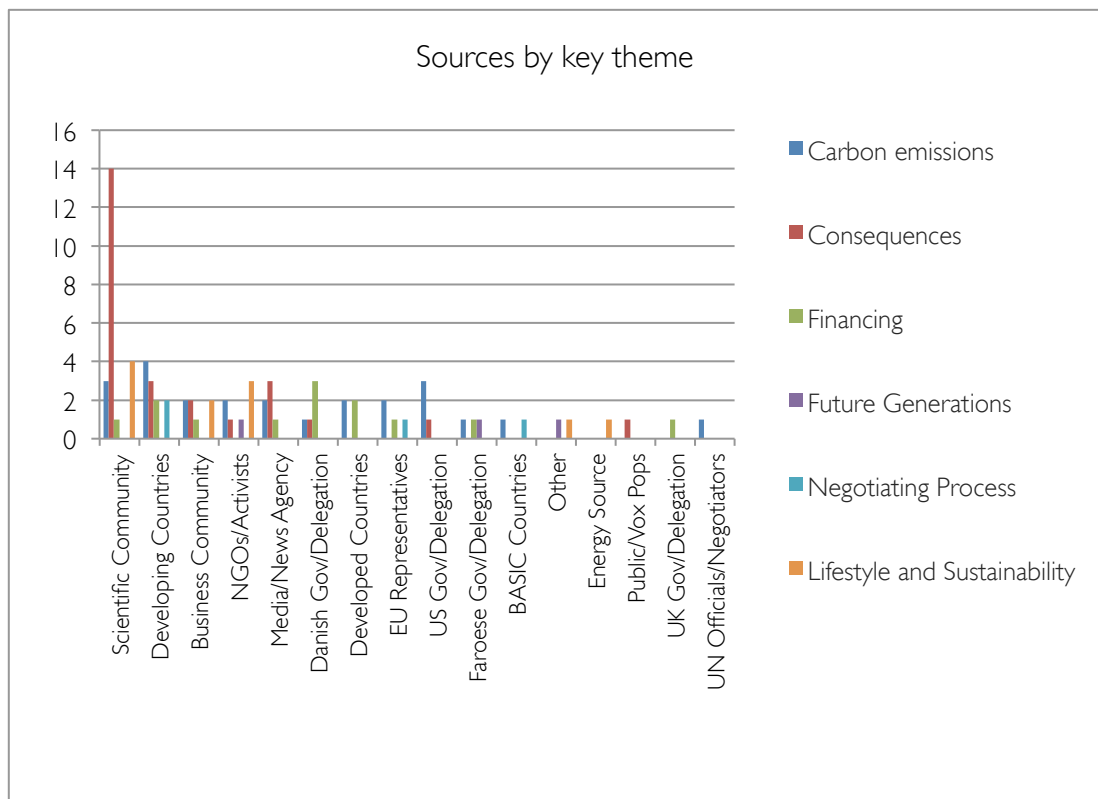


Figure 6.9 - Actors quoted on the respective key themes in newspapers (FO)

In order to assess how the various sources might influence the range of values put forward in the articles, it is necessary to examine whether there are differences in the cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives put forward by the different actors. Figure 6.10 highlights that the perspectives put forward were predominantly cosmopolitan. The energy sector was the only one, which was exclusively communitarian. NGOs and activists also put forward communitarian perspectives in two articles, although they were quoted in four articles with cosmopolitan perspectives. The scientific community also put forward communitarian perspectives in four articles, while they were associated with cosmopolitan perspectives in 15 articles.

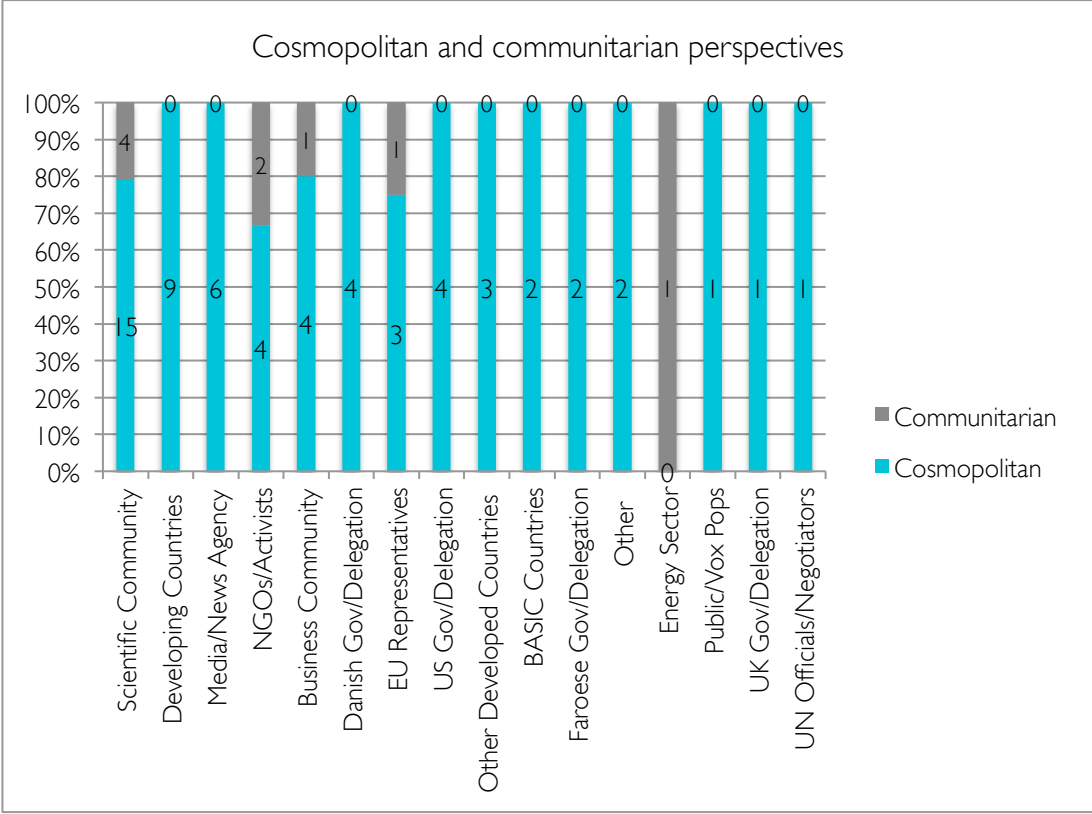


Figure 6.10 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by sources (FO)

6.1.4. Values in Faroese Press Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

Thus far, the attention the two newspapers gave to the key themes has been established. It was also highlighted how the key issues relating to climate change were almost completely taken off the agenda for COP16 with only seven articles engaging with some of its aspects.

The following sections will examine the values portrayed in relation to the various themes in the newspapers utilising the notions of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. In doing so, it will first assess the overall prominence of the two perspectives and then provide some illustrative examples which enhance our understanding of how the values become embedded within the debate on climate change and its key challenges.

Overall, cosmopolitan perspectives were much more prominent in the articles published in both papers (see Figure 6.11). However, *Sosialurin* was marginally more cosmopolitan in its articles than *Dimmalætting*: 95 percent of articles in the former contained cosmopolitan perspectives, whilst the corresponding figure for the latter was 83 percent. In addition, *Dimmalætting* also had a higher proportion of articles with communitarian perspectives (34 percent against *Sosialurin*'s 24 percent). Therefore it can be concluded that, although there are differences, they are not outstandingly large. This is at odds with those aspects of the literature that suggest that the ideological complexion of a newspaper has an important (or even determining) impact on the structure of the coverage (Carvalho 2005, 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). This looks more precarious in the light of our results for the Faroe Islands.

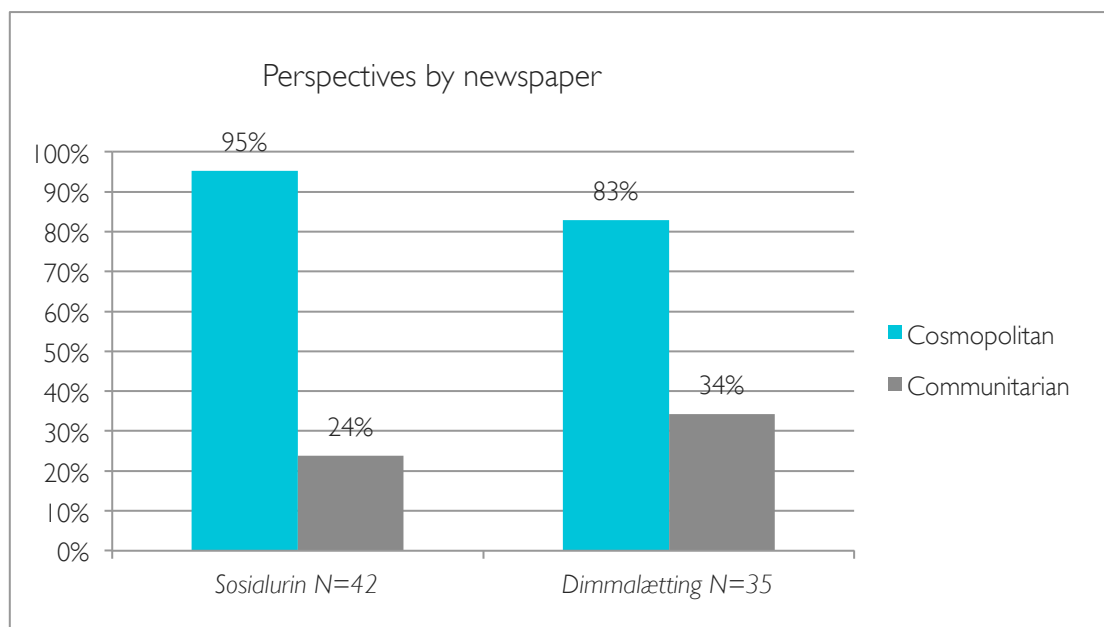


Figure 6.11 - Proportion of articles focusing on the key themes with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by newspaper (FO)

Since an article can contain both perspectives, it is useful to consider the distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian values within articles by looking at the number of words coded as cosmopolitan or communitarian⁶⁷. When this is taken into consideration, it is apparent that *Sosialurin* is still more (if only just) cosmopolitan with about 80 percent of words coded as cosmopolitan and 20 percent as communitarian. Approximately 75 percent of words coded in *Dimmalætting* are cosmopolitan whilst 25 percent are communitarian (see Figure 6.12). This further reinforces our conclusion about the limited impact of ideology in the Faroese context.

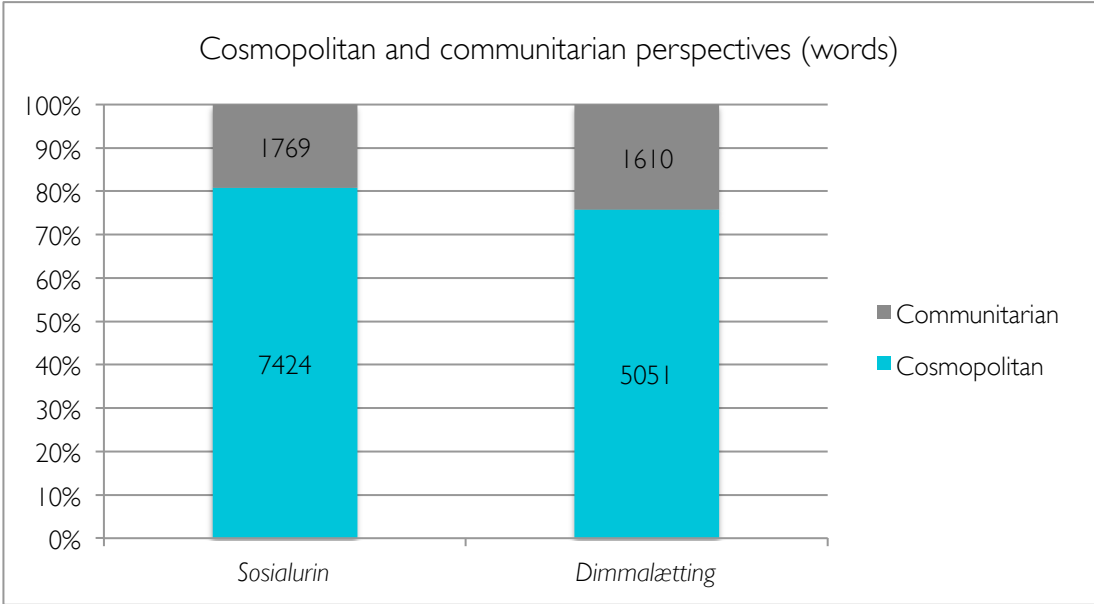


Figure 6.12 - Word distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by newspaper (FO)

There are differences between the various themes’ association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives (see Table 6.3). Some themes such as ‘consequences’ (34/35), ‘financing’ (15/15) and ‘future generations’ (4/4) are predominantly or exclusively cosmopolitan, whilst others have a higher prevalence of communitarian arguments. ‘Lifestyle and sustainability’ theme also had more emphasis on the communitarian theme, especially in *Sosialurin* (6/13). This could be expected considering that articles touching on that theme often emphasised practical solutions and changes in lifestyle at the local level, rather than focus on it from a more global perspective. Despite the fact that articles touched on the different themes, a lot of them did not really engage with the issues in any

⁶⁷ For more detail on how this was done, see Chapter 3.

great detail, but rather mentioned them in passing. Next, the ways in which the newspapers discussed these themes and the extent to which they had predominantly cosmopolitan or communitarian focus is examined in more detail.

Key theme and emphasis	<i>Sosialurin</i>		<i>Dimmalætting</i>	
	N=42		N=35	
Carbon Emissions	23		18	
Cosmopolitan	22	96%	17	94%
Communitarian	5	22%	3	17%
Consequences	20		15	
Cosmopolitan	20	100%	14	93%
Communitarian	0	0%	1	7%
Financing	7		8	
Cosmopolitan	7	100%	8	100%
Communitarian	3	43%	0	0%
Future Generations	4		0	
Cosmopolitan	4	100%	0	0%
Communitarian	0	0%	0	0%
Lifestyle and Sustainability	13		9	
Cosmopolitan	8	62%	7	78%
Communitarian	6	46%	3	33%
Negotiating Process	6		11	
Cosmopolitan	6	100%	6	55%
Communitarian	0	0%	7	64%

Table 6.3 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives within each theme by newspapers (FO)⁶⁸

Cosmopolitan Perspectives

Overall cosmopolitan perspectives were very prominent within the Faroese newspaper sample, especially so in *Sosialurin*. The themes of ‘consequences’, ‘financing’, ‘future generations’ and ‘negotiating process’ were all exclusively cosmopolitan in *Sosialurin*. For *Dimmalætting* ‘financing’ was the only exclusively cosmopolitan theme, although 17 out of 18 articles touching on ‘carbon emissions’ and 14 out of 15 - on ‘consequences’ also contained cosmopolitan perspectives.

⁶⁸ The percentages refer to the proportion of articles focusing on the theme with a cosmopolitan and communitarian perspective respectively.

Overall ‘financing’ was the most cosmopolitan theme (15/15). There were only eight articles in *Sosialurin* and seven in *Dimmaletting*, all of which were from the COP15 period. This represented 19 percent of *Sosialurin*’s articles focusing on the key themes and 20 percent of *Dimmaletting*’s. Often ‘financing’ was just mentioned in passing when the progress of the negotiations was discussed. For instance, when it was highlighted that no agreement had been reached concerning how much countries should pay in financing (*Dimmaletting* 18.12.09; *Sosialurin* 11.12.09) or when the potential climate fund was discussed stating: “The deal on the table today, which probably will be the final agreement commits the countries to pay 100 billion dollars a year into a climate fund” (*Dimmaletting* 18.12.09).

‘Carbon emissions’, which was the largest theme, was also predominantly cosmopolitan (39/41) in both newspapers. However, ‘carbon emissions’ were often discussed without deep engagement with the ethics of climate change. Specific targets were mentioned, but these were not contextualised. This pattern was often apparent in relatively short articles headlined for example, “Obama promises cuts” (*Sosialurin* 26.11.09), “Brazil introduces CO₂ law” (*Sosialurin* 30.12.09), “EU demands bigger cuts” (*Sosialurin* 30.11.09) or “China reduces their carbon emissions more than 40 percent” (*Dimmaletting* 27.11.09). These articles were more or less purely informative with little or no background information. However, there were instances when there was more in-depth engagement with ‘carbon emissions’. On the whole, such stories demonstrated more understanding and nuance with regards to the negotiations and the issues involved. One instance of this was when *Sosialurin* (17.11.09) highlighted that there was “...extreme disparity between the carbon emissions of countries...” and therefore different things that might be expected of them in terms of their actions

It was also highlighted that questions relating to carbon emissions would need to be settled by conference delegates. For example, in an editorial *Dimmaletting* (14.12.09) stated that:

“The dispute between industrialised and developing countries is clear, because industrialised countries have large emissions, whilst the developing countries have only just started to emit carbon emissions. What would be reasonable to demand from these countries and what is reasonable to demand from industrialised countries.”

There was no suggestion of what would be the best approach. However, by mentioning the differences in carbon emissions, the paper still encouraged the reader to consider the issue of carbon emissions and its disparities. The Faroese newspapers rarely discussed ‘carbon emissions’ in explicit terms of justice. The example from *Sosialurin* (17.11.09) mentioned above was quite rare in its engagement with the principles of carbon emissions and its appreciation for the nuances of their allocation.

The ‘consequences’ theme was also a very cosmopolitan one overall. All the articles (20/20) on the theme in *Sosialurin* and 14 out of 15 in *Dimmaletting* contained cosmopolitan perspectives. In general there was a lack of focus on individuals and what climate change meant for them. There were only three stories, which had as their main focus the consequences climate change was having for vulnerable people and countries in faraway places. This is perhaps due to the limited resources of the Faroese newspapers, which cannot afford to send journalists to distant places to examine the personal experiences concerning climate change and its consequences. However, there were some exceptions where a cosmopolitan emphasis was more clearly in evidence. One instance of this was when *Sosialurin* (16.12.10) argued in a headline: “Island states are drowning”, and suggested in the opening paragraph that “Due to climate change and rising sea levels many low lying island states are worried that their history will soon be over”. Still, the majority of articles only briefly talked about the consequences of climate change, as, for example, when referring to the 2 C° target discussed within the negotiations (*Sosialurin* 18.12.09; 23.12.09; *Dimmaletting* 17.12.09), where commentary did not engage with whether the target was appropriate or what potential dangers would come with warming of this sort.

The ‘negotiating process’ theme was a noteworthy one in terms of the perspectives raised. The theme was exclusively cosmopolitan in *Sosialurin* (6/6). *Dimmaletting* raised more communitarian perspectives in relation to it (7/11), although 6 out of 11 articles still contained cosmopolitan perspectives. The theme received more attention in *Dimmaletting*, despite the fact that the paper had a lower total number of articles. Some of the stories just mentioned the leaked draft (*Sosialurin* 11.12.09; *Dimmaletting* 17.12.09). For instance, *Sosialurin* (11.12.09) brought up the draft that was leaked in the early stages

of the COP15 conference, but it did not clarify why this version would represent such a blow to the negotiating process:

“Somebody leaked a draft agreement, which does not favour the demands of developing countries, because it does not put heavier burdens on industrialised countries” (*Sosialurin* 11.12.09).

This illustrates how the newspapers provided the information, but did not put it into context or analyse what implications the leak could have for the negotiations.

The theme of ‘future generations’ was completely overlooked in *Dimmalætting* and there were only four brief references to it in *Sosialurin*, all of which contained cosmopolitan perspectives. A cosmopolitan perspective was brought forward when *Sosialurin* (07.12.09) called upon the world’s leaders to take action on climate change, so that “...our descendants will be able to live on this earth”. But the most substantial engagement with ‘future generations’ was in a short article headlined “Children get the bill”, where *Sosialurin* (06.11.09) touched on future generations and the disproportionate consequences of climate change. It stated:

“If the international community does not pull itself together and takes the necessary steps to alleviate climate change, it will be the children of the world, that will foot most of the bill [...] The Chairman [Save the Children, Spain], Alberto Soares, says that the children in the poor countries are not responsible for climate change, but despite this, they are the ones who will suffer the worst consequences” (*Sosialurin* 06.11.09).

Thus, through quoting the Save the Children chairman, the essence of the theme of ‘future generations’ comes to the forefront. By highlighting this aspect, the reader is encouraged to consider the ethical dimensions of climate change.

None of the cosmopolitan articles on ‘future generations’ engaged with any discussions concerning the problematic nature of justice for future generations. ‘Future generations’ were merely mentioned briefly and in three of the four examples, these references came across through quotes from various actors. All of the articles were from a short period of time, during the COP15 conference. Therefore it is clear that most of the time there was no debate concerning the necessity of this generation looking after the world for ‘future generations’, especially considering

that there was no reference to the issue in *Dimmaletting*. This has negative implications for the plurality of the debate and for the ability to provide in-depth information to citizens.

The theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability' was relatively prominent in the Faroese newspaper sample. It was the least cosmopolitan theme overall, especially in *Sosialurin* (8/13), whilst the corresponding figure for *Dimmaletting* was 7/9. The articles which referred to 'lifestyle and sustainability' always focused on 'carbon emissions' and on how individuals could make a difference in reducing these. With the exception of two articles they did not engage with wider levels of sustainability at the global level. However, attention was brought to extreme consumerism, when *Dimmaletting* (23.12.09) published an article on consumption levels around Christmas. It highlighted that people were trying to buy Christmas gifts for each other that no one really needs, arguing:

“It seems deeply contradictory that at the same time that the so called serious negotiations are taking place in Copenhagen about how we should save the planet and ourselves from destruction, these same politicians preach ceaselessly that we must buy, buy, buy. That we must definitely never stop to buy more useless gadgets, more plastic, more electronics, more pollution, more CO₂ ...”
(*Dimmaletting* 23.12.09).

As such the inherent contradiction in our way of life and efforts to address climate change were highlighted. However, this was the only article which linked climate change with overconsumption in the Faroese newspapers, suggesting that there was a need to radically change lifestyles. Similarly, the global framework in place to address climate change was criticised only on one occasion when *Dimmaletting* (03.12.09) printed an article based on an interview with the NASA scientist James Hansen. The article, first published in the *Guardian*, highlighted that the global efforts to combat climate change were fundamentally flawed and therefore it would be better for the world if the negotiations failed.

Communitarian Perspectives

Communitarian perspectives were not very prevalent in either of the Faroese newspapers examined here. The most communitarian themes overall was 'lifestyle and sustainability'

(9/22) overall. The perspective also figured prominently in ‘negotiating process’ for *Dimmaletting* (7/11).

There were nine articles, which made reference to the theme of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ from a communitarian perspective. In terms of distribution between newspapers six of the articles were in *Sosialurin* and three - in *Dimmaletting*. The communitarian articles all focused in some way on renewable energy, for instance when a community project investing in wind power for a small village was discussed (*Sosialurin* 09.12.09; 17.11.09). The theme was also brought forward when the newspapers focused on how individuals could save energy (*Sosialurin* 10.11.10), or travel to sustainable hotels (*Sosialurin* 10.11.10), or the general need to switch to sustainable energy (*Dimmaletting* 04.12.09; *Sosialurin* 07.12.09). This was often linked to the rising price of oil or to energy security in general and such articles did not focus much on the need to cut carbon emissions to address climate change. Instead the rationale was often that it would save money, especially in the future.

Overall, for the theme of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ there was only one article in the entire corpus which engaged with and challenged increasing levels of consumption. The remaining articles focused mostly on switching to renewable energy rather than on more substantial lifestyle changes. The newspapers did not emphasise the duties of individuals in acting against climate change for the sake of future generations or vulnerable and distant others. So when the articles mentioned the need to move towards sustainable energy, the rationale was not from a climate perspective, but rather from an economic one.

The communitarian perspectives raised in relation to the ‘negotiating process’ theme were exclusive to *Dimmaletting*’s pages. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the COP15 negotiations were characterised by a lot of divisions and disagreements, whilst the COP16 negotiating process went more smoothly. This was reflected in the Faroese newspaper coverage, with all the references to the ‘negotiating process’ theme being from COP15. The analysis of the theme indicated that journalists had a limited understanding of the negotiating process, and the historical relationship of mistrust between developing and developed countries. As a result, the injustices inherent in the negotiating process were not actually highlighted.

Some of these communitarian articles represented the G77 group and China very critically. For instance, *Dimmaletting* (21.12.09) mentioned the Danish leadership in an editorial, but really attributed most of the blame for the failure of the negotiations to the G77 countries, as well as the US and China.

“The US and China must bear some responsibility for why so little was achieved, but the G77 countries – which are developing countries – did not do anything to reach an agreement. In reality, these countries are just as responsible for the lack of success. Denmark and the Danish leadership of the conference have been accused of not being good enough by some. Of course, Danish ministers deny this, but also the Swedish PM, Frederick Reinfeldt, who currently holds the EU presidency, completely disagrees” (*Dimmaletting* 21.12.09).

By framing it as ‘some’ criticised their leadership and then including how the Swedish PM disagreed *Dimmaletting* highlighted that such criticisms have little merit. Furthermore, the article continued to quote the Swedish PM but did not include voices of any other actors, who criticised the leadership. As a result, the perspective of developing countries, which felt marginalised and excluded from the negotiations, was largely omitted from the coverage as well.

Communitarian perspectives were also brought forward when *Dimmaletting* discussed who was to blame for the failure of the negotiations in the aftermath of COP15. For instance, in an article which could be considered to overlook the complexity of the negotiations, *Dimmaletting* stated:

“In reality, China hid in the G77 chaos of big and small, poor and rich countries across the world. The Sudanese spokesman for the organisation, Lumumba Di-Aping, spent the whole first week to move focus away from China, by for example, making sure that the negotiations did not move in the direction that EU and the Danish presidency preferred” (*Dimmaletting* 23.12.09).

Firstly, referring to the G77 organisation as ‘chaos’ and consisting of ‘poor and rich countries across the world’ could be seen to be misleading. G77 countries are developing countries, predominantly from the south. To consider countries such as China and India as ‘rich’ contradicts the official and widely accepted categorisation. It also does not take into account their history and the reality that large proportions of their populations still live in poverty. This way - by failing to highlight their perspective and concerns -

Dimmalætting took away legitimacy from China and G77. The Faroese newspapers were not really concerned with any injustices in the ‘negotiating process’, but rather presented the developing countries as hungry for money, and as if they had no legitimate concerns. Through the newspapers’ failure to put these negotiations into historical context, the Faroese readers were likely to get the impression that the Western world, especially EU and Denmark, were the good and rational actors in the negotiations, whilst the developing countries were just trying to please China and had no interests of their own.

8 out of 42 articles overall on ‘carbon emissions’ also contained communitarian perspectives. In general, such articles in the Faroese press failed to engage with the industrialised nations’ responsibilities for carbon emissions, rather highlighting the competing nature between the states. For example, when *Socialurin* (11.12.09) stated that:

“The message is that EU cannot commit to targets which are not set in the US. That is why EU should let go of the vision of going for the 30 percent cuts, because this would be damaging to European industry. At the same time, the idea is that if only developed countries commit to targets, then the polluting industries will just move to a third country without a reduction in emissions, and that is not a step forward” (*Socialurin* 11.12.09).

Such a perspective highlighted the damage that a cut in carbon emissions could do to the European economy. Alternative angles could have included: firstly, that cutting carbon emissions early would actually strengthen European industry in the long run in that it would not be dependent upon fossil fuels; secondly, that Europe should lead by example, and thereby take a more prominent role in the international community. Instead the message coming from such articles was that it would not be worth taking action on climate change unless everyone would do so. This way the competitive nature of the international community, rather than the urgency of taking action, was highlighted.

It was clear that overall, neither of the Faroese newspapers provided good contextual information concerning carbon emissions and the responsibility to cut them. Furthermore, articles which engaged with the fundamental principles of the UNFCCC, such as the ‘common, but differentiated responsibility’ principle were few (UNFCCC 1992). In some cases, the journalist even demonstrated a lack of understanding of the whole UN process, or presented a largely one-sided account of ‘carbon emissions’, for example:

“Just to put the issue in perspective, China and US own nearly half of the total global carbon emissions. US has throughout been willing to reduce their emissions with 4 – 5 percent in relation to 1990 levels (Americans have given the figure of 17 percent in relation to 2005), whilst China is only willing to reduce the growth in their emissions in the upcoming years. In reality, China just wants to continue emitting with almost the same speed as before in the new agreement. China has throughout the negotiations hidden behind the G77 organisation (134 countries, primarily poor developing countries), despite the fact that China and the G77 countries have extremely little in common today. China emits more than all the other G77 countries in total” (*Dimmaletting* 18.12.09).

This extract clearly portrayed the US as a better actor when it comes to carbon emissions, but presented China in a very negative light, highlighting they were ‘only’ willing to reduce the growth in carbon emissions. The article did not engage at all with the Chinese pledge to limit the growth in CO₂, nor did it have any appreciation of emissions per capita or historical emissions. It failed to highlight that a lot of China’s carbon emissions are due to it being a manufacturing country and them producing vast amounts of goods for the western world. Therefore their emissions are a result of western consumption. The story portrayed it as a very polluting economy with no intention to limit carbon emissions, the commentary completely overlooking the country’s efforts to limit its carbon emission growth. Furthermore, by arguing that China was hiding behind the G77 countries, this particular article suggested that China is exploiting the poorer developing countries. On the whole, a very anti-Chinese perspective was put across. The article focused on the carbon emissions of the respective countries and country groupings and highlighted the competitive nature of allocating carbon emissions. This commentary could focus on China, without engagement with historical emissions or the fact that the country’s carbon emissions are largely as a result of them manufacturing goods for the west. This mode of address is not entirely unknown though, and has been a common feature of climate sceptical discourse (Gavin & Marshall 2011a).

Communitarian perspectives were also brought forward in articles which portrayed developing countries in a negative light, for instance, when *Sosialurin* (16.12.09) painted a relatively simplistic at best (and distorted at worst) picture of the situation, suggesting that:

“There is still a rift between the developing and developed countries. The developing countries want to avoid demands [for carbon reductions] and have

money, and the developed countries want to put demands to the developing countries, but avoid to pay” (*Sosialurin* 16.12.09).

This article did not highlight the differences between the least developed countries and large emerging economies. Some of the information provided was inaccurate and misrepresented. For instance, intrinsic to the negotiations was a general agreement concerning the necessity of financing for developing countries. But this was not reflected strongly in the commentary. Furthermore, by not discussing the historical responsibility of climate change, it made financial support to address the worst consequences of climate change sound like traditional aid, rather than compensation due to rich nations being responsible for the problem. The article presented a particularly good example of the lack of understanding both with regards to ‘carbon emissions’ as well as ‘financing’ apparent in some of the press coverage.

Only 3 out of 15 articles on ‘financing’ contained communitarian perspectives, all published in *Sosialurin*. Two (08.12.09; 18.12.09) highlighted the difficult economic environment across the world, which would make it difficult to justify financing for developing countries. For example the paper argued:

“The big dispute is, amongst other things, about where the money for the financing of technology development would come from, because the experts say that to take this money from existing development aid is not satisfactory. It must be new money. This is a difficult message to sell to the voters at home in depressed economies which are suffering from cuts in public spending” (*Sosialurin* 08.12.09).

This article did not focus on the necessity of these financial transactions for developing countries. Rather than stressing that the money had to be additional to current aid (because it would not be fair to take away development aid and use it for adaptation to climate change) the article highlights what ‘experts’ say. They are said to suggest, rather ambiguously, that this is ‘not satisfactory’, before a caveat is entered by the reporter about the problems in selling this to voters. Furthermore, the article did not include any perspectives from NGOs etc, which highlighted the necessity of financing. The emphasis on the difficult economic climate is unlikely to have encouraged the reader to be supportive of financing for developing countries.

Communitarian perspectives were also put forward in articles which presented the negotiations as almost exclusively about the financing. For instance, in an article, touching on ‘financing’, as well as the ‘negotiating process’ itself, *Dimmaletting* argued:

“As before, it appears that Africa and the poorest countries in the world were the biggest losers at the climate conference. Climate change has thus far hit parts of Africa hard with extreme weather events and famine as a consequence. With a climate agreement the African countries had prospects of a yearly climate fund of tens, if not hundreds of billions from developed countries, but Africa and several other countries chose to stay firm behind China (who is the world’s biggest buyer of African goods and resources) in an ancient organisation of UN countries called G77.” (*Dimmaletting* 23.12.09).

What was most noteworthy about that article was the way it referred to ‘financing’. By not mentioning historical inequalities, distrust and historical carbon emissions, it reduced the climate agreement to be only about money, but using very imprecise figures “tens, if not hundreds of billions yearly”. By not dealing with ‘financing’ in more detail and mentioning such vague figures, the newspaper article appeared under-researched. Furthermore, not engaging with the reasons behind the unsuccessful negotiations, developing countries were portrayed as irrational and blindly following China’s lead. It is also worth mentioning that China were portrayed in a negative light and the article seemed to reduce the legitimacy of G77 by referring to it as ‘ancient’ and ignoring the historical context and the factors which bring the G77 countries together.

Finally, only 1 out of 35 articles focusing on the ‘consequences’ theme contained a communitarian perspective. It highlighted that increased migration from climate refugees would become a problem for the Nordic countries (*Dimmaletting* 07.12.09). Therefore the article did not take a cosmopolitan sympathetic view concerning people who had had to flee their country due to climate change. Rather it emphasised the costs and problems this would present to the Nordic countries, such as the Faroe Islands. Additionally by failing to engage with who was responsible for consequences of climate change, such individuals were represented as a threat to the state.

Some Preliminary Conclusions

Overall it was clear that whilst a relatively high proportion of climate change coverage in both Faroese newspapers touched on the themes outlined earlier, the articles lacked depth and did not engage with the wider complexities which are crucial for an effective debate on climate change. The coverage of the negotiations was quite simplistic and articles often failed to provide the necessary information to allow for a rich understanding of the negotiations. This perhaps highlights the difficulty that small newspapers with limited resources have in covering such big and complex global events. They do not have the option of employing many special correspondents and this was reflected in the coverage. Resource limitations also seem apparent in the low number of articles which documented in detail the consequences of climate change in remote places as well as the number of short articles which had come from news agencies.

The difference between the left and the right-leaning press was also not very noticeable in the Faroese newspapers, and their ideological affiliations were not strongly reflected in the structure of commentary. The Faroese left-leaning press was certainly not more sympathetic to the views of the developing world. *Dimmalætting*, the right-leaning newspaper, tended to give more attention to the actual negotiations and engage more with global actors, often quite negatively.

Overall the Faroese articles often failed to engage deeply with the key issues of climate change. It can also be concluded that both *Dimmalætting* and *Sosialurin* presented a range of arguments, which could be considered somewhat unconventional or controversial. The articles could imply that the developing world was hungry for money, and often not explain to the reader the interests of these countries or their historical conditions. In some instances, G77 was represented as a somewhat meaningless entity that only followed China's lead. The failure to explore historical emissions or emissions per capita in most articles meant that the readers did not get an overview of the underlying principles of climate justice. The communitarian perspectives often came to the forefront when articles focused not only on the Faroe Islands, but rather on Denmark and the EU. This sheds some light upon how the media might act when their country does not have any clear interests at stake (The Faroe Islands could only participate as part of Denmark). This could

also be seen in the Faroese newspapers' limited focus on 'financing', which could have been considered somewhat irrelevant to the Faroese public. Both *Dimmaletting* and *Sosialurin* tended to identify with Denmark and the EU, whilst portraying China as the 'other'.

The way in which these newspapers covered the negotiations and climate change in the Faroe Islands raises some concerns about the public understanding of the issue. The Faroese readers received a relatively superficial account of what was happening at these global negotiations, and were not encouraged to think of climate change in terms of global justice. Rather the negotiations were portrayed as a competitive arena, where the western world had to make sure that it did not make too many concessions and give in to the demanding developing world. Little effort was made to explain the concerns and perspectives of the developing countries. The potential implications for the global public sphere could be damaging as Faroese readers were not encouraged to think of the world as one global community. Rather the negotiations were represented in terms of winners and losers and good and bad countries. The next section will focus on how Kringvarp Føroya, the public service broadcaster, reported climate change and the negotiations in their news coverage.

6.2. KVF's Coverage of COP15 and COP16

6.2.1. An Overview of Television Coverage

KVF did not have any reporters broadcasting live from the conference and this arguably impacted on the coverage. Over the two periods analysed there were 35 reports broadcast on the Faroese television (see Table 6.4). The vast majority 28 (80 percent) of these were broadcast during the COP15 period. However, what was most noteworthy about the Faroese television coverage was the proportion of items touching on one or other of the key themes, a whole 71 percent of reports. For example, all seven of the items broadcast during COP16 focused on one or more of the six issues. The reports focusing on the key

themes were marginally longer than reports on climate change in general. But the reports for COP16 were indistinguishable in length from COP15.

Overview of KVF's Coverage	COP15	COP16	Total
Total Number of reports	28	7	35
Average length of all reports	2 min 34 sec	3 min 1 sec	2 min 39 sec
Average length reports focusing on the key themes	2 min 41 sec	3 min 1 sec	2 min 47 sec
Number of reports focusing on the key themes	18 (64%)	7 (100%)	25 (71%)

Table 6.4 - Overview of coverage on KVF (FO)

When the quantity of coverage is considered overall, we can conclude that the Faroese public received substantially more information on COP15 than on COP16. A casual broad-brush appreciation of the contours of coverage suggests Faroese television did not engage at all with the COP16 negotiations – there was not even one single mention of the negotiations during the period. Rather, during the second period of analysis the news focused predominantly on efforts to invest in renewable energy, due to the Faroese government setting new carbon emissions targets. Nevertheless, the result is that during the second period of analysis - the COP16 negotiations - the Faroese viewers did not get a global outlook on climate change and its key challenges. This means that not only were Faroese television viewers not given the context behind the COP16 negotiations, they were not even made aware of their existence. In that sense, it was the press, rather than television that carried the load with respect to informing citizens about the issue.

6.2.2. Sources in Television Coverage

KVF gave the most space to the scientific community, which was quoted in six (21 percent) reports (see Table 6.5). This was followed by sources from the energy sector and the Faroese government, which were quoted in five (18 percent) reports each. The prominence of the former is most likely due to the broadcaster’s large focus on investment in renewable energy. The greater reliance on Faroese government sources is also in contrast

to the newspaper coverage, and might suggest that Faroese television is a bit more reliant on official sources than its press counterpart.

Source	Reports focusing on the key themes	Percentage of reports focusing on the Key Themes
Scientific Community	6	21%
Energy Sector	5	18%
FO Government/Delegation	5	18%
DK Government/Delegation	3	11%
FO Opposition	3	11%
UN Officials/Negotiators	3	11%
US Government/Delegation	3	11%
Public/Vox Pops	3	11%
Other ⁶⁹	2	7%
Media/News Agency	2	7%
Other Developed Countries	2	7%
Religious Groups	2	7%
Business Community	1	4%
Developing Countries	1	4%
NGOs/Activists	1	4%

Table 6.5 - Source distribution in KVF reports focusing on the key themes (FO)

Another very noteworthy element of the KVF's coverage was the almost complete marginalisation of developing countries and NGOs and activists. This is in stark contrast with the Faroese newspaper coverage, where developing countries were the second most quoted group. Furthermore, the BASIC group was never quoted in the Faroese television coverage. It is clear that space is at a premium in television news, and therefore, there is a limit to the range of voices that can be incorporated into often short reports compared to newspapers. However, a lack of plurality nevertheless, has negative implications for the overall public debate on climate change. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the NGO that was given a voice was a Swedish organisation called Etik og Energy (Ethics and Energy), which spoke on how the Swedish church could switch to more environmentally friendly ways of heating up their churches. Therefore, the NGOs focusing more specifically on climate change in the global context were completely left out of the debate. Various national government sources, including the Danish and US governments were relatively

⁶⁹ This includes actors such as former politicians and local councillor

prominent, each being quoted in 11 percent of reports. This is slightly more in line with those who argue that nationally-situated political or governmental elites tend to figure prominently in coverage (Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Galtung & Ruge 1965; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). However, alongside the scientists and energy sector representatives, the public was also given a voice in three reports (11 percent). This again suggests that political elites did not dominate the airwaves in quite the way these observers would predict, at least with respect to the key issues around climate change at COP15 and COP16. The existence of public voices can be seen as a strength in terms of the plurality of actors presented within the media, since such perspectives are necessary to inform citizens how policies impact upon fellow citizens (Habermas 1989).

The sources varied with regard to the themes they discussed. The scientific community spoke most often about the ‘consequences’ (4 reports), followed by ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (see Figure 6.13).

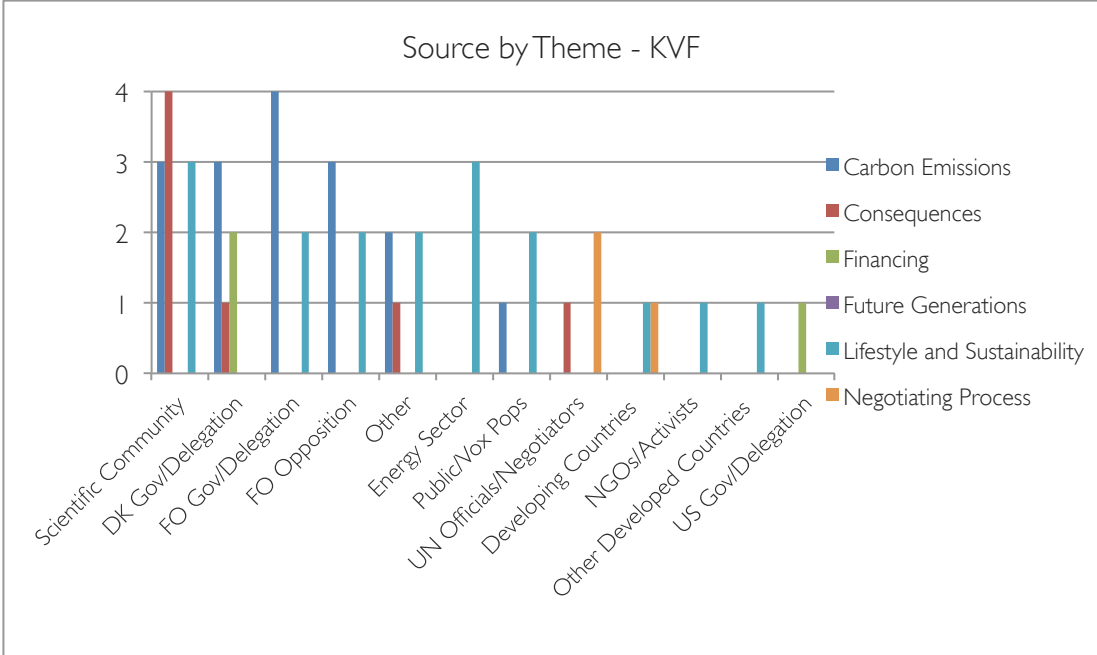


Figure 6.13 - Sources quoted by key theme on KVF (FO)

The Faroese government spoke most often about ‘carbon emissions’, followed by ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. They never mentioned ‘financing’. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the Faroese government was not expected to contribute significantly to the

funds given to developing countries and they did not play a key role in the negotiations. The Danish government on the other hand was quoted on 'financing' in two reports.

In general terms, the most striking difference from the press was the large emphasis of sources on the theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability'. Nearly all the sources cited on television touched on the theme on some occasion. 'Carbon emissions' was also heavily emphasised. 'Future generations' was completely overlooked by all sources, whilst the remaining three themes were underrepresented: 'consequences', 'financing' and the 'negotiating process' were all touched upon by three actors or less.

The different actors varied in terms of how much they emphasised cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives (see Figure 6.14). In comparison with the press (See Figure 6.10), communitarianism was more prominent on television. The two perspectives were distributed more evenly here. For example, the statements made by the energy sector, the Faroese opposition parties and NGOs and activists were solely associated with communitarian perspectives. The Faroese government's statements were also predominantly communitarian (5), whilst the scientific community presented cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in an equal number of reports. Meanwhile, the Danish government, other developed countries, developing countries and the US government were exclusively associated with cosmopolitan perspectives. This was also the case for the Faroese newspapers. The distribution of perspectives in television could be considered as having positive and negative implications. On the one hand, it could be argued that television had more balanced engagement with the issue overall than the newspapers. This is important in terms of plurality of the debate. On the other hand, a cosmopolitan perspective might be beneficial in encouraging citizens to be more supportive of efforts to address climate change, including a global agreement on climate change. In that sense, the higher levels of communitarianism could have potentially damaging repercussions.

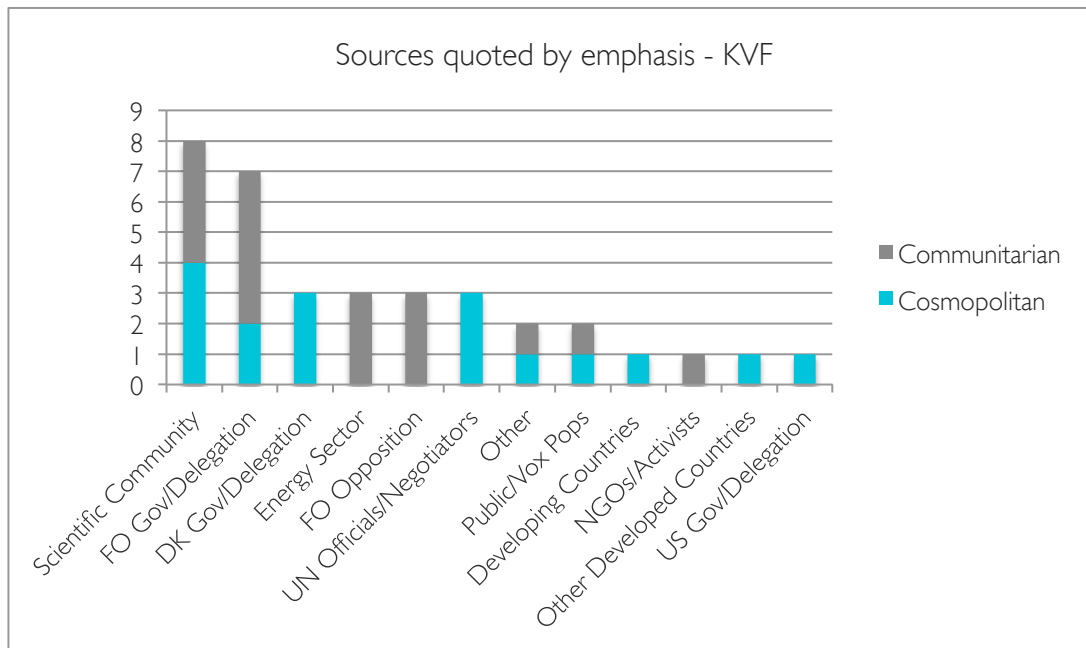


Figure 6.14 - Number of KVF reports quoting sources with cosmopolitan or communitarian emphasis (FO)

6.2.3. KVF's Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

Overall, there were 25 reports which focused on one or more of the key issues on KVF. In terms of the individual issues, two themes dominated the coverage: 'carbon emissions' and 'lifestyle and sustainability' (see Figure 6.15). 'Lifestyle and sustainability' was a relatively marginalised theme within the Faroese press coverage (17 percent of articles mentioned 'lifestyle and sustainability' issues). However, it is worth mentioning that there was no engagement with the overarching global issues of sustainability in the case of the Faroese television. Rather KVF engaged more with plans for investment in renewable energy. 'Consequences' was the third largest theme (7 reports), whilst 'financing' and 'negotiating process' received less attention with three and two reports respectively. The very limited focus on 'financing' is in parallel with the analysis of the Faroese newspaper coverage, where it was also a relatively small topic. The theme of 'future generations' was completely left out of the Faroese television coverage. The theme's absence in KVF's and *Dimmalætting's* coverage could have potentially negative implications for the public understanding of climate change, since Faroese media fail to give citizens anything approximating a rich and full understanding of the important issue of 'future generations'.

It can thereby be concluded that public service television did not fill the gap in coverage left by the commercial press.

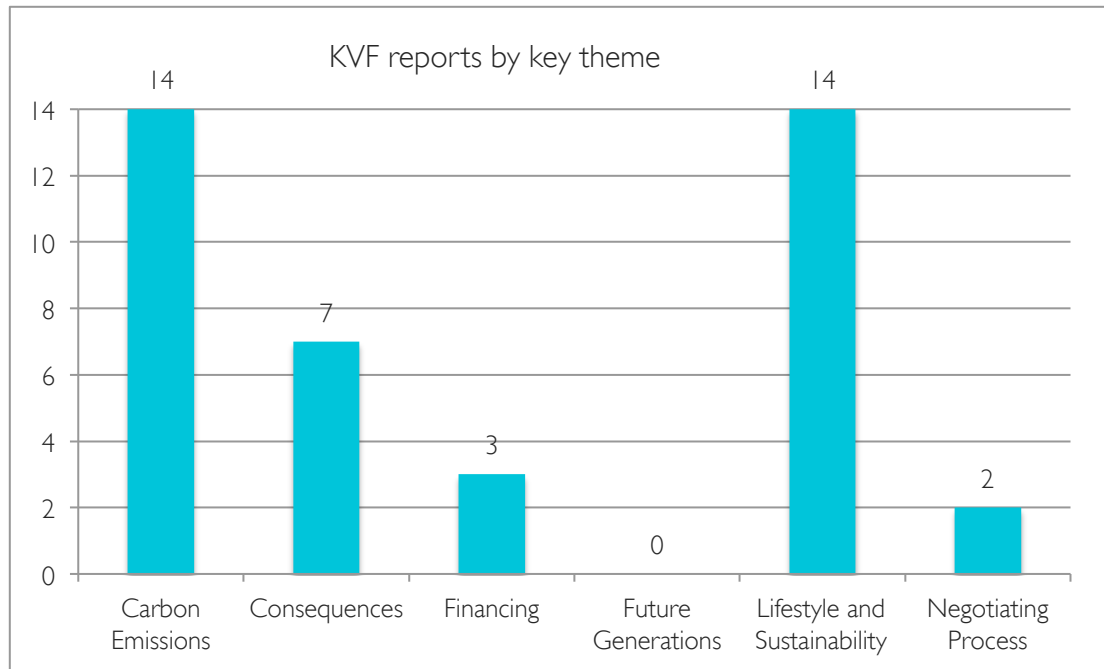


Figure 6.15 - Number of KVF reports focusing on the key themes (FO)

6.2.4. Values in Faroese Television Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

The association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives also varied substantially between the various themes. It is useful to examine the proportion of overall coverage focusing on the key themes to allow for comparisons both across television and press, as well as between countries. Table 6.6 demonstrates the overall percentage of reports focusing on the key topics, as well as the number of times these were associated with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives.

Key Theme	Cosmopolitan		Communitarian		Total
	No. Reports	% of topic	No. Reports	% of topic	No. Reports
Carbon Emissions	7	50%	9	64%	14
Consequences	7	100%	0	0%	7
Financing	3	100%	0	0%	3
Lifestyle and Sustainability	4	29%	10	71%	14
Future Generations	0	0%	0	0%	0
Negotiating Process	2	100%	0	0%	2

Table 6.6 - Overview of KVF reports focusing on the main issues by theme and perspective (FO)

The themes of ‘consequences’, ‘financing’ and ‘negotiation process’ were exclusively cosmopolitan. Of reports focusing on ‘carbon emissions’ 64 percent contained communitarian perspectives, whilst 50 percent contained cosmopolitan ones⁷⁰. ‘Lifestyle and sustainability’ was the most communitarian theme, with 71 percent of reports containing communitarian elements. Although the table above shows the number of reports containing cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives, it does not demonstrate the prominence, i.e. number of words, of either perspective within reports. Figure 6.16 demonstrates the proportion of words coded as cosmopolitan versus communitarian. When this is explored, it is clear that ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ and ‘carbon emissions’ become all the more communitarian. For example, 84 percent of words coded as ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ put forward communitarian perspectives. The reports focusing on the remaining themes contained exclusively cosmopolitan perspectives. As such, television appears overall to have been more communitarian in its engagement with the values, than its press counterpart, at least with respect the dominant themes of ‘lifestyles and sustainability’ and ‘carbon emissions’. This more ‘balanced’ engagement with the issues, in terms of the prominence of communitarian and cosmopolitan commentary, is difficult to explain. It might be partially attributable to the station’s perceived duty to keep its audience engaged with issues that were more proximate and local, as opposed to more encompassing, and global. Nevertheless, it is clear that Faroese television viewers received a very limited level of cosmopolitanism perspectives considering that by far the largest

⁷⁰ Please note, that these are not mutually exclusive. A report can contain both cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. For that reason, the percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

themes were predominantly communitarian. This means that they may have been encouraged to consider climate change as a global issue to a lesser degree than is perhaps appropriate.

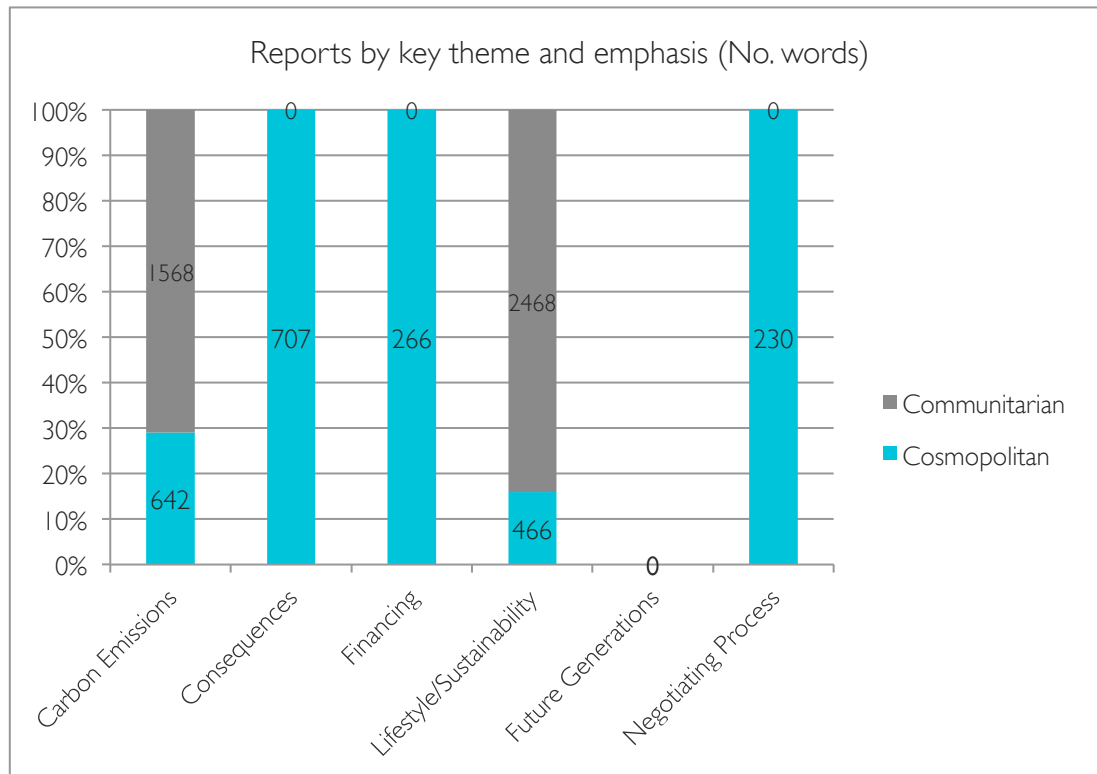


Figure 6.16 - Number of words coded by emphasis and theme on KVF (FO)

The preceding section has offered an overview of the prominence of the various themes and the place of cosmopolitan and communitarian arguments within them. The next section will explore in more detail the discourse used in relation to the six themes and how the cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives were embedded within the coverage.

Cosmopolitan Perspectives

Cosmopolitan perspectives were even more dominant in the television sample than press sample for most themes, although the largest two themes were predominantly communitarian. The themes of ‘consequences’ (7/7), ‘financing’ (3/3) and ‘negotiating process’ (2/2) were exclusively cosmopolitan in KVF’s reports. All of the reports on the ‘consequences’ were from the COP15 period. However, there was only one report mainly focusing on the ‘consequences’. This was about melting glaciers in Norway, and it did not

really engage in detail with what the consequences of such melting would be. The remaining reports only made very general references to the ‘consequences’ themes, for instance when mentioning the target of limiting temperature rises to 2 C° (KVF 18.12.09; KVF 19.12.09). ‘Consequences’ were discussed in more general terms, as, for example, when referring to the Danish Prime Minister saying in the opening speech to COP15 that: “Global warming knows no borders. It does not discriminate, it effects us all and we are here today because we are all committed to take action” (KVF 07.12.09). In that instance, it was mainly a call for action on climate change. A range of consequences of climate change were presented such as:

“Scientists say that if they fail to get an agreement, the world would have to deal with the consequences of rising temperatures, resulting in the extinction of certain species and plants, flooding in low lying cities and villages and more common weather phenomena such as droughts as well as diseases” (KVF 07.12.09).

In the immediate aftermath of COP15 KVF also discussed the results of the negotiations with a Bogi Hansen, a Faroese Professor of Oceanography. He expressed his disappointment with the results and then said:

“The earth’s temperature has increased somewhere between a half and one C° due to human activity. And we know that the temperature would increase approximately ½ C°, even if we could freeze today’s emissions. And emissions are increasing very fast. They are increasing faster than anyone had expected as a matter of fact, so we need drastic action, and we need it fast” (KVF 21.12.09).

Overall, what characterised the Faroese television coverage of this theme was often a lack of detailed engagement with the specific consequences that climate change would have for identifiable people around the world. KVF did not explain in detail what the consequences would be for such people. The coverage did not draw attention to distant strangers or highlight how the western world had been responsible for the consequences of climate change. Therefore, Faroese viewers would not have been prompted to consider climate change as an urgent issue, via engagement with these human interest aspects. This was also the case for the Faroese press coverage. This could partially be because of resource constraints. The Faroese television – like its press counterpart - could not afford sending television crews to remote places to document the consequences of climate change, or shed light upon the daily lives of people living there. However, the Faroese television could

perhaps have used material from other television stations, as they often do for other topics, in order to portray this fundamental aspect of climate change. So, in this sense, a trick was missed.

The cosmopolitan perspectives in relation to ‘financing’ (3/3) were all based around the COP15 climate negotiations. One of them focused on EU efforts to secure financing for developing countries, stating that: “The EU countries will pay developing countries 54 billion DKK a year in 2010, 2011 and 2012 in connection with global attempts to address climate change” (KVF 11.12.09). It then continued to state that: “EU countries are meeting in Brussels at the moment and Lars Løkke Rasmussen does not think that it was so difficult to get the EU countries to pledge to help developing countries financially” (KVF 11.12.09). What was noteworthy about the language of the report was that the EU was represented as charitable, in that they were ‘helping’ developing countries. The absence of arguments concerning historical responsibility, in this instance, made it sound as a gift for developing countries rather than compensation for the consequences of climate change they are suffering from.

This was also the case to some extent in the other two reports. Only one briefly mentioned US plans to raise funds for developing countries, stating that: “The US and other countries are working on a plan to raise 100 billion dollars or 500 million DKK a year for the poor countries from 2020. The requirement though, is that they reach an agreement in Copenhagen” (KVF 17.12.09). One report provided slightly more context in mentioning which countries would get the money and why when it stated:

“In addition to that, the countries that will be suffering the worst consequences of climate change get 150 billion DKK from 2010 to 2012. The money would first and foremost go to small islands nations and African countries, which are threatened by drought and flooding” (KVF 18.12.09).

This last story offered more detail about ‘financing’ (and more detail on ‘consequences’). Still, it is clear that overall little in-depth detail was provided for the very central topic of ‘financing’. This could be negative for public debate considering the theme’s centrality in terms of climate negotiations.

The third theme that was exclusively cosmopolitan was 'negotiating process'. The theme was only mentioned in two stories, both of which were from the COP15 negotiations. In a report from the latter stages of the COP15 negotiations, the focus was on the UN general secretary's call for collaboration on climate change. Ban Ki-Moon was quoted stating that:

"We must do much more, developed and developing countries. This is the time where they should exercise their leadership and this is a time to stop pointing finger and this is a time to start looking in the mirror and offering what they can do more, both the developed and developing countries" (KVF 15.12.09).

The other report focused more specifically on problems in the negotiations. However, neither of the reports engaged with international inequalities and KVF did not mention at all the developing countries' perspectives with regards to the negotiating process. As such, the debate concerning the marginalisation of developing countries was not presented at all to the Faroese viewers.

The theme of 'future generations' never featured within the coverage of KVF, whereas the remaining two themes, 'carbon emissions' and 'lifestyle and sustainability' were predominantly communitarian in their emphasis (although a few reports did contain cosmopolitan elements). 7/14 reports on 'carbon emissions' put forward cosmopolitan perspectives. These reports did not offer any deep engagement with the theme of 'carbon emissions', but rather only highlighted the need to cut them on a more general level. For example, while focusing on the start of the COP15 negotiations it was suggested that:

"The aim of the climate negotiations is to get an agreement between all the countries on reducing carbon emissions, but the big questions remains whether the countries will want to commit to binding reductions in carbon emissions" (KVF 07.12.09).

In a similar fashion, what the EU wanted to commit to during the COP15 negotiations was discussed:

"The EU countries' target is to reduce carbon emissions by at least 20 percent in 10 years, but a 30 percent reduction has also been mentioned. The EU countries will not be able to cut emissions that much on their own. This demands that the industrialised countries are as ambitious as we are, says Lars Løkke Rasmussen (KVF 11.12.09).

At no point was this perspective questioned or discussed in more detail during the report.

Finally, 4 out of 14 stories on 'lifestyle and sustainability' contained cosmopolitan perspectives. Although the theme was the joint largest theme on the Faroese television, the reports did not engage much with wider issues of sustainability or global inequality. Rather the focus was on issues such as condom production in the Amazon rainforest (as part of efforts to secure income for local communities and save the rainforest) (KVF 11.12.09) or on the very innovative new tidal energy plant being opened in Norway (KVF 26.11.10). Amidst these discussions American efforts to get away from fossil fuels were also highlighted (KVF 08.12.09).

Communitarian Perspectives

Only two themes contained communitarian perspectives. The more communitarian of the two was 'lifestyle and sustainability' (10/14). On the whole, the reports putting forward more communitarian perspectives were generally about development of new renewable energy technologies. Four of the reports, which discussed renewable energy, focused more on the influence it would have on energy prices (KVF 21.12.10; 30.12.10; 25.01.11; 17.12.10). The reporters did not stress the need for the development of such technologies within these reports. Rather it was presented as an economic inconvenience to the Faroese consumers – the investment in renewable energy was represented as the cause of the increases in energy prices:

“SEV wants more electricity from renewable energy sources. The percentage of renewable energy needs to increase, and as a result of this, the electricity prices need to increase first. SEV refers to Parliament in order to justify that the electricity bill of businesses will increase by 20 percent and households will pay 12.4 percent more for each Kilowatt-hour (KVF 30.12.10).

In this context two other issues were discussed - the research into the potential of tidal energy in the Faroe Islands as well as the proposal of the Faroese political party, *Sjálvstýrisflokkurin*, to give economic incentives to people wanting to invest in renewable energy for their households. The report also highlighted the potential of the Faroe Islands to use renewable energy, with the voice-over stating that: “The Faroe Islands are blessed with wind and water, waves and tides, so it should be easy enough to get energy from other means than oil” (KVF 09.11.09). Although 'lifestyle and sustainability' was one of the

larger themes on the Faroese television, the engagement with fundamental issues of consumerism and global sustainability was completely absent from the coverage. Rather the focus was on practical elements of renewable energy. This was also the case within the Faroese newspaper coverage, with the exception of only two articles.

Finally, 9 out of 14 reports on 'carbon emissions' contained communitarian perspectives. During the period of analysis here there was a lot of specific focus on the Faroese carbon emission reductions. These reports often included criticisms that the its target of cutting 20 percent by 2020 in relation to 2005 levels was not ambitious enough. This perspective was voiced by members of political parties, both in government and opposition, the scientific community and the director of a governmental agency (KVF 02.11.09; 03.11.09; 05.11.09). For example, in one report the voice-over stated that: "The proposal on Faroese climate policy is not ambitious enough, and if we were serious about tackling climate change, the reduction in carbon emissions should be doubled, says Bogi Hansen, Professor in Oceanography" (KVF 03.11.09). In the same report it was highlighted that: "...a reduction of 20 percent from 2005 to 2020 is not much more than what new and more environmentally friendly technology would be able to produce on its own (KVF 03.11.09). One of the reports also included the perspective of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stating that if these reductions were compared to what individual EU countries were doing, then the Faroe Islands would be ahead of the game (KVF 05.11.09). He then described the EU emissions trading scheme in a very critical light stating that:

"On the other hand, the EU countries have one of these strange quota systems, where they can buy and sell (that is buy permissions to pollute more), where they can plant various things to pollute more; a sort of trade pot, which gives permission to pollute more and include that in the numbers. We do not want that. We want to have a real reduction and in that area, we are in the top in relation to the EU countries, so it is really ambitious" (KVF 05.11.09).

Such criticisms of the emissions trading are somewhat rare to hear from mainstream politicians. These perhaps could be expected more from climate NGOs. In fact, a large group of NGOs just recently released a joint declaration highlighting the shortcomings of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme and calling for it to be scrapped (Global Justice Ecology Project 2013).

Interestingly, the perspective on the Faroese carbon emissions was completely different across the two periods analysed. While the reports mentioned thus far illustrated the position during the COP15 time period, the views expressed during the COP16 negotiations were very different. By that time the Faroese Energy Company, SEV, had decided to put electricity prices up in response to Faroese climate policy, which requested a 20 percent reduction in carbon emissions and that 75 percent of energy should come from renewable sources by 2020 (21.12.10). In a report, with the text on screen saying “political currents”, it clearly played on the renewable energy involving hydro, wave and tidal power, and stated that:

“Despite the Parliament’s unanimous decision to cut the Faroese carbon emissions by 20 percent by 2020, both the Social Democrat Party and the Unionist party question the policy now that SEV is increasing the electricity prices...” (KVF 30.12.10).

It is worth mentioning that both these political parties were part of the coalition government during COP15, as well as COP16, negotiations, so they would have been at the centre of policy-making. Furthermore, the parliament voted unanimously for the bill. At no point during the story did the reporter challenge the perspective of the MPs who criticised the targets or the rise in electricity prices. However, KVF also included the perspective of other political parties, which mentioned the necessity of the measures.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has explored the Faroese media coverage of climate change and its key challenges during the two climate negotiations, COP15 and COP16. Its central aims were, firstly, to gauge the quality of public debate around the key issues around climate change. Secondly, to explore how ethics underpin media coverage of the key issues. The final section of this chapter will discuss the findings by comparing the various media outlets analysed with a view to understand more about the respective outlets performance in relation to the topic.

In terms of quantity, and similar to research from elsewhere (Boykoff 2011a), the Faroese television gave substantially less attention to climate change during the COP16 than the COP15 period. In fact, the COP16 negotiations were not even mentioned within KVF’s

coverage. As the illustrative section highlighted, KVF mainly focused on local issues relating to climate change, especially during the COP16 period. What distinguished KVF's coverage compared to that of the newspapers was a very large focus on the theme of 'lifestyle and sustainability'. The development of renewable energy, which was the dominant part of this theme, was more often represented as an inconvenience to consumers rather than a necessary feature of Faroese climate policy. In fact, the Faroese television completely failed to engage with concepts such as historical responsibility for climate change and the Faroese role as a western nation in creating the problem and the country's duty to solve it. Furthermore, the 'consequences' theme received less attention on the Faroese television than in the press and the theme did not focus in depth on vulnerable individuals or countries. Hence, the Faroese television coverage was unlikely to promote sympathy for distant strangers as they failed to engage with them at all.

This lack of in-depth engagement with the above issues might all be partially related to the source distribution within the Faroese television coverage. The television coverage completely marginalised both NGOs and developing countries, both of which might have brought up the issue of historical responsibility, the injustice involved in climate change as well as possibly shed light upon the difficult consequences climate change was having for people across the world. In the press, 'consequences' was the topic brought up by developing countries the second most often, so it could be argued had they been a more prominent part of the KVF's coverage, then they could potentially have directed more attention to those issues. However, the NGOs cited in the press sample did not shed light upon the 'consequences' theme, so that would perhaps not have made a difference to the engagement with the topic. Overall, it can be concluded that the Faroese television news did not provide viewers with rich and detailed discussions on climate change, but rather touched vaguely and superficially on the various themes.

In terms of the overall media picture in the Faroe Islands, it was clear from the preceding assessment that both the press and television gave substantially more attention to COP15 than COP16. This confirms the results of others in relation to the quantity of coverage (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011), but in a whole new domain, the ethical dimension, and in a completely unexplored country. Several factors might explain this. Arguably COP15 was

much more newsworthy both in terms of the expectations leading up to it, the proximity of the event to the country, as well as the large presence of powerful political figures (Galtung & Ruge 1965). Furthermore, economic factors might have played a role in determining the very low number of items on COP16: Mexico is geographically far away, and Faroese media would not have been able to send their correspondents there. Nevertheless, the result is that the COP16 was seriously underreported, meaning that the public would have been unlikely to have been given sufficient information to develop a meaningful debate around the associated issues. This has negative repercussions for the overall assessment of the state of media coverage of climate change in the Faroe Islands.

Looking beyond the issue of quantity, any deep and meaningful engagement with the ethical dimensions of climate change was difficult to identify, either in press or, perhaps even more so, on television. Furthermore, the perspectives of developing countries were completely absent from the Faroese television coverage, whilst they were often misrepresented in the Faroese press. The result has negative implications for the breadth of coverage, where Faroese media consumers received no or sometimes an inaccurate picture of the claims of developing countries. In fact, it can be concluded that by reading Faroese newspapers and watching Faroese television news, the average citizens would be unlikely to be well-informed about climate change and its ethical dimensions. In addition to that, in some instances, both Faroese newspapers had a fundamentally critical perspective on developing countries, overlooking and misrepresenting some fundamental issues of climate change.

So how did television and the press differ in their reporting of climate change? In terms of the themes emphasised, both newspapers gave the most attention to the themes of ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘consequences’. ‘Carbon emissions’ was also the largest theme on KVF, although ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ received an equal amount of attention. ‘Consequences’ was the third largest theme on television, whilst third in line in the press was ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. As such, there were some strong similarities between the respective outlets, with the three themes above being in the top three across all outlets. All outlets also marginalised the theme of ‘future generations’ in particular. KVF and *Dimmalætting* never engaged with the theme, whilst it was the smallest one in *Sosialurin*.

This similarity in the distribution of key themes could suggest that some themes are inherently more interesting and newsworthy than others. Additionally, the themes of 'future generations', and 'negotiating process' are perhaps somewhat incompatible with news since they are perhaps too complex to engage with in a brief manner, especially on television. It could also be that some themes, such as 'carbon emissions', are just more central to the negotiations. However, the lack of focus on 'financing,' a theme very much at the core of the climate negotiations, possibly implies that this theme perhaps lacked news value in the Faroese context since the Faroese would not be expected to contribute towards financing efforts within the UNFCCC context. Even so, the lack of focus on some themes, such as 'future generations', 'negotiating process', and 'financing' to some extent, overall has negative repercussions for the plurality of public debate. The findings here demonstrate that the Faroese public received a very limited picture of the central issues around climate change. Therefore this coverage would have been unlikely to contribute towards a comprehensive public debate on climate change.

Television's role within public debate is of crucial importance, considering that it is the public's main and most trusted source of political information. Public service television has a duty to inform and educate citizens, equipping them to take part in societal discussions. As publicly funded, the public service broadcasters differ from the press, which are mainly driven by commercial concerns. As such, it has been argued that public service broadcasters should fill the gaps in coverage left by an inadequate press, whose central concern is to cover stories that sell (Gavin 2007b). From that perspective, the findings are a cause for concern. KVF did not fill this gap in any shape or form. It failed to engage with the global dimension of climate change, especially in the COP16 period, where it did not have a single mention of the negotiations themselves.

The chapter also sought to explore the source distribution across the outlets since this has implications for the overall plurality of debate and the range of perspectives presented to citizens. The scientific community was the largest source across the outlets. However, for the press, developing countries were the second largest source, followed by NGOs and news agencies and then the Danish and US governments. Although the energy sector was the second largest actor within KVF's coverage, governmental actors in general were more

prominent within television with the Faroese, Danish and US governments in the top of the most cited sources. NGOs and developing countries, as mentioned earlier, were almost completely marginalised within the television coverage. Overall, there were a wider range of actors cited in the press coverage than in television. Naturally, television has less space to include a wide range of sources and perspectives. Nevertheless, the range of sources quoted considering the global nature of climate change was very limited. In all cases, the narrow range of sources in Faroese television could have negative implications for the plurality of public debate. Television viewers received a very slim range of perspectives on the issue. In fact, the source distribution in KVF is slightly more in line with those who argue that national or governmental elites tend to dominate or figure prominently in coverage. Despite that, the dominance of the scientific community and energy sector suggests that the national governmental actors were not as prominent as one might have expected from the literature (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). So in that sense, this literature might need revisiting in the light of our results.

The chapter also explored how the various outlets engaged with the values of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. Overall the press was much more cosmopolitan than television, with the left-leaning *Sosialurinn* being the most cosmopolitan outlet overall. The chapter also sought to examine whether some themes lent themselves easier to cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. In that respect, some clear patterns emerged. All the items on 'consequences' and 'financing' contained cosmopolitan perspectives across all the outlets. In addition, 'future generations' was exclusively cosmopolitan, but only featured in *Sosialurinn's* coverage. 'Negotiating process' was also exclusively cosmopolitan in *Sosialurinn* and KVF, but predominantly communitarian in *Dimmalætting*, so in that sense, the outlets differed. In KVF's coverage, communitarian perspectives dominated in relation to their largest themes, 'carbon emissions' and 'lifestyle and sustainability'. These (especially 'lifestyle and sustainability') were also amongst the themes with the highest prominence of communitarian perspectives in press coverage, although cosmopolitan perspectives still had more preponderance. The above therefore suggests that some themes (e.g. 'consequences' and 'financing') lend themselves easier to

cosmopolitan perspectives, whilst others (e.g. 'lifestyle and sustainability' and 'carbon emissions') are more discussed in the local context.

The sources quoted also differed in their engagement with the two values. The actors quoted in the press were all predominantly associated with cosmopolitan perspectives, with the exception of the energy sector, which was exclusively communitarian. Several actors cited in the television also only emphasised communitarian values. These included the energy sector and NGOs and activists. The Faroese government had a predominance of communitarian perspectives as well. But UN officials, the Danish government (and developing countries, developed countries and US government which were amongst the smaller sources) put forward exclusively cosmopolitan perspectives. The scientific community presented the two perspectives in an equal number of reports in television. Considering the source distribution and the presence of cosmopolitan and communitarian values with the media outlets, it can be concluded that Faroese television viewers in particular would not receive a very global outlook on climate change and its ethical dimensions.

Research from the British context has suggested that a newspapers' ideological affiliation is influential in shaping not only the quantity given to the issue of climate change but also how the papers engage with it (Carvalho 2005, 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). The difference between left and right-leaning newspapers was not so clear in the Faroese context. *Sosialurin*, the left-leaning newspaper had more coverage overall, but *Dimmalætting* had higher proportion on the key themes for COP15. The differences between the papers were only small and the difference in overall quantity was minimal for the COP16 period. In addition, the two papers showed a relatively similar profile in terms of the themes they focused on. (The main differences was that *Dimmalætting* never focused on 'future generations' and dedicated a higher proportion of articles to the theme of 'negotiating process' than *Sosialurin*). The right-leaning *Dimmalætting* gave more attention to the negotiations in general and engaged more with the global actors as seen in the illustrative section. *Sosialurin*, however, was the more cosmopolitan newspaper. The findings of this chapter suggest that ideology does not seem to play a consistent or particularly strong role in shaping coverage of the key climate change

issues in the Faroese context. This might indicate that the significance of ideology in shaping coverage is particular to specific countries, such as the UK (Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). Still, all outlets, irrespective of ideological affiliation, had a fundamental lack of engagement with overarching issues of consumerism and sustainability. Although there was a large focus on renewable energy, this was often framed from an economic perspective as the previous illustrative section demonstrated. Therefore, like research has suggested in the UK context, coverage in the Faroe Islands did not challenge the fundamental notions of neo-liberalism and ever-increasing consumerism (Carvalho 2005).

In terms of the overall quality of coverage in the respective outlets, it is clear that there was substantial room for improvement with respect to their ability to play a role in keeping the public fully abreast of developments, and thereby helping stimulate informed debate. Whilst KVF gave citizens an overview of climate change, especially for COP15, it was not as detailed as the newspapers. However, at the same time, the information that was given was more precise than that presented in the newspapers. This might suggest that despite television's time limitations, it does manage to give a basic overview of the key issues involved in climate change (Hargreaves et al. 2003). Granted, this overview could (and should) have been more substantial, especially with regards to the COP16 coverage.

The limited coverage both in the press and television could possibly be due to the fact that smaller media find it more difficult to cover such large global issues because of lack of resources. The limited resources mean that newspapers and television are not able to employ special correspondents. In fact, Faroese journalists need to be able to produce material on a vast array of subjects, and as a result a basic lack of understanding was apparent in some of the material they provided. The Faroese media had quite a local emphasis in its coverage, focusing on cutting carbon emissions locally rather than giving so much weight to the global nature of climate change. This in itself is not such a bad thing, since it shows the importance of taking action at home. In addition, it could help make climate change more directly relevant to the public. Nevertheless, the overarching result of this more communitarian focus is that the Faroese citizens were not really encouraged to act as global citizens, or to think about their responsibilities or duties with respect to

helping vulnerable people across the world. Rather, the concerns of these vulnerable 'other' were not brought to the attention of the Faroese citizens, making it unlikely that they would think of climate change as a fundamentally cosmopolitan issue.

Considering the small nature of the country and the fact that they are not an independent party to the Climate Convention, one might say that it does not matter as much whether the public are supportive of an agreement on climate change. However, at the same time, it is important that countries around the world take the necessary steps to mitigate climate change by cutting emissions. Considering the global nature of the issue, it is important that citizens and countries around the world take action to allow the world to avoid the worst effects of climate change. So in that way, what every country does matters. The next chapter will compare and contrast the coverage in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands and discuss what this comparative approach might suggest about mediated climate change in general and its ethical dimensions in particular.

Chapter 7 - Mediated Climate Change in Denmark, United Kingdom and the Faroe Islands: A Comparison

Introduction

This thesis provides a powerful way of discussing and thinking about comparative coverage of international climate negotiations by highlighting the ethical dimension of the debate. Due to the nature of climate change, ethical considerations can be considered a fundamental part of a comprehensive debate on climate change. It could be argued that without an informed citizenry collaborative measures will be that much more difficult. This thesis has explored how and to what extent the mass media incorporate an ethical dimension into their coverage of international climate change negotiations, and how this differs across different national case studies. The previous three chapters focused on both television and press coverage in the United Kingdom, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. They developed an analysis of how ethical questions were present/absent in discussions of international climate change negotiations. The aim of this chapter is to bring together the findings from these three countries, allowing for a comparison between the individual media outlets and countries.

In doing so, this chapter addresses the larger question about the quality of public debates in climate change. Most analyses of the role of media in public debates point out certain functions⁷¹. Generally, it is acknowledged that the media must equip citizens to take part in the democratic process by informing them on the important issues of the day; provide a forum for discussion of diverse and conflicting ideas and give voice to public opinion (Curran 2005; Graber 2003; Louw 2010; McNair 2009). It must also act as a watchdog and hold governments accountable (Curran 2005; Graber 2003; Louw 2010). Due to these functions the quality of the coverage across the media has potential significant implications for the democratic process.

⁷¹ For a more thorough discussion on the role of the media within democracy, see Chapter 2.

The chapter offers a comparative analysis of the coverage across the various media outlets and countries. It explores which aspects of climate change are discussed and which are overlooked and how this differs across cases. It investigates, in a comparative context, the quantity of the coverage, the source distribution and the prevalence of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives across media outlets. It also evaluates how television and the press differ in covering climate change.

The chapter is organised into four main sections. The first examines and discusses issues around the quantity of coverage. The second section examines the distribution of different themes. The third explores which voices are most present in the coverage and their association with the various themes and cosmopolitan and communitarian values. The fourth section examines the relative prominence and nature of the cosmopolitan and communitarian values presented in the outlets across the three countries.

7.1. Comparing the Quantity of Coverage

This thesis has argued throughout that the first criteria for addressing the challenge of climate change is an acknowledgement of its existence. Substantial action will be more problematic in the absence of frequent, diverse and comprehensive coverage of the issue. In order to assess the overall quality of the public debate the prominence of the issue must be considered. This section considers the quantity of coverage and how it differs across media outlets and countries.

In terms of the quantity of newspaper articles the coverage in Denmark and UK was comparable for the COP15 period, with both countries having around 800 articles for COP15 (See Figure 7.1), whilst the coverage in the Faroe Islands was significantly smaller with 202 articles. This is perhaps to be expected considering the fact that Faroese newspapers are published fewer times a week⁷², and only two newspapers were analysed⁷³. However, the substantial difference in articles in the Faroese newspapers cannot be

⁷² *Sosialurin* is only published three times a week and *Dimmaletting* five times.

⁷³ This is due to the fact that there is no tabloid newspaper in the Faroe Islands. For more detail see chapter 3.

explained by these factors alone. A potential explanation might be the lack of resources that these small Faroese newspapers have with circulation figures of only approximately 4450 - 5000 copies a day on average. The similarity between Denmark and the UK is somewhat unexpected, as it could be anticipated that the Danish newspapers would publish more articles during COP15 due to the fact that the conference was taking place in Copenhagen, and therefore the event had an intrinsic news value for the Danish media (Galtung & Ruge 1965). A comparative study on COP15 suggested that Danish newspapers had substantially more coverage on the Copenhagen conference than did the newspapers in the 17 other countries examined (Eide & Kunelius 2010). However, the research only included two newspapers from each country, one popular and one quality and it did not include any British newspapers. So, in the light of our survey, the conclusion of Eide and Kunelius (2010) needs to be re-evaluated.

The findings of the current research demonstrate that during the period of analysis the UK newspapers actually had somewhat more coverage on climate change than did their Danish counterparts (See Figure 7.1). The data also suggests that the location of COP15 did indeed have some influence on the Danish as well as on the Faroese coverage. For instance, the UK newspapers had almost double the amount of coverage for COP16 than did the Danish newspapers. Out of the entire sample, the proportion of articles on COP16 was much lower in the Faroe Islands (15 percent) and Denmark (19 percent) than in the UK (29 percent). As such, when the focus was no longer on events close at hand, the Danish and Faroese coverage was more likely to drop off than in the UK. So, whilst all countries had considerably more coverage on COP15, the reduction in the coverage of COP16 in Denmark and the Faroe Islands was substantially bigger than it was in the UK. This suggests that the British media in general cover climate change more consistently than do their Danish and Faroese counterparts. The significantly reduced interest in covering COP16 might suggest that the Danish newspapers, in particular *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*, might have covered COP15 because it was a major political event happening in their proximity rather than due to an inherent interest in climate change and the process of actual negotiations themselves. The large corpus of articles in Denmark focusing on the practicalities surrounding the event itself, including security efforts, catering, policing etc, but not on the actual negotiations also lends some support to this argument. In addition,

the reduction in coverage for COP16 was even more substantial for the Faroese newspapers than for the Danish. This suggests that they were also influenced by the proximity of the event, but the addition of more profound resource constraints may have compounded the problem.

'Indexing theory' (Bennett 1990) might explain the UK newspapers' large focus on climate change especially during the COP15 period since Prime Minister Gordon Brown and Environment Secretary David Miliband took a very proactive stance on the climate issue. This may have made newspapers more inclined to cover the COP15 negotiations. However, indexing cannot account for the much larger British emphasis on climate change for COP16, since there was not as much focus on the issue within the government. And, in any event, as we saw, 'indexing' is only part of a picture in which non-elites and non-governmental sources figured very prominently. But irrespective of how we explain any difference in coverage across the countries examined, the findings suggest that, despite a substantial drop in coverage across all newspapers, British newspapers maintained more interest in covering the issue than did their Faroese and Danish counterparts. The implications for public understanding are that the British public was not as short-changed on coverage on COP16 as were the newspaper readers in the other two countries studied here.

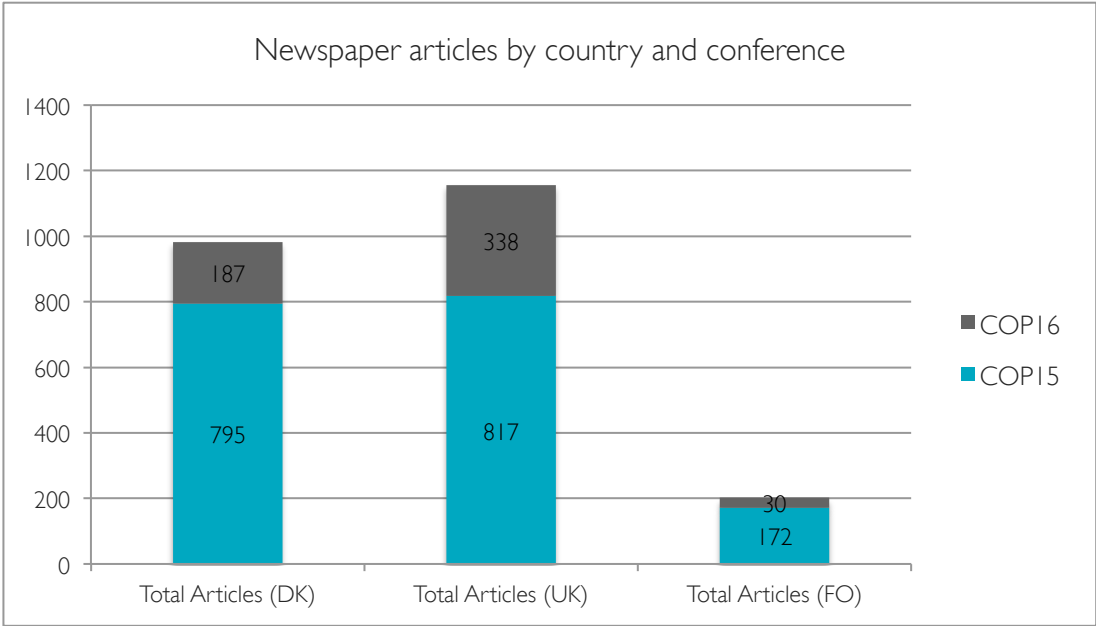


Figure 7.1 - Quantity of newspaper article by country and conference

In addition, the examination of the number of articles in the individual newspapers in all three countries clearly demonstrates that the left-leaning press gave considerably more attention to climate change and the negotiations than did the right-leaning counterparts (See Figure 7.2). This is consistent with research conducted elsewhere in the USA and UK (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011), but our results confirm this for two other under- or un-explored countries. As Figure 7.2 demonstrates the left-leaning *Guardian* had by far the most coverage on climate change, followed by the Danish left-leaning *Politiken*. The right-leaning press, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Daily Telegraph*, both had around 300 articles each for COP15, but for COP16, the *Daily Telegraph* had almost three times as many articles than did *Jyllands-Posten*. The large reduction in articles in *Jyllands-Posten* for COP16 also suggests that *Jyllands-Posten* was less inclined to cover climate change than their left-leaning counterparts *Politiken*, whose decreased focus was not as substantial. Therefore, ideological factors seem to be influential in conditioning the amount of coverage across all three countries, though this was much less pronounced with respect to the Faroe Island titles. Moreover, it is also apparent that the tabloid press both in Denmark and UK dedicated very little attention to climate change. This finding is also supported by the literature on mediated climate change in the UK (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009) and Danish context (Eide & Kunelius 2010), although the Danish research is limited to exploration of coverage in a three-week period around the COP15 negotiations. The COP15 conference signified a special time in Danish history, so the results are unlikely to be representative of the typical way Danish tabloids deal with climate change. Our results demonstrate an even more apparent lack of engagement with the issue for the COP16 period and over a longer period of analysis (6 months in total). The limited coverage in both tabloids, in the UK and Danish settings, suggests the lack of interest in the issue is not just a feature of Anglo-centric climate scepticism (Painter 2011) of right-leaning journalists/editors, but that it is more likely something to do with tabloids as a type of newspaper.

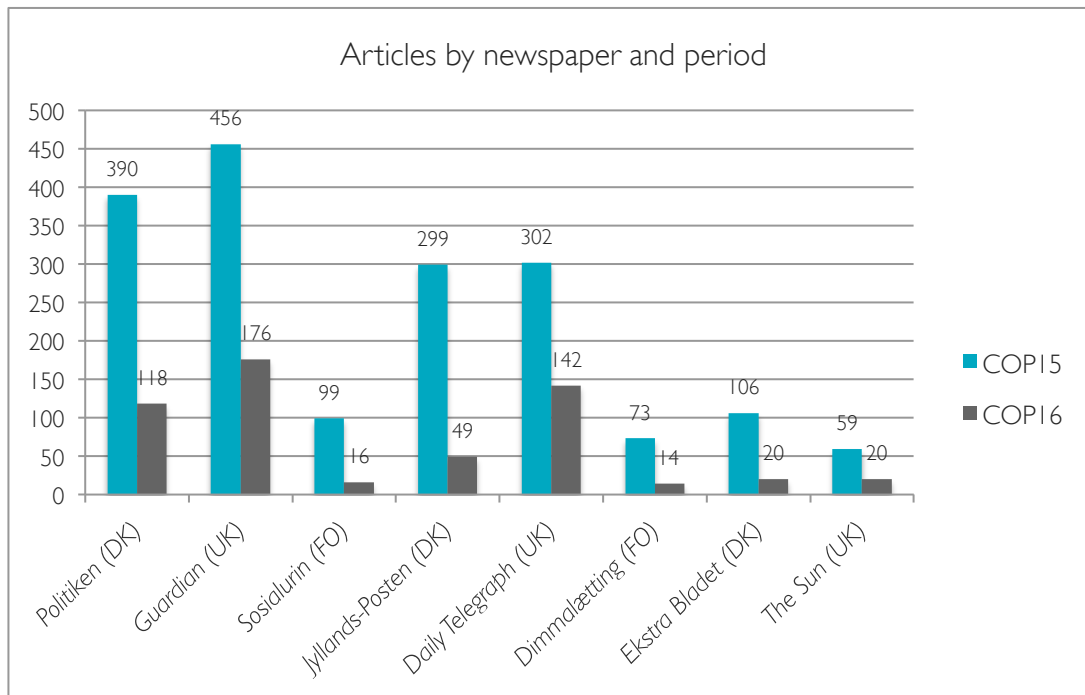


Figure 7.2 - Number of articles by all newspapers and period

The two periods of examination were of identical length, from November to January, three months each, with the conferences lasting for approximately two weeks. In addition to the differing amounts of articles for the two periods overall, there were also substantial differences within the periods themselves – with significantly more articles during the actual conferences. While not unexpected, this does demonstrate the way the newspapers build up their coverage to such important events and then what happens in the event’s aftermath.

As Figure 7.3 illustrates, the newspapers had a substantial amount of articles leading up to COP15, with the *Guardian* and *Politiken* having the most articles with over five and four articles a day respectively. During the actual conferences all newspapers published significantly more articles per day, with the *Guardian* averaging over 10 articles a day, whilst the *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten* around nine articles. After COP15, the *Guardian* and *Politiken* reduced their coverage to about three a day, whilst the *Daily Telegraph* published just over two articles a day and *Jyllands-Posten* less than 1.5. It is also evident that for COP16 the level of coverage before, during and after the conferences was much lower, with most articles being published during the actual events. The *Guardian* again had the most articles (3.5 a day), whilst *Politiken* and the *Daily Telegraph* both averaged about

2.5 articles a day. *Jyllands-Posten* published just over one article a day. The Faroese newspapers did not increase their level of coverage during the actual two-week COP16 conference, but had articles spread throughout the whole COP16 period. The body of literature on mediated climate change does suggest that coverage tends to reach its peaks in relation to both important political summits and statements (Boykoff 2008b; Boykoff & Boykoff 2007; Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho & Burgess 2005; Gavin 2009; Sampei & Aoyagi-Usui 2009; Shanahan & Good 2000; Wilkins 1993). The findings here are consistent with this research and the fact that COP15 was given much more attention by political elites than COP16 was reflected in the amount of coverage attributed to the event (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009, 2010). However, this impetus is not wholly uniform, and appears to be at least partially conditioned by resource constraints. The Faroe Island press coverage had more limited uptake before COP15 and more precipitate drop-off subsequently. This cannot be ascribed simply to its Nordic culture or political/geographical proximity to the negotiations or the ideology of the respective titles, as these were shared with their direct Danish newspaper counterparts. So inability to resource a fuller treatment is still a serious consideration.

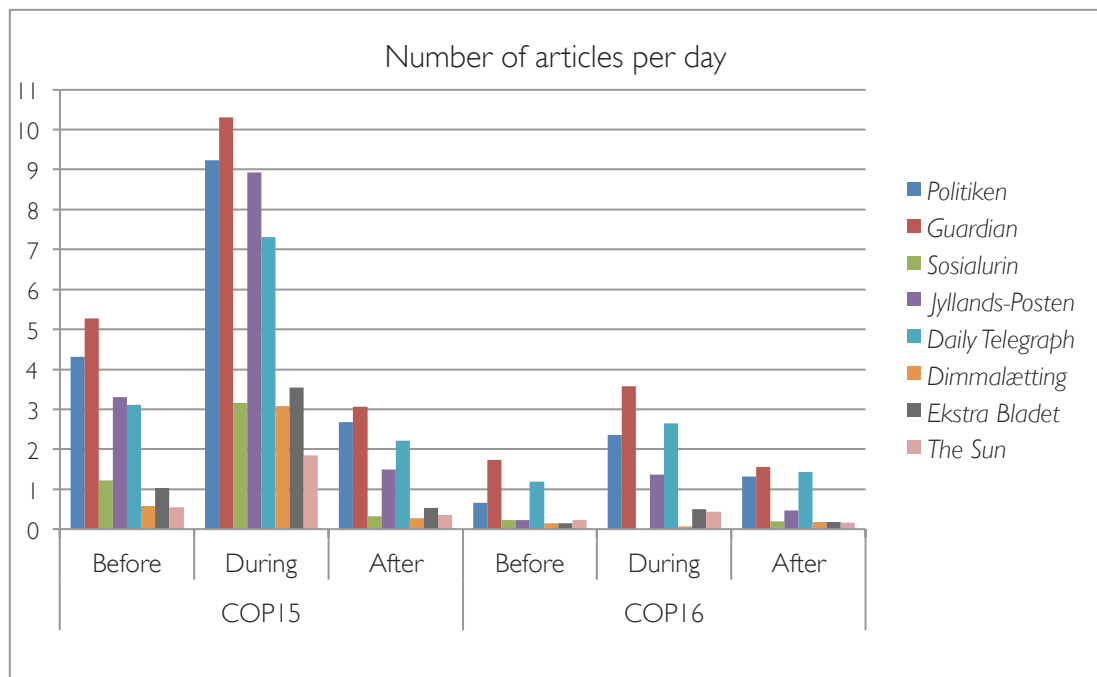


Figure 7.3 - Average number of articles a day by newspaper and period

The level of coverage for the tabloid newspapers was much lower throughout the periods. Apart from during the COP15 where *Ekstra Bladet* averaged over three articles a day and *The Sun* just under two, these tabloids had less than one article a day for all the other

periods, often averaging close to none. Therefore it can be concluded that regardless of geography, tabloid newspapers are generally less keen to cover climate change than broadsheets. Since newspapers are commercial entities, they must cover the issues that they think their readers will want to see (Hetherington 1985). The tabloids' lack of focus on climate change might suggest that they do not consider the issue to be of great interest to their readers. Regardless, the implications that follow are that serious debate on climate change is almost exclusive to the broadsheet-reading element of the population. Considering the high circulation of tabloid newspapers, it can be concluded that a large proportion of citizens would not be engaged in such deliberations, regardless of where they are geographically situated, or the political orientation of the titles they read.

In addition to the quantity, the length of the articles provides an important indication of the depth of the coverage of an issue within a newspaper. As Figure 7.4 demonstrates, the articles in the tabloid press were, on average, substantially shorter than those in the broadsheets. Additionally, *The Sun's* articles were also considerably shorter than those of *Ekstra Bladet*. For COP15 they were less than half the length of *Ekstra Bladet's* and for COP16 they were only two thirds of the length. This means that tabloid readers in the UK receive even less information on climate change than their Danish counterparts. The average word length of articles from the Faroe Islands was at a level between the broadsheet and the tabloid press, but articles for COP15 in the Faroese press were relatively short, with *Sosialurin's* articles averaging 408 words and *Dimmalætting's* - 458. This once more confirms that the Faroese newspapers, although broadsheets, generally share some characteristics with the tabloid press elsewhere. They not only have fewer articles on climate change than the broadsheets in the other two countries examined here, these are also substantially shorter. Figure 7.4 also demonstrates that the Danish newspapers had longer articles on average than did the British. In addition, *Politiken* had the longest articles for both periods, with their articles averaging 736 and 637 words respectively. For COP15, the *Daily Telegraph* had substantially shorter articles than did all the other broadsheets, although for COP16, their articles were slightly longer, although fewer in quantity, than those of the *Guardian*.

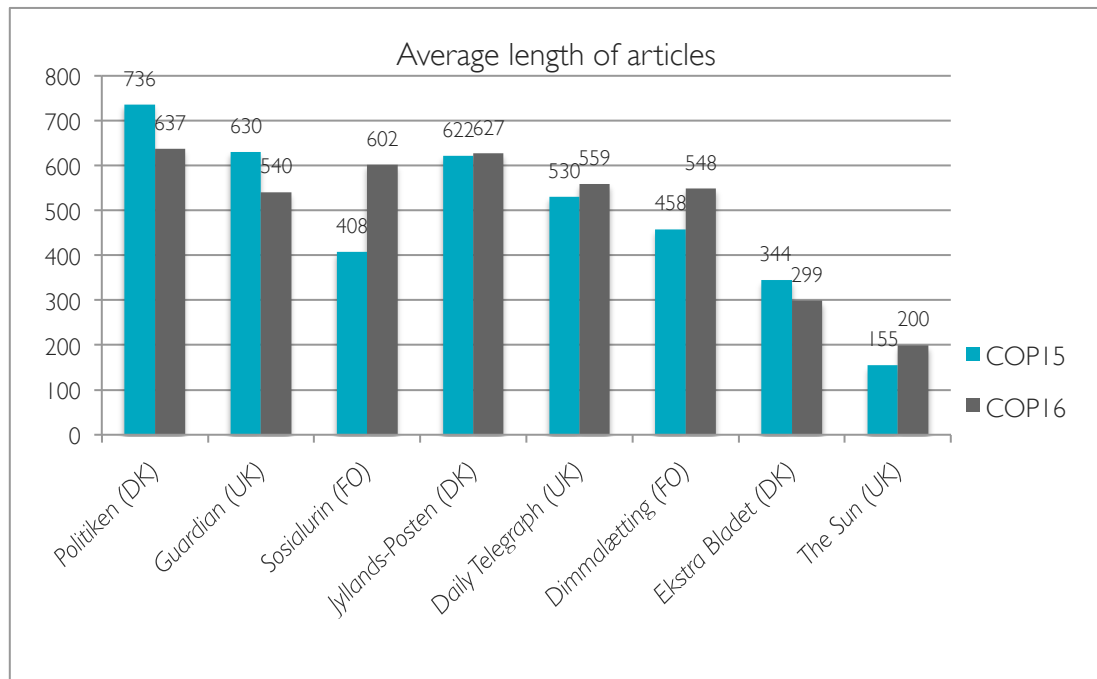


Figure 7.4 - Average word length of articles by all newspapers and period

This thesis set out to explore how coverage differed between the various titles and countries and the potential implications for public understanding. The preceding analysis could have serious repercussions for public knowledge, in particular, for the tabloid and Faroese newspaper readers who received the least amount of coverage, in terms of both the average length and number of articles. The findings suggest that ideology is also influential in shaping coverage, since left-leaning newspapers in all three countries gave more attention to the issue. As such, it is clear that there is a real difference between the various titles' engagement with climate change. Additionally, the amount of coverage decreased for COP16 in all newspapers and all countries. This might suggest that climate change somewhat slipped off the agenda in the countries analysed. In all cases, it is likely that the public debate on the COP16 negotiations would have been limited. However, these findings refer only to newspapers. The following section examines the attention broadcasters gave to the issue and whether television coverage made up for the press' lack of engagement with the COP16 negotiations.

In terms of the quantity of reports, COP15 emerges again as having received substantially more attention than COP16 in the public service broadcasting outlets in all three countries (See Figure 7.5).

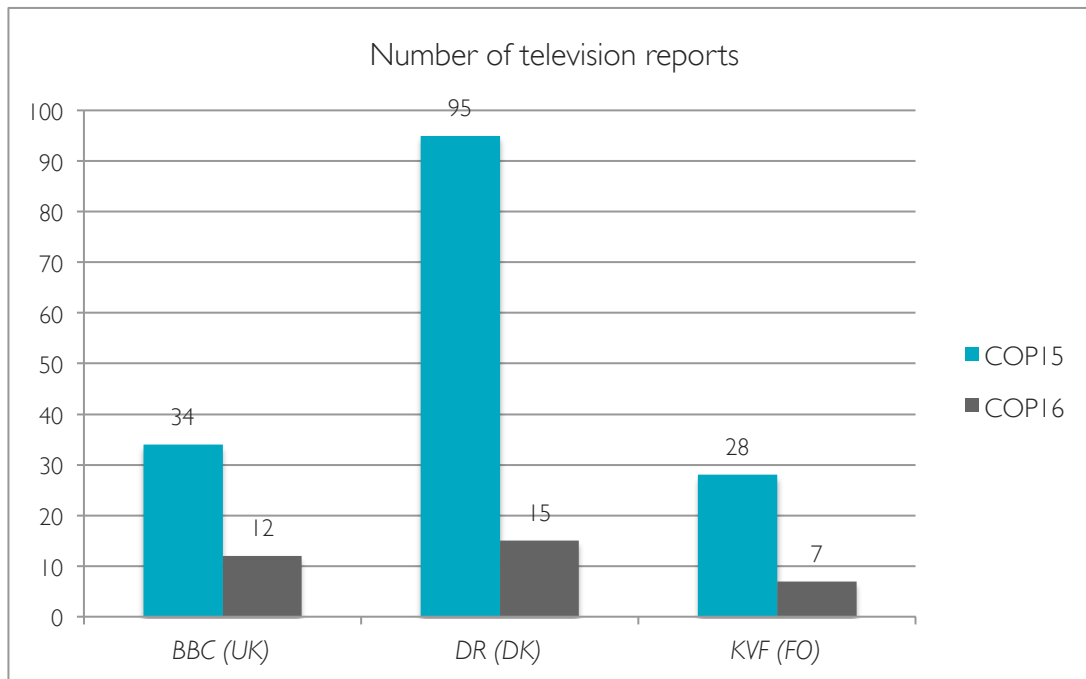


Figure 7.5 - Total number of television reports in all countries

The most noteworthy aspect here is the amount of attention DR afforded to the topic overall compared to the other stations, for the COP15 period. That the divergence should be for this period, and for this station, alone is significant and affords some leverage on how this might be explained, however tentatively. It is clear that the BBC and KVF were capable of producing comparable levels of reportage across both periods, even if the coverage of the latter was not always directly on climate change and COP negotiations. So, there are obviously some limits to the negative impact that resource constraints – much less pronounced for the former than the latter – can have on television coverage. And presumably the draw of elite persons and countries, and the magnitude and significance of the event, identified as important ‘news values’ (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Gans 1980; Harcup & O’Neill 2001; Hetherington 1985) would have been the same for all stations, driven as they all are to engage with and maintain the attention of audiences. This leaves us with the driver of the raw, physical proximity of the negotiations for DK, in the COP15 phase. This feature is one already noted by Peterson (1981: 146) as a factor in the prominence of international press stories, with, “...more attention paid to areas with close associations with the newspaper’s home country.” But, from our data, this is clearly of some relevance to how we understand television’s coverage of climate change.

Nevertheless, if we set aside the spike in DK's coverage of Copenhagen it is clear that the number of reports broadcast across all three countries is surprisingly similar. This is in contrast to the substantial differences in the levels of coverage in the press, both across titles and countries. In quantitative terms, this suggests that television – notwithstanding the one-off proximity of Copenhagen for DK – seems to be more consistent in its engagement with climate change, than the press.

7.2. An Overview of the Key Themes in Coverage

In order to assess the potential significance of this newspaper and television coverage in Britain, Denmark and the Faroe Islands it is necessary to consider the actual content of the news stories. As argued throughout, a healthy public debate needs to inform citizens of the complex nature of climate change, thus including a focus on its central challenges. Chapter 1 identified six themes which were:

- a. Carbon emissions (Issues relating to carbon emissions, such as reduction and disparities between countries)
- b. Consequences (Issues relating to the impact of climate change across the world)
- c. Financing (Issues relating to the compensation/financing between countries to help mitigate and adapt to climate change)
- d. Future generations (Issues relating to the impact of the current generation's environmental behaviour on future generations)
- e. Lifestyle and sustainability (Issues relating to sustainability, consumerism and lifestyle choices in general)
- f. Negotiating process (Issues relating to the power distribution and procedural fairness within the UN negotiating process itself)

When the attention devoted to these themes is examined in relation to the press, it is clear that all newspapers focused less on the key issues during the COP16 period as compared to the COP15 (See Figure 7.6). There could be several explanations for this. Previous chapters illustrated that often the themes were brought to the forefront when actors were cited on the issue. Only about half the amount of NGO representatives attended Cancun

compared to COP15⁷⁴. Such NGOs would often have been keen to stress issues relating to the key challenges of climate change. Additionally, the streets of Copenhagen were full of demonstrators also highlighting the ethical nature of climate change, thereby giving the media plenty of opportunities to cover the issue. Furthermore, there were several personalities at COP15 which were given a lot of attention. For instance, the Maldivian President, Mohammed Nasheed, really captured the attention of the media. He emphasised some of the main issues in his statements. Similarly, the G77 spokesman, Lumumba Di-Aping, spent a lot of time in the limelight, partially due to his often controversial and conflictual language. Additionally, the negotiating process itself was characterised by conflict and walkouts by developing countries. The developing countries, when given the opportunity to air their views, would often have drawn attention to the key challenges of climate change. Finally, the COP15 negotiations were attended by over 100 heads of state, whilst COP16 was mainly attended by Environment ministers (Diringer et al. 2009; Diringer et al. 2010; Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2009, 2010). This also means that opportunities for interesting and important quotes from elite sources would have been easier to come by at Copenhagen. These statements would often have encouraged journalists to consider the key themes identified.

The implication that follows is, however, that not only did readers receive much less information on climate change in the COP16 period, but a smaller proportion of this coverage also focused on the key themes. This is likely to have negative repercussions for the public's understanding of the issue across all the nations considered here. For COP15, *Dimmaletting* was the paper, which had the highest proportion of articles, mentioning the themes in 44 percent of articles, followed by the Danish broadsheets, *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten*. The *Guardian* also had a relatively high proportion of articles on the key issues, 37 and 31 percent for the two periods respectively. A relatively low proportion of articles in the remaining British newspapers, *Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*, focused on the main topics, especially for COP16, where these figures were only 11 and 10 percent respectively. The *Daily Telegraph's* proportion of articles focusing on key themes for COP15 was also substantially lower than that of the other broadsheets. Based on this

⁷⁴ There were 12,048 accredited participants from NGOs at COP15 (UNFCCC 2009a). At COP16, the equivalent figure was 6,277 (UNFCCC 2010a).

comparative data, it is possible to conclude that the tabloids had less emphasis on the key challenges of climate change. This was particularly so in *The Sun*, but also in the case of *Ekstra Bladet's* to a lesser extent. This means that not only did tabloids have fewer and shorter articles, but a smaller proportion of these articles contained a discussion of the central issues. In addition, it is clear that the proximity of *Ekstra Bladet* to the action at Copenhagen did not do much to compensate for its lack of interest in such the key challenges of climate change. The fact that both tabloids showed limited interest in covering the key issues around climate change, could suggest that the style of tabloid newspapers is potentially a barrier for a strong engagement with the key challenges of climate change.

Chapter 4, focusing on Britain, suggested that ideology appeared to have had an effect on how much attention newspapers gave to the key themes - the *Guardian* dedicated a much larger proportion of its coverage to the main themes than the *Daily Telegraph*. However, this particular conclusion seems to be more specific to the UK context. Although in the Danish case *Politiken* gave the most attention out of all the newspapers to the key issues, the differences between the left and the right-leaning papers were much less noticeable, with nearly no difference for COP16. Overall, there was virtually no difference between the Faroese papers either. For COP15, the right-leaning *Dimmalætting* (44 percent) had a higher proportion of articles focusing on the main themes than did *Sosialurin* (38 percent), whilst this was reversed for COP16. Therefore it must be stressed that whilst ideology seems to play quite a strong role in determining the quantity of coverage in all three countries, it is not always a crucial factor in shaping the content of this coverage. In fact, the impact of ideology on newspapers' proportion of articles focusing on key themes is very strong in the UK case, whilst it is weak in Denmark and non-existent in the Faroe Islands. This patterning is consistent with research suggesting that climate scepticism is predominantly an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon and much more prevalent in the right-leaning press (Painter 2011). Naturally, a sceptical newspaper is unlikely to have a large emphasis on the main challenges of climate change.

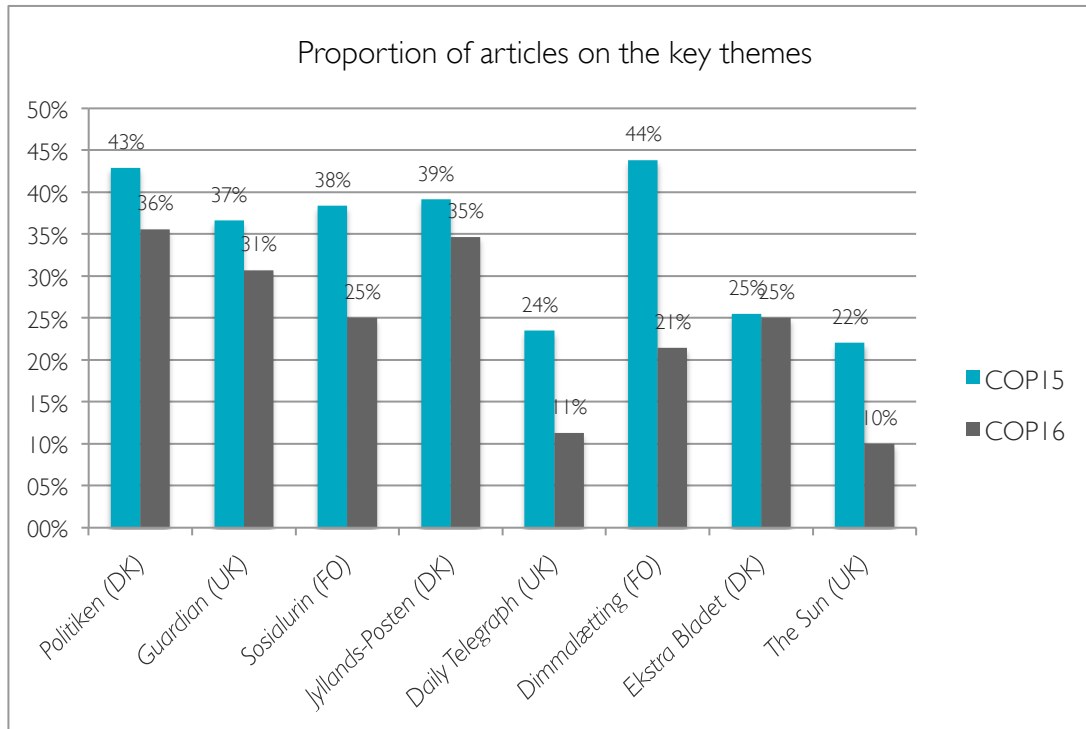


Figure 7.6 - Proportion of coverage focusing on one or more of the key themes by all newspapers and period

Having established the relative importance of ideology in shaping newspaper coverage of the main issues, this section now goes on to explore how much attention the broadcasters gave to the key themes. Overall, the proportion of television reports touching on one or other of the themes was much higher than in the newspapers in the UK and Faroe Islands cases (see Figure 7.7). But for DR, the percentage of reports was at a comparable level to Danish broadsheets. This is a useful platform for comparing the various titles and channels, since the number of items differs substantially.

Overall, the Faroese broadcaster, KVF, had the highest proportion of reports touching on the main themes, with each of the seven reports from the COP16 period discussing them in one way or another. In total, 62 percent of the BBC’s reports mentioned one of the themes during the COP15 period, whilst the figure for COP16 was 42 percent. The proportion of news items focusing on the central issues was lower in DR (38 percent for COP15 and 47 percent for COP16), although considering the overall number of reports on the Danish television, its viewers would still have received quite a substantial amount of reports on the ethical dimensions of climate change. So, whilst there was less coverage overall on television than in the press, the reports were more likely to touch upon one of

the main issues. This is somewhat unexpected, since television generally has less space than newspapers to explore issues in-depth. Although the engagement with the themes was necessarily briefer on television on many occasions, the broadcasters (despite their time limitations) may have helped viewers gain some appreciation of the key issues relating to climate change, especially if they were tabloid readers.

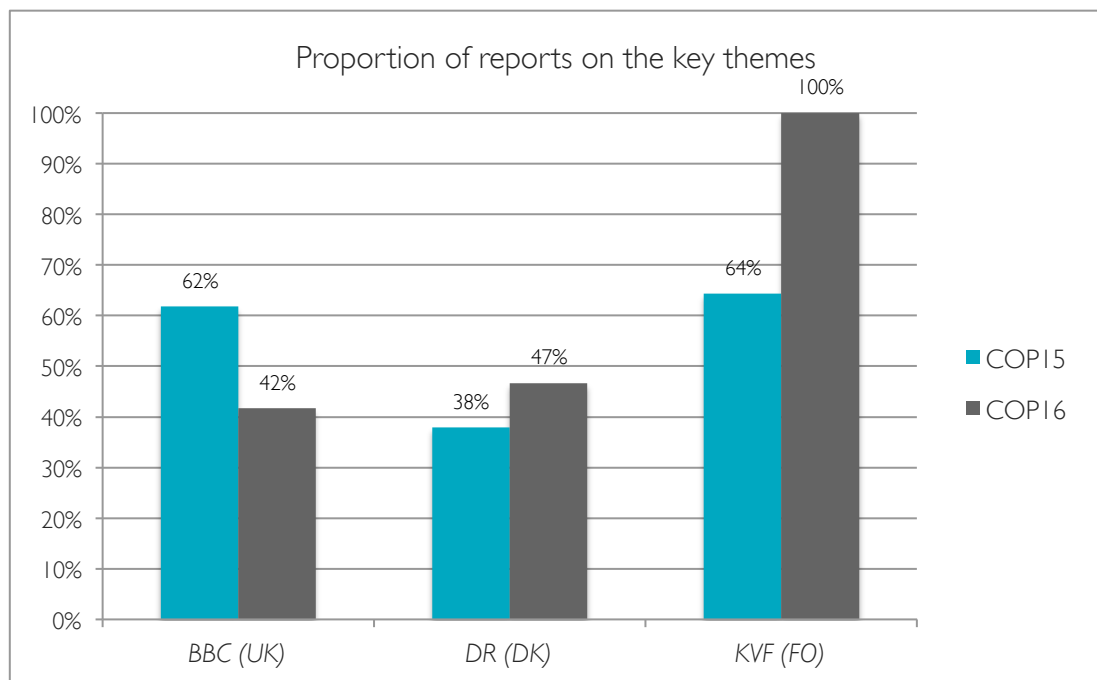


Figure 7.7 - Proportion of television reports focusing on one or more of the key themes

Any comprehensive discussion of the quality of mediated climate change must include an assessment not only of the quantity of the coverage but also the ability of the media to inform citizens and sustain a comprehensive debate on the issue. This thesis also aimed to establish which aspects of climate change were discussed and which were overlooked across the three countries. In addition, it examined how television and press differed in their engagement with the key issues around climate change.

In terms of the individual themes, there were some noteworthy similarities between the newspapers across the countries. Firstly, all newspapers focused most on 'carbon emissions', with 'consequences' and 'financing' being prominent as well (See Figure 7.8). However, the Faroese newspapers focused much less on 'financing' than did those in Denmark and UK. Another noteworthy fact is that 31 percent of articles in *Dimmalætting* focused on the

‘negotiating process’. As such, *Dimmalætting* was the paper which dedicated the highest proportion of coverage to the theme, followed by *Ekstra Bladet* (25 percent). This reflects a perspective evident in *Dimmalætting* (and identified in Chapter 6) which was, at times, very critical of developing countries, and tended to focus on the conflict involved in the negotiations (a feature also identified in the Danish right-leaning newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, but not the *Daily Telegraph*).

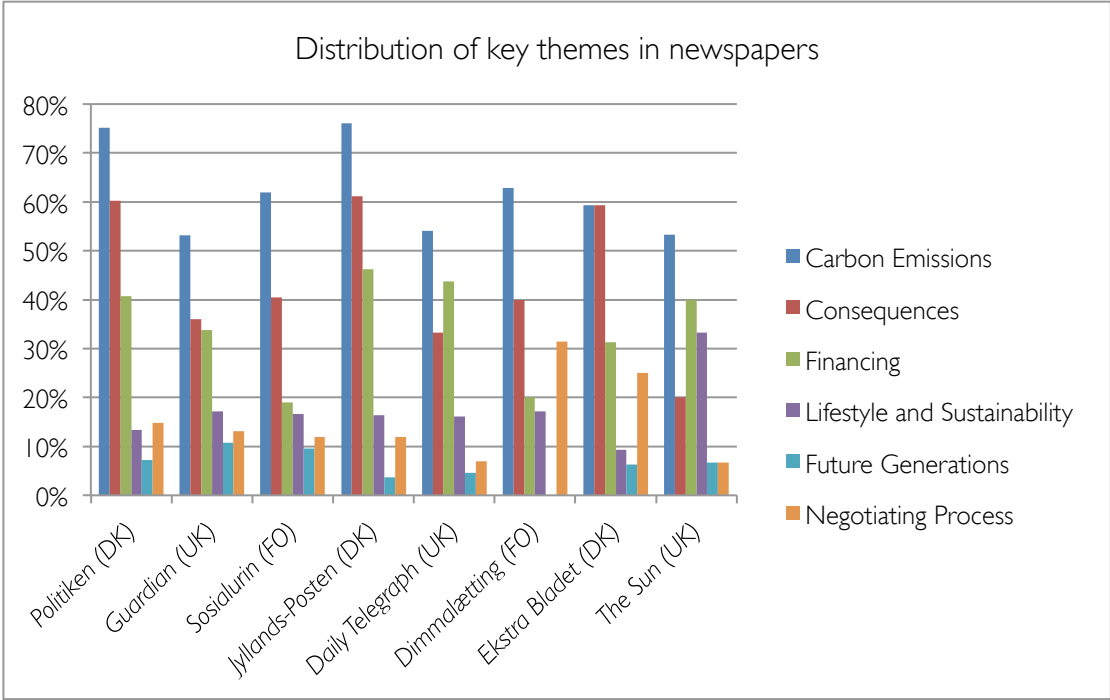


Figure 7.8 - Proportion of the respective themes of the total articles on the main issues by all newspapers

Overall the right-leaning newspapers, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Daily Telegraph*, and to a lesser extent *Dimmalætting* had a greater proportion of articles, which focused on ‘financing’, than did their left-leaning counterparts. This suggests that ideological factors might play some role in determining the focus of a newspaper. The three other topics, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’, ‘future generations’ and ‘negotiating process’, tended to be covered less in all the newspapers, although the ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ theme represented over 30 percent of the coverage in *The Sun*, whilst the ‘negotiating process’ was about 25 percent in *Ekstra Bladet*.

‘Future generations’ was consistently underemphasised across all the press titles. Figure 7.8 demonstrates that the lack of emphasis on ‘future generations’, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ and ‘negotiating process’ is evident across broadsheets and tabloids, political leanings and

countries. As such, the press' nearly uniform marginalisation of those themes cannot be attributed to those factors. So other factors are likely to be at work. It could be that those themes are all quite abstract and complex, and might not easily translate into a concise news story. Other explanations could include that they are just not as central to the negotiations or that the sources (as shall be seen in the following section) did not really broach those issues and therefore, journalists were not prompted to consider those particular challenges of climate change. It seems plausible that it could be a combination of the above.

Considering that there were such differences in the total number of articles, these percentages do not necessarily mean that a certain newspaper gives more attention (in absolute number of articles) to an issue than any other. Rather they give a larger proportion of their own coverage to an issue. Still, Figure 7.8 is a good way to assess the prominence of a specific theme compared to other key issues in that newspaper.⁷⁵ The overall distribution of themes with mainly the first three topics being prominent across all three countries (with 'future generations', 'negotiating process' and 'lifestyle and sustainability' largely overlooked) demonstrates that some themes were perceived as inherently more interesting and newsworthy than others. This has negative repercussions for a rich public understanding of climate change and results in an impoverished debate that lacks in diversity. Consequently, it can be concluded that deliberation on the key challenges of climate change is limited only to a few narrow issues.

The quantity of articles, their length and the proportion of articles focusing on one of the key challenges (which are the main focus of this work) must be placed in the context of circulation figures. The failure of *The Sun* to engage to any significant degree with the main issues around climate change is likely to have serious implications for public understanding considering its circulation figures. This then means that a great many readers receive very little of the coverage of climate change and its key challenges. It has to be noted that the articles in the tabloid press, especially *The Sun*, are much less in-depth than those of the other newspapers. Therefore *The Sun's* and to a lesser extent *Ekstra*

⁷⁵ For an overview of the total quantity of articles making reference to a certain theme in each country, see Table 4.2, Table 5.1 and Table 6.1.

Bladet's potential to contribute to the public debate on climate change was left largely unfulfilled. The findings have negative implications for the knowledge gap (Tichenor et al. 1970) which is in danger of increasing, as the distance between those who have a rich understanding of climate change and those who do not, is enlarged. This could be damaging for efforts to address climate change, bearing in mind that the challenge is to convince citizens that it must be addressed with some urgency.

The distribution of themes on the television news was in many ways similar to that in the newspapers, although there were some noteworthy differences as well. 'Carbon emissions' was the biggest theme on all the channels, just like it was in the newspapers (See Figure 7.9). 'Consequences' was the second largest theme on the BBC (46 percent) and DR (51 percent). Furthermore, like with the press coverage, the issue of 'future generations' was almost completely overlooked on the BBC and DR, whilst there was no reference to the theme at all on KVF. There was also fairly limited coverage of the 'negotiating process' across the board. This is relevant to the notion that broadcasters are in a position, and perhaps have a public service duty, to 'fill the gaps' left by a limited, narrowly focused or politically inspired coverage offered to citizens by the press (Gavin 2007b). This could be seen as part of their mission to inform and educate. But as the broadcasters in all three countries overlooked significant themes, this important role was under-performed in some respects. Public debate on the key challenges of climate change in both television and press was somewhat limited and only encompassed certain issues. What we have here is the makings of a fairly 'consonant' media environment (Noelle-Neumann & Mathes 1987), which straddles all three countries. The Faroe Islands represent only a partial exception, as they had less emphasis on 'financing' and more on 'lifestyle and sustainability'. Nevertheless, the implication of this is that citizens in all three countries only get a partial or narrow appreciation of the central issues around climate change from their media.

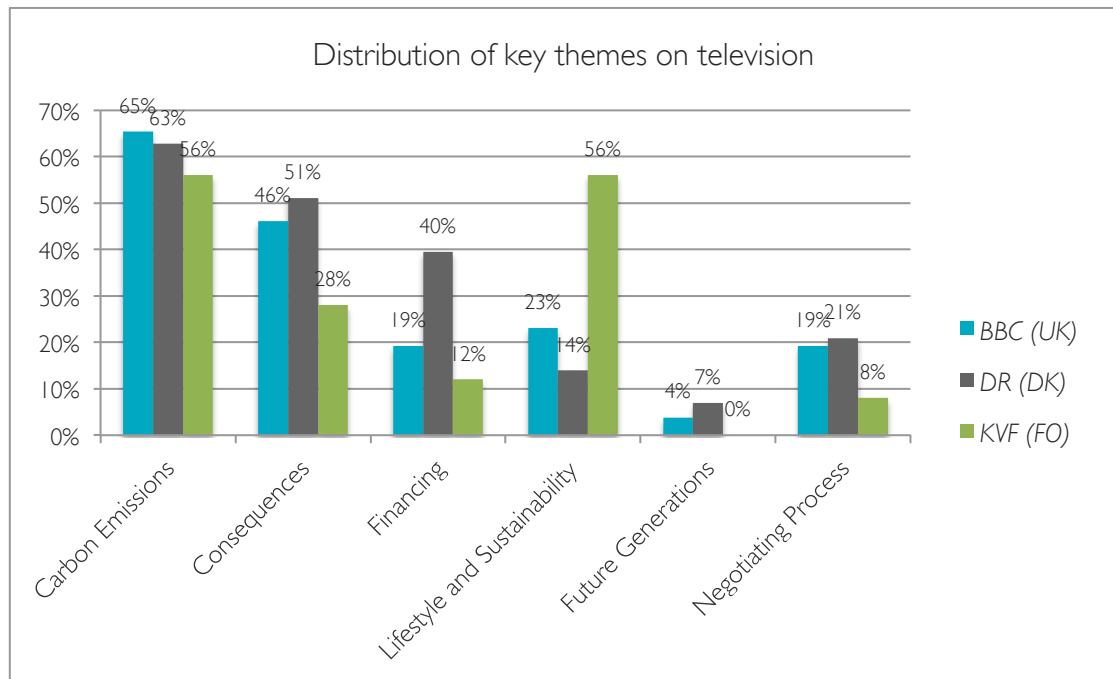


Figure 7.9 - Proportion of the respective themes of the total reports on the main issues by broadcaster

The most striking feature of Figure 7.9 is KVF’s very large focus on ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (56 percent) – a topic largely overlooked across all the other outlets. However, KVF’s emphasis on ‘financing’ (12 percent) was not as significant as in the newspapers. The Faroese government was not a formal part of the negotiations and would not be expected to contribute to financing. As a result of this, the media may not have considered the issue as a very relevant one for the Faroese public. This is a good example of how local factors can influence the nature of the coverage, but again suggests that television does not necessarily address some significant issues with the vigour they perhaps deserve.

7.3. Who Speaks on Climate Change?

The thesis aimed to establish which voices were given prominence in the discussions on the main issue around climate change. Comparing the sources quoted in the different outlets and countries is beneficial since it allows for an appreciation of the role of ideological factors, type of media and national context. It also helps to determine the ease of access a source has to the respective medium. An apparent pattern emerging from Figure 7.10 is a consistent tendency of the media in the three countries to quote their respective governments. There could be two potential explanations for this. The first, and most

obvious, one relates to news values. Here a paper's own government is close by and proximate. It is personalisable in the form of apex individuals. It also has political and economic significance, and is well-understood by journalists and public alike (and is, therefore, 'meaningful' and relevant) (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Gans 1980; Harcup & O'Neill 2001; Hetherington 1985; Peterson 1981). This might explain why newspapers consistently represented the views of their own governments. The second one is indexing theory, i.e. the idea that the media index their agenda to that of the nation's political elites (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Bennett et al. 2006; Bennett et al. 2008; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003). This might also explain the focus of newspapers on their national governments – since climate change was on the agenda of all governments, and they naturally became part of the media agenda. However, as noted in earlier chapters, the indexing thesis would not explain the even greater consistency in almost all newspapers accessing actors who were not part of their country's political or governmental elite. Nevertheless, the source distribution with respect to government sources demonstrates the role of ideology, since all three right-leaning newspapers quoted their own governments more than the left-leaning ones.

In addition, all newspapers regardless of country quoted the US government in reasonably equal proportions. News values might again explain this tendency across all the papers, since the US, as a political and economically significant actor, can be considered an elite nation. Additionally, the US is also of interest in the climate context as a major carbon emitter, and as a somewhat ambivalent party to the Convention considering their failure to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. In addition, it was an important actor in the power-play at both sets of negotiations. This last point is consistent with the suggestion by Althaus et al (1996) that the media will access sources that are not part of a nationally situated political elite, where they have a significant input into the policy process. And the same might be said for the way the press, across-the-board referenced EU representatives (though from a smaller base). Nevertheless, the thesis looks weaker in the light of the consistent and uniformly quite strong attention given to developing country representatives, who – perhaps unfortunately – did not have a profoundly significant say in COP outcomes. Nevertheless, as previous chapters suggested, their actions, statements and behaviours did often have intrinsic news value.

In terms of ideological affiliations, one might expect that left-leaning newspapers would give easier access to developing countries, for instance. However, this was only the case in the British newspapers. *Ekstra Bladet* gave the most space to developing countries, followed by *Jyllands-Posten* and the *Guardian*. *Politiken* and *Sosialurinn*, both left-leaning newspapers, and the tabloid *The Sun* gave less space to voices from developing countries. Therefore, once again, ideology was only influential in the British newspapers. The importance of ideology within the UK papers could perhaps partially be attributed to the different press systems in the respective countries⁷⁶. As discussed in Chapter 3, Britain is known to have a partisan press (Hallin & Mancini 2004), where most newspapers have an overt political agenda, which influences most of the news content (Oates 2008). The newspapers in Denmark and the Faroe Islands have moved towards more neutrality and are also characterised by more political pluralism (Hallin & Mancini 2004).

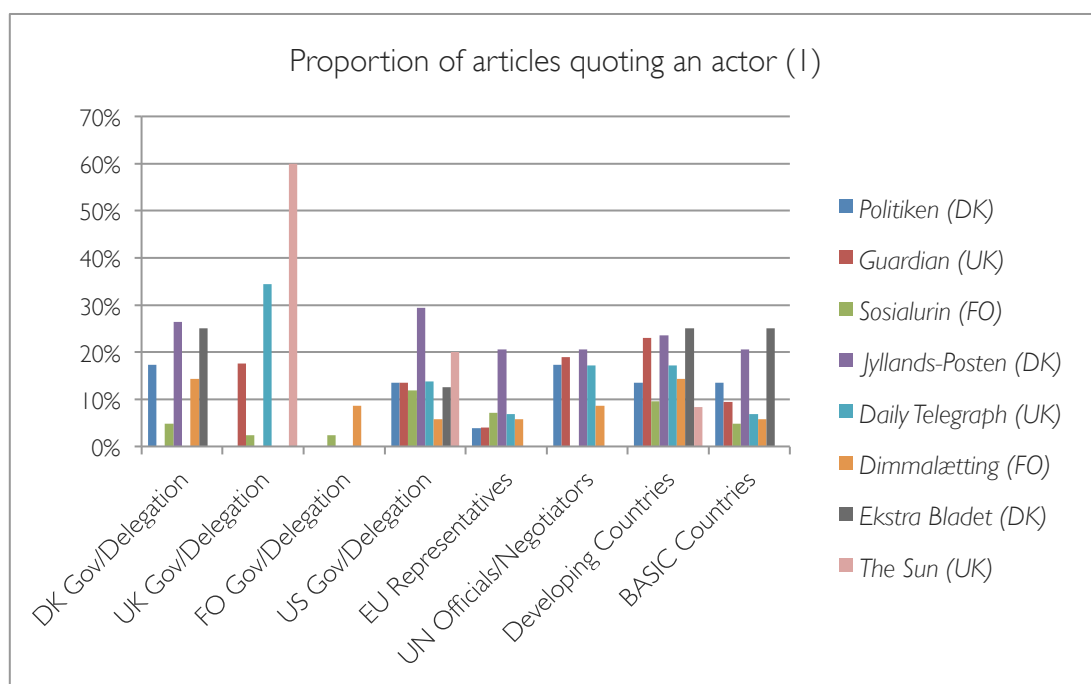


Figure 7.10 - Proportion of newspaper articles quoting an actor (1)

In Figure 7.11 there was only one place where ideological affiliation had some role in patterning source distribution. This was with respect to broadsheet attention to citizen's voices, although this was not entirely consistent, as *Sosialurinn's* copy had about the same proportion of references to citizens as its right-leaning counterparts. One could also have anticipated that the right-leaning papers would give more space to business sources.

⁷⁶ For a more detailed discussion on the media systems in the respective countries, see Chapter 3.

However, this was only the case in the UK context, where the *Daily Telegraph* quoted these most often, but in Denmark and Faroe Islands these sources were more prominent in the left-leaning press. This again highlights how ideology is a factor in refracting coverage, but it is a conditional one, and stronger in the UK than in Denmark and Faroe Islands.

In terms of country-specific differences, the Danish newspapers gave substantially more attention to think tanks and BASIC countries than did the papers in UK and the Faroe Islands. All in all, the Faroese press also gave much less attention to NGOs and activists as well as the public than the papers in the other countries. Overall, the scientific community was quoted frequently in all broadsheet titles. There were quite a few other actors which were exclusively quoted in the broadsheet papers. Neither tabloid quoted the scientific community, NGOs and activists, UN officials, EU representatives, the business community, the energy sector or public voices. These findings suggest a serious and consistent lack of diversity in terms of the actors being allowed to voice their perspectives within the tabloid press. This is certainly not ideal for public debate, which as a result is in danger of becoming narrow and shallow. As noted earlier, a healthy and broad-reaching public debate is considered crucial for the democratic process (Dahlgren 1995; Habermas 1996).

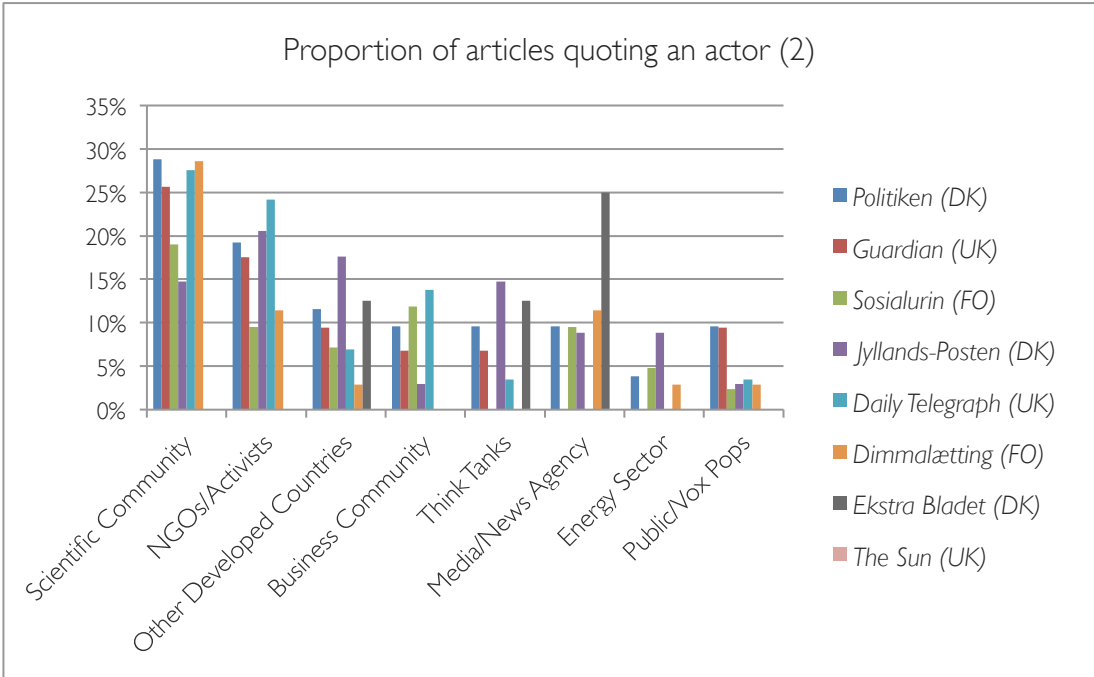


Figure 7.11 - Proportion of newspaper articles quoting an actor (2)

However, what we can say is that, for the broadsheets at least (and across-the-board), the sources that the indexing literature suggests should dominate (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Bennett et al. 2006; Bennett et al. 2008; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003), did not in fact do so. The broadsheet coverage in all countries had a significant proportion of their coverage engage with groups or individuals which did not come from their indigenous political or governmental elites (notably scientists, NGOs and, to a lesser extent, vox pop representatives). These titles were also not averse to including voices from non-elite countries, or nations that could claim little real input into negotiations (which would include ‘developing countries’ and most of the BASIC actors). This confirms that, for the coverage on the key challenges of climate change, our country-specific qualifications of the indexing literature, were not a set of one-offs, but represent general picture of a fuller and more plural environment than might have been anticipated.

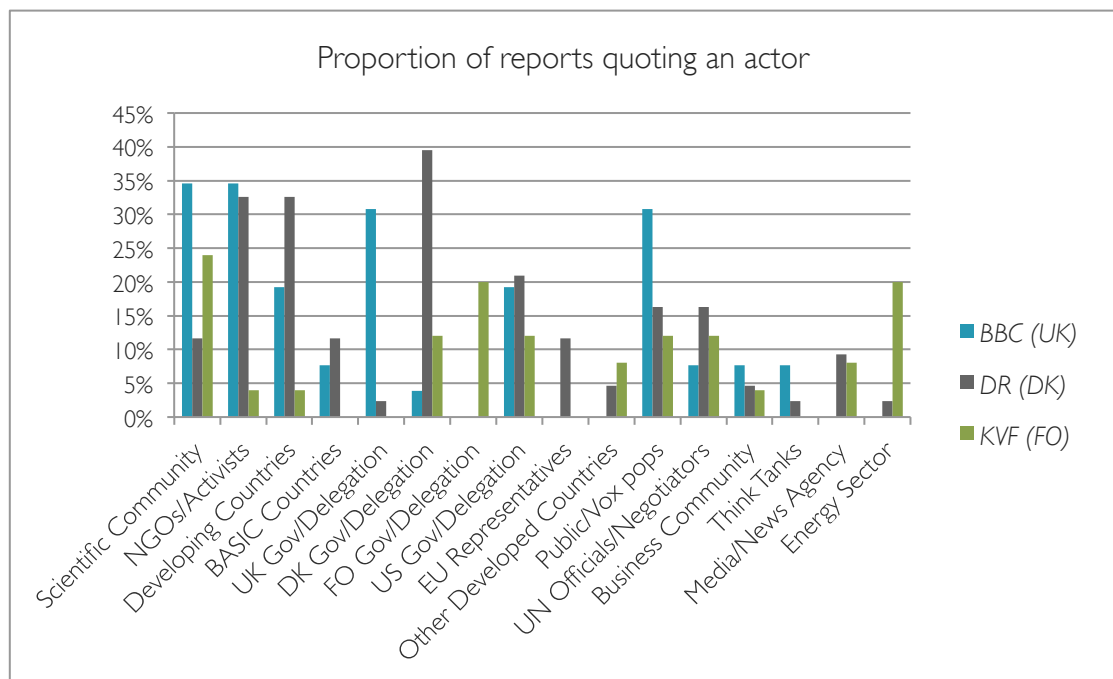


Figure 7.12 - Proportion of television reports focusing on the key themes quoting an actor

Turning to television (Figure 7.13), the picture is not as clear. The BBC gave a lot of attention to the views of the scientific community (35 percent), as well as NGOs and activists. But the former community was one of the smaller sources in DR (at only 12 percent), whilst the corresponding figure for KVF was in between, at 24 percent. While

there was virtually no difference between the proportion of reports quoting NGOs and activists in Denmark and UK, they were almost completely marginalised within KVF's coverage. In addition, with respect to 'developing country' sources, the BBC and DR gave these significant prominence, while they were virtually ignored by KVF. And finally, all three channels gave their indigenous governments fairly prominent attention.

The only sphere where there was uniform attention to what might be considered non-elite voices, was in respect to 'vox pop'. But on the other hand, all stations gave prominence to the sort of non-indigenous sources that Althaus et al (1996) considered likely to figure in coverage, i.e. those elite sources making a significant contribution to policy development – in this case US government representatives, and those from the EU. So, with respect to television, there was more significant indexing than we see in the broadsheet press, and less pluralism in the range of sources deployed. This is difficult to explain, and any conclusions need to be tentative. It may be a function of the limited space broadcasters have to develop their stories, and where sources with the most commanding news value are therefore given precedence. And it is also notable that KVF often had the narrowest range of sources. This perhaps reflected the sort of resource constraints it faced, which the other stations will not have felt as keenly.

Another conclusion emerging from the above assessment is that NGOs and activists as well as the public were often marginalised within the Faroese media. This has negative repercussions for the ability of the Faroese media to make as broad a contribution to public debate as one might hope. The outlets did not fulfil their potential to act as a platform for debate between citizens and governments since civil society was weakly represented within this coverage. This, in turn, could result in an impoverished debate which lacks in diversity.

7.3.1. Association with the Key Themes

The thesis set out to explore whether particular actors were more connected to certain themes and cosmopolitan or communitarian arguments. The research carried out demonstrates that there were some strong similarities across newspapers in the three countries in terms of the issues that were emphasised by actors (see Figure 7.13 and Figure

7.14). The themes of ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’, and to a lesser extent ‘financing’ dominated across the board, whilst the latter three themes of ‘future generations’, ‘negotiating process’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ were not emphasised often by the sources. ‘Consequences’ was the theme that the scientific community was quoted on most often in all three countries. BASIC countries were mostly associated with the topic of ‘carbon emissions’ in all three countries, whilst developing countries tended to speak about ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’ almost equally often. UN officials/negotiators also tended to stress the first three themes, though in the Faroe Islands they only touched on ‘carbon emissions’ (and then only in one instance). The UK government was the actor which tended to focus the most on ‘financing’, whilst it never highlighted the ‘consequences’ theme.

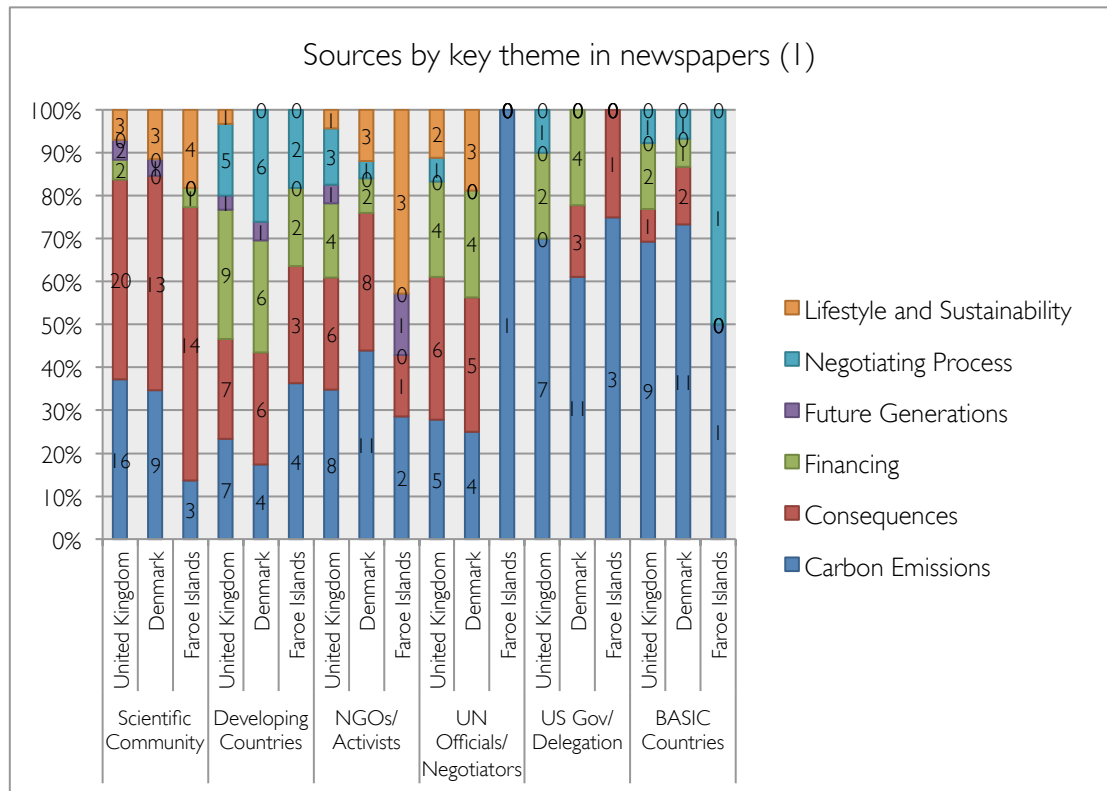


Figure 7.13 - Actors quoted on the respective themes in newspapers by country (1)

The only sources to consistently emphasise the under-explored themes across all countries were the developing countries (with respect to the ‘negotiating process’) and the business community (with regard to ‘lifestyles and sustainability’). This is significant given the developing countries’ consistent profile in the press coverage of all countries (see Figure

7.10), but the business community’s more patchy representation (see Figure 7.11). The scientific community and NGOs also consistently mentioned ‘lifestyles and sustainability’ in all the countries, but not all that frequently.

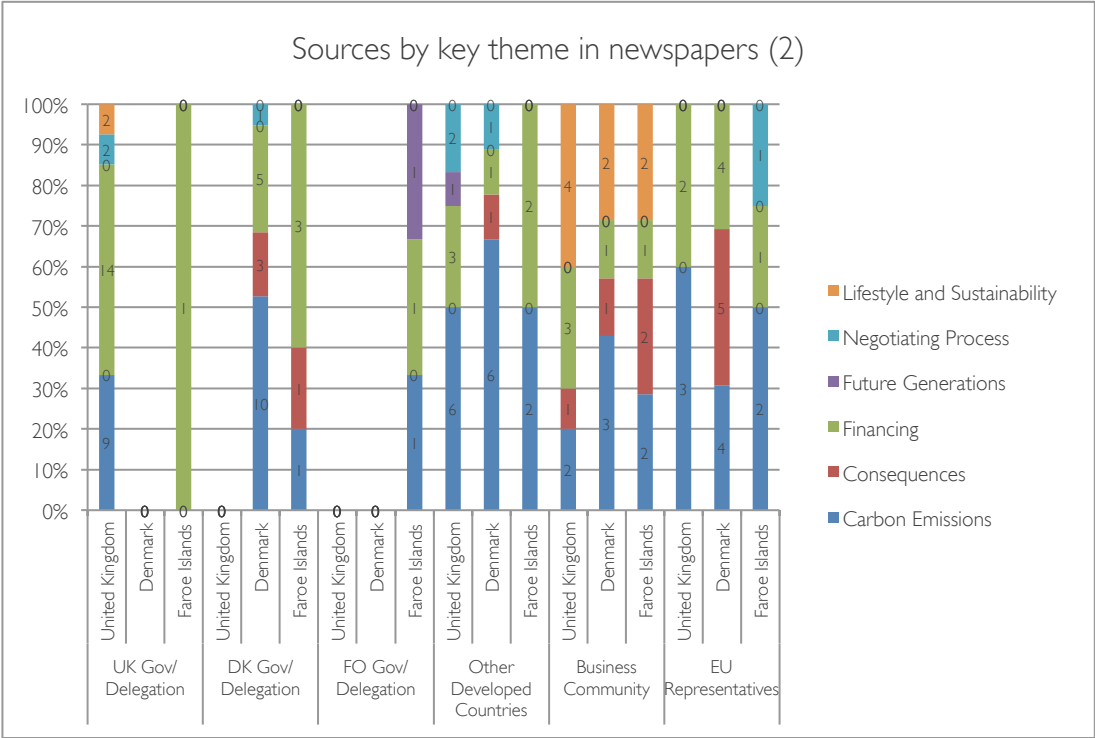


Figure 7.14 - Actors quoted on the respective themes in newspapers by country (2)

When the sources’ association with the respective issues was examined for television, there were some similarities in the patterns emerging, across-the-board. There was a strong emphasis on the theme of ‘carbon emissions’, and to a lesser extent, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’. ‘Consequences’ was the theme most consistently touched upon by the scientists. The scientific community, alongside the DK government, also often touched consistently on ‘carbon emissions’. Finally, the US government was only quoted in relation to ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘financing’ across the three broadcasters. On the other hand, the only source to consistently favour the less well represented theme of ‘lifestyles and sustainability’, were NGOs and activists, but this was from the basis of a very small number of stories. And the same might be said of the developing countries and the ‘negotiating process’ theme. This was a pattern that was quite similar to the one noted in the press. The main overall difference between the press and television was a slightly higher proportion of statements in the latter touching on the theme of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ (See Figure

7.15 and Figure 7.16). However, this was often only a result of its presence in KVF's coverage.

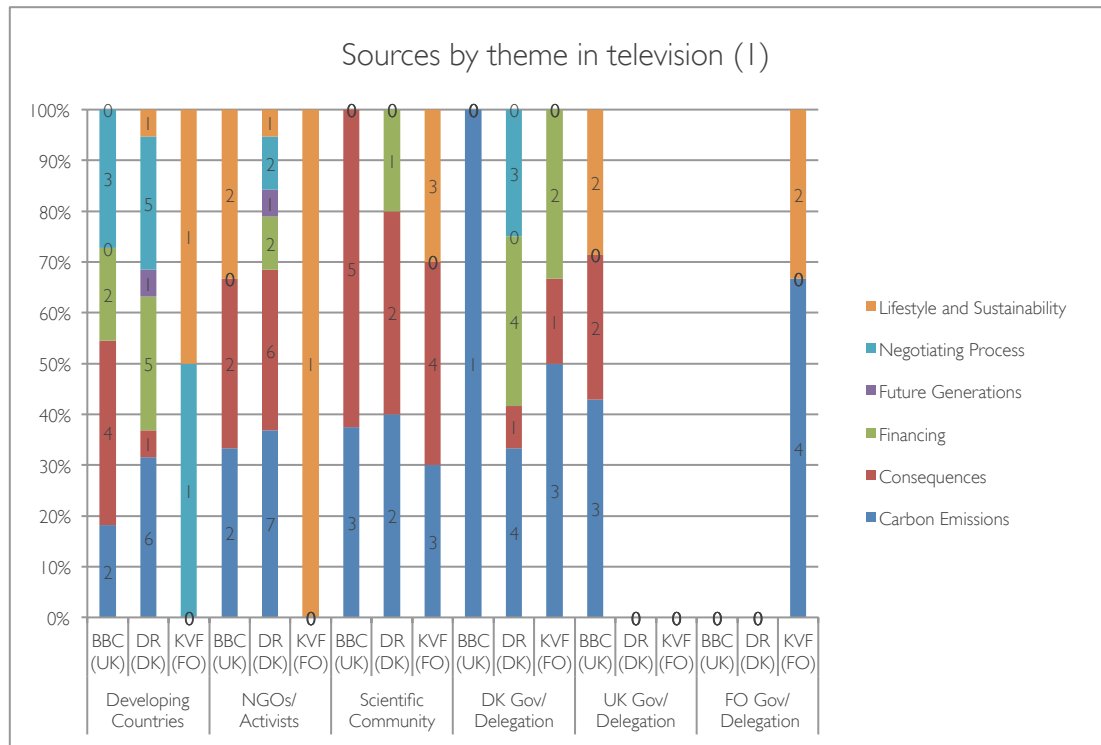


Figure 7.15 - Actors quoted on the respective themes in television by country (1)

Overall, and despite some differences, the tendency of most actors to focus on the themes of 'carbon emissions', 'consequences' and 'financing' in both television and press might suggest that these issues were deemed to be of more importance or newsworthy, either by journalists who sought out quotes on these issues as well as sources themselves, who choose to emphasise these particular aspects of climate change. Either way, it can be concluded that there is a clear link between the biggest themes in general and the themes most often highlighted by the sources. As such, the source distribution is important. Many sources touch on the most represented themes. However, a larger presence of the scientific community, NGOs or developing countries would mean that certain themes would be a little more likely to surface. Deliberations taking place within climate negotiations can be defined as the site of mainstream debate on the issue. So these considerations are significant with respect to a citizen's rounded appreciation of the issues.

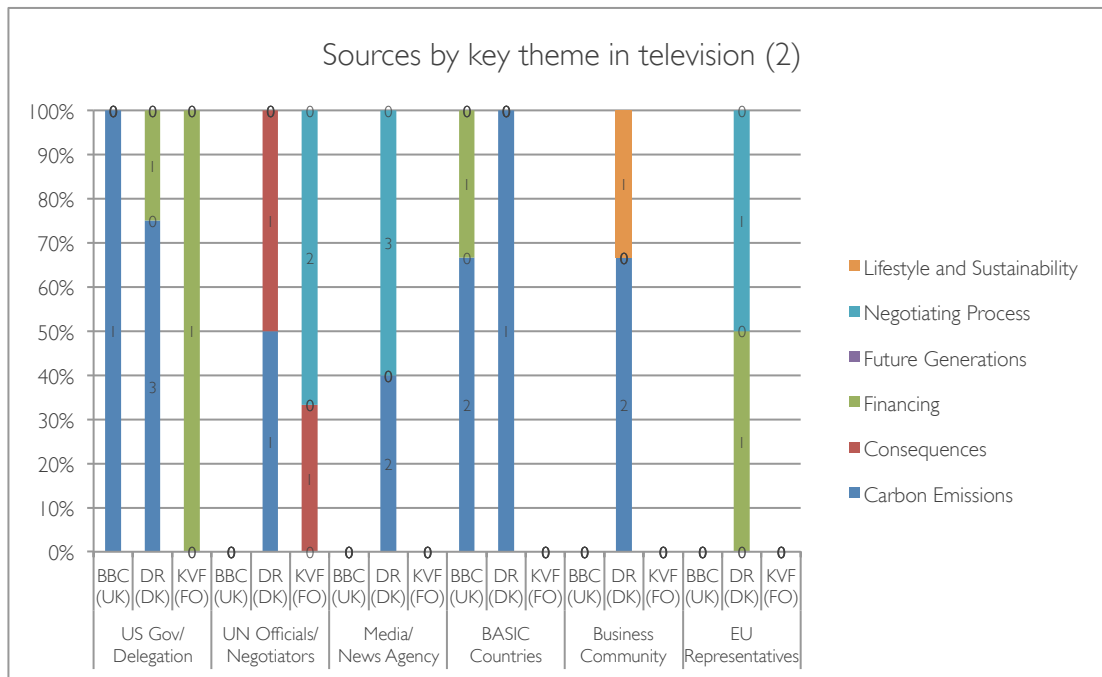


Figure 7.16 - Actors quoted on the respective themes in television by country (2)

The mix of actors also varied in their association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. What was most noteworthy was that all actors quoted in newspapers in all three countries, with the exception of the US government in the British press, predominantly emphasised cosmopolitan values (see Figure 7.17, Figure 7.18 and Figure 7.19).⁷⁷ As such, it could be argued that the key challenges of climate change naturally lend themselves more to cosmopolitan rather than communitarian perspectives.

⁷⁷ Please note, that these are the actors most frequently quoted. For a thorough overview and discussion of all actors' association with the perspectives, see Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

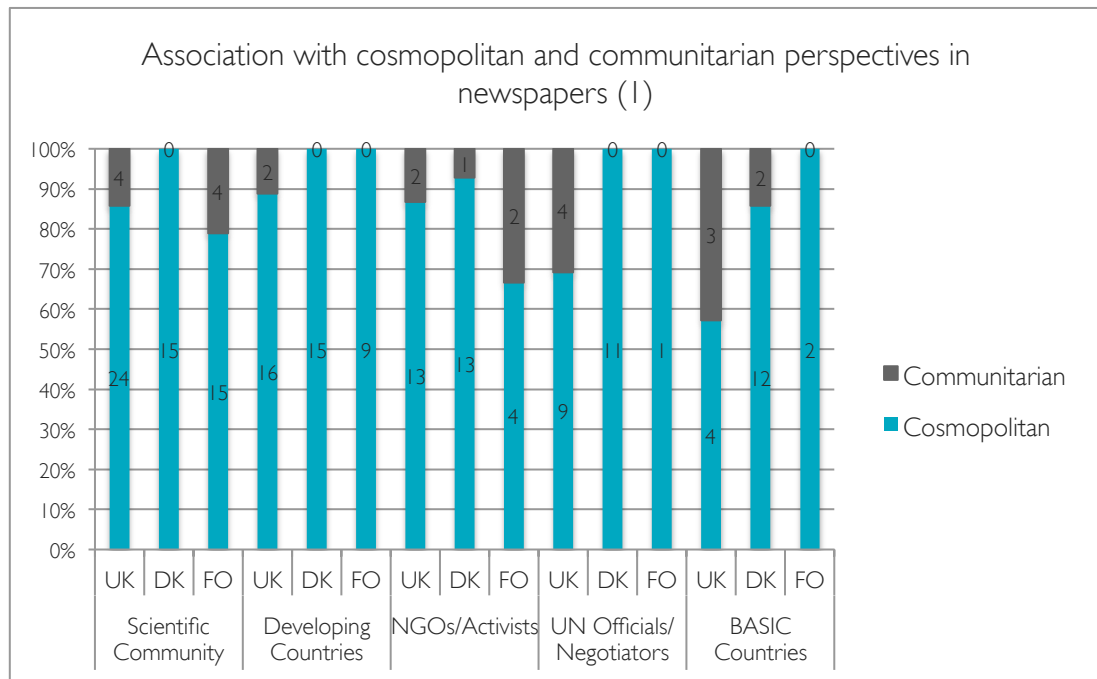


Figure 7.17 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by source and country in newspapers (1)

The findings also indicate that the actors quoted in the Danish press were more cosmopolitan than those in Britain and Faroe Islands, if we go by story numbers. And five categories of source were also exclusively associated with cosmopolitan perspectives in the Danish articles (the scientific community, developing countries, UN officials/negotiators, US government and delegation and the business community). However, it should be noted that in Faroe Island coverage there were eight such categories of exclusively cosmopolitan perspectives, although from a relatively small base of story numbers.

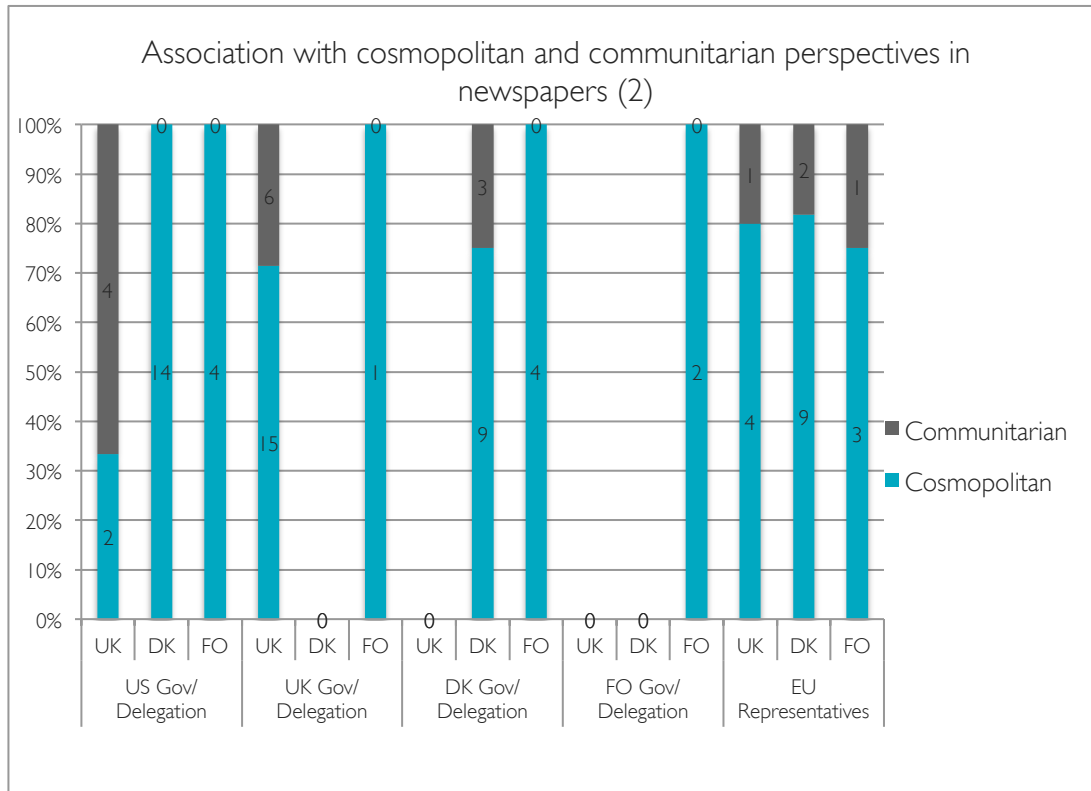


Figure 7.18 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by source and country in newspapers (2)

When we turned to the British press, the story was a little different. Although the majority of stories were still cosmopolitan, the British newspapers tended to offer a higher number of communitarian perspectives, with the US government and delegation, business community and BASIC countries most prominent in this respect. In addition, and unlike their Nordic counterparts, the British press had only one category of source that was exclusively cosmopolitan – the public/vox pops. So it can be concluded that whilst the values that are presented to citizens vary somewhat from country to country, the press in the two Nordic countries had the most obvious cosmopolitan imprint, and Britain the least. However, it should also be noted that there was some minimal consistency across all three. The EU representatives, alongside NGOs and activists, were the only two categories of source that had a consistent – if small – communitarian imprint across all three polities.

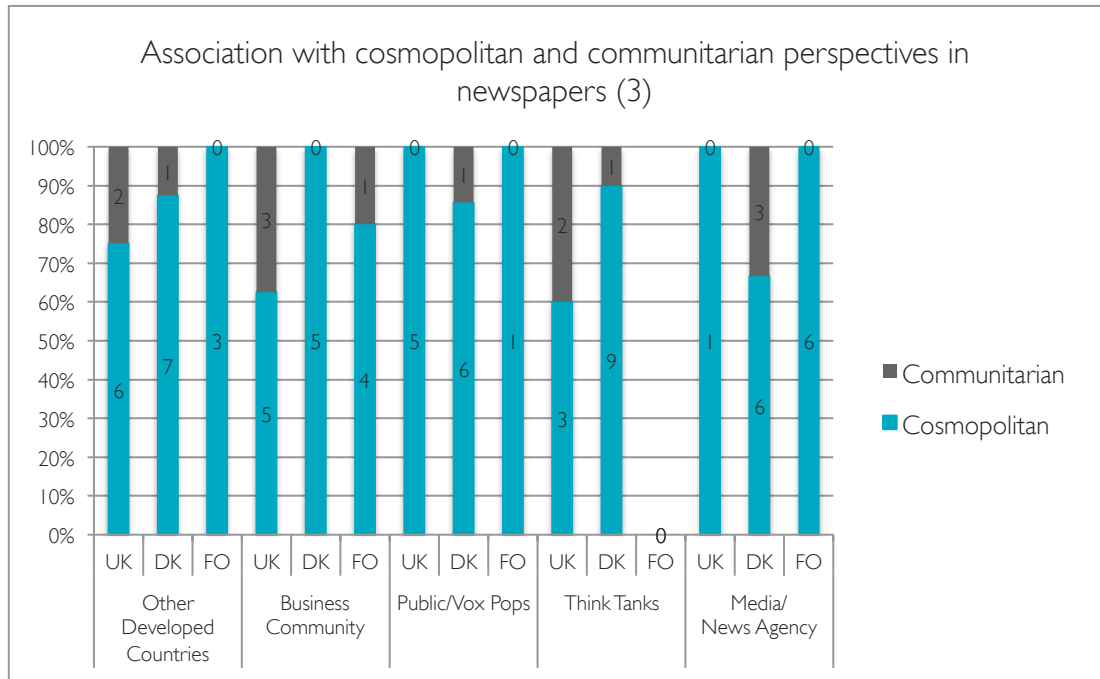


Figure 7.19 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by source and country in newspapers (3)

Moving to television, it is clear that here too cosmopolitanism dominated the perspectives raised by actors. But communitarianism was more prominent in broadcasting than it was in the newspapers, in terms of the proportion of stories (see Figure 7.21 and Figure 7.22). This was largely a function of BBC and KVF coverage. For instance, this was strongly in evidence when they cited NGOs and activists and the public. Communitarian perspectives were also noticeable when KVF sourced the Faroese government, and the BBC accessed media and news agency actors. So this was not a ‘Nordic’ phenomenon, as we saw in the press. Nor can it be ascribed to resource constraints, since these differed markedly between the stations.

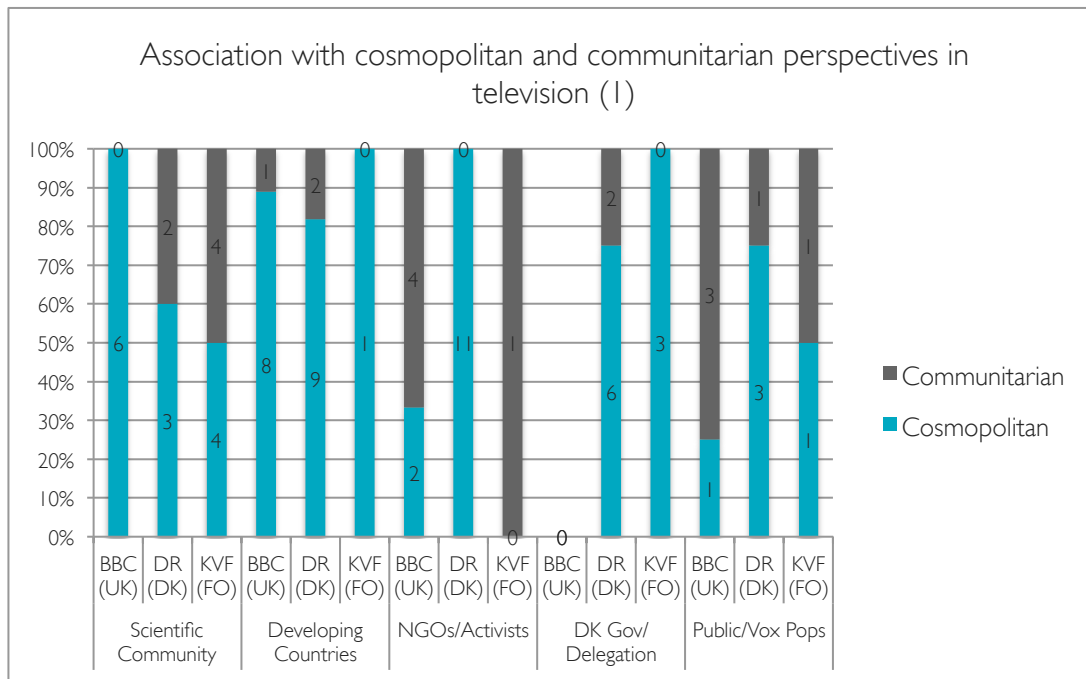


Figure 7.20 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by source and broadcaster in television (1)

Overall, there were few actors who were strongly and consistently associated with cosmopolitan perspectives across all media, in all three countries. The closest to this were developing countries, which had a strong cosmopolitan dimension in all three polities across all media, and to a lesser extent UN officials. For communitarian perspectives, there were no sources where there was a consistent and strong association across all media and countries.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that overall in all three countries cosmopolitan perspectives were much more common than communitarian ones. As such, the key issues around climate change were therefore presented to citizens through a predominantly cosmopolitan lens. Therefore, it is apparent that there was a not only degree of ‘consonance’ (Noelle-Neumann & Mathes 1987) in relation to the themes most emphasised within the outlets, but also with respect to the values put forward within articles and reports

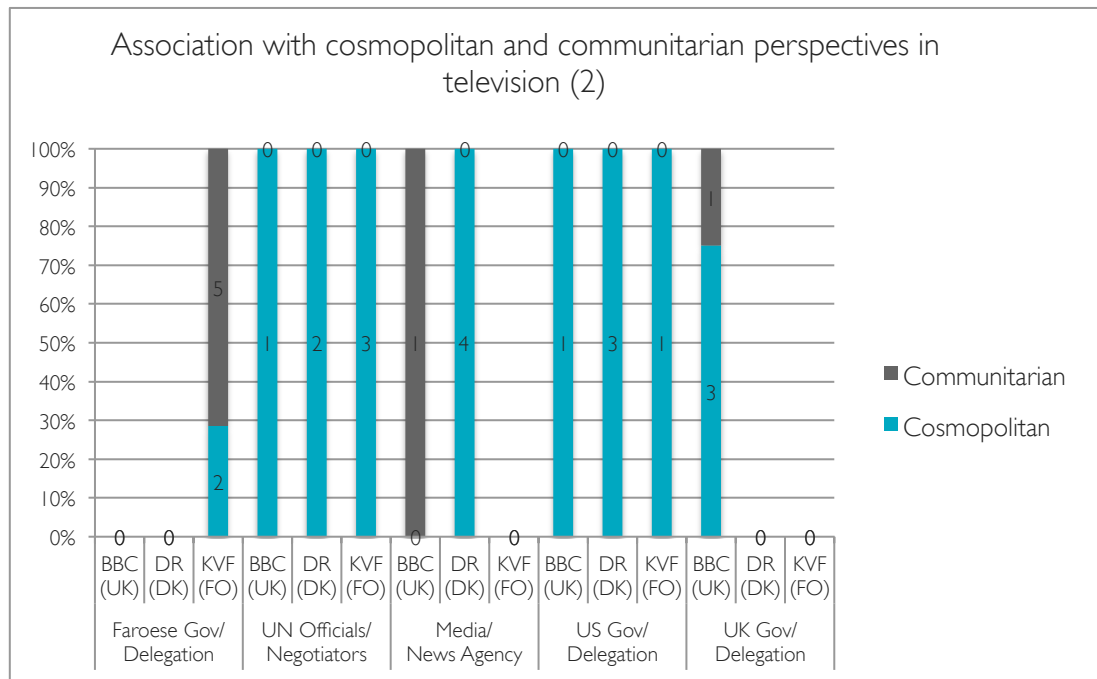


Figure 7.21 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by source and country in newspapers (2)

7.4. Values in Coverage of the Key Climate Change Themes

One of the central aims of this thesis was to examine the values underpinning public debate on the key issues around climate change. The findings demonstrate that overall (See Figure 7.22) all newspapers - regardless of country - had a preponderance of cosmopolitan perspectives, the one exception being *The Sun*, where cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives received equal attention. In terms of ideology, the left-leaning broadsheet newspapers contained a higher proportion of cosmopolitan perspectives in all the countries. Additionally, the proportion of communitarian perspectives was higher in all the right-leaning newspapers, in all countries. Following *The Sun* (60 percent), the *Daily Telegraph* and *Dimmaletting* had the lowest proportion of cosmopolitan perspectives with 83 percent each. The *Daily Telegraph* was also the most communitarian newspaper (62 percent). Therefore, there appears to be a consistent relationship between the ideology of a newspaper and the values that it puts across, with left-wing newspapers containing more cosmopolitan perspectives and right-leaning more communitarian ones. So, in this sense, ideology did count. Overall, though, it is also clear that the British newspapers were more communitarian than their Danish and Faroese counterparts.

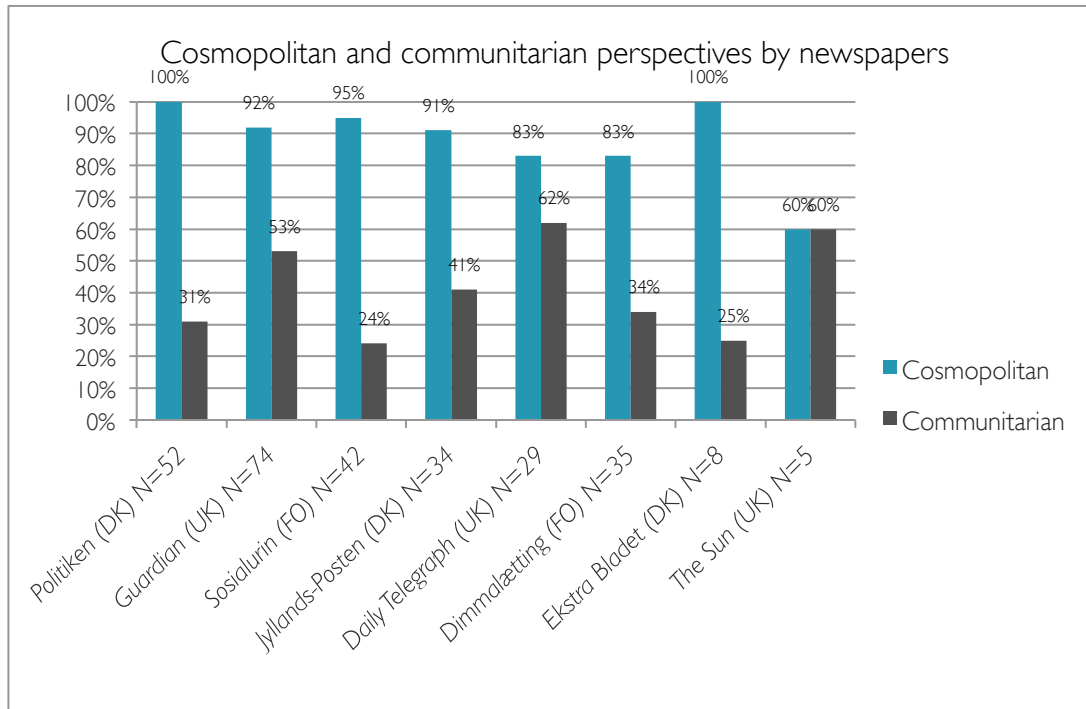


Figure 7.22 - Cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by all newspapers

When this is compared to television coverage (see Figure 7.23), it was found that the BBC had the highest proportion of communitarian perspectives (62 percent). This suggests that communitarian values are more prominent in the British media outlets analysed here compared to those in Denmark and the Faroe Islands. DR, on the other hand, had the highest proportion of cosmopolitan perspectives (86 percent) and the lowest of communitarian ones (33 percent) and this pattern was actually quite similar to the overall structure of the newspaper coverage in Denmark. BBC and KVF contained a more even balance of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. KVF was actually the least cosmopolitan of all the media outlets considered here with only 53 percent of their reports containing cosmopolitan perspectives, whilst 52 percent of their reports presented communitarian values. It is also clear that the Faroese television contained a substantially higher proportion of communitarian perspectives than did the Faroese newspapers. Therefore, it can be concluded that television is less cosmopolitan and more communitarian than the newspapers, especially in Britain and the Faroe Islands.

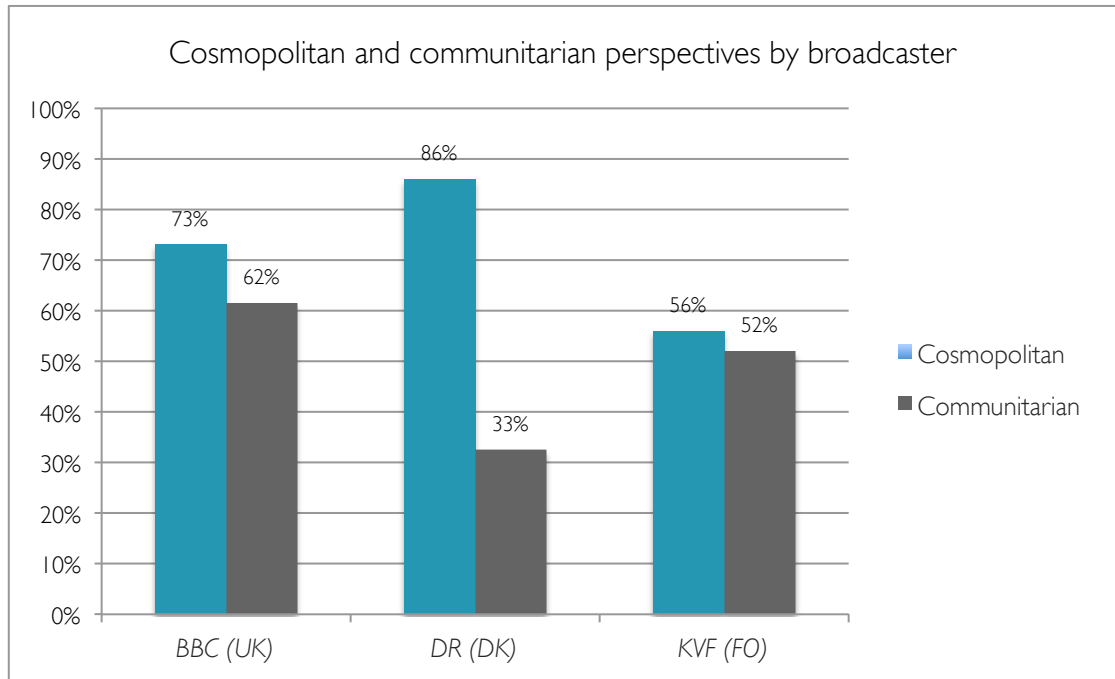


Figure 7.23 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by broadcasters

If the distribution of these values in relation to the conferences is examined, it is clear that cosmopolitan perspectives dominated in both periods when it comes to newspapers (See Figure 7.24). In the case of Britain and the Faroe Islands, cosmopolitanism was only marginally higher during COP16 than COP15. For Denmark, the difference between the cosmopolitan perspectives was also very small between the two periods (3 percentage points). However, British newspapers had a much higher proportion of articles containing communitarian perspectives during COP15 (61 percent) than COP16 (38 percent).

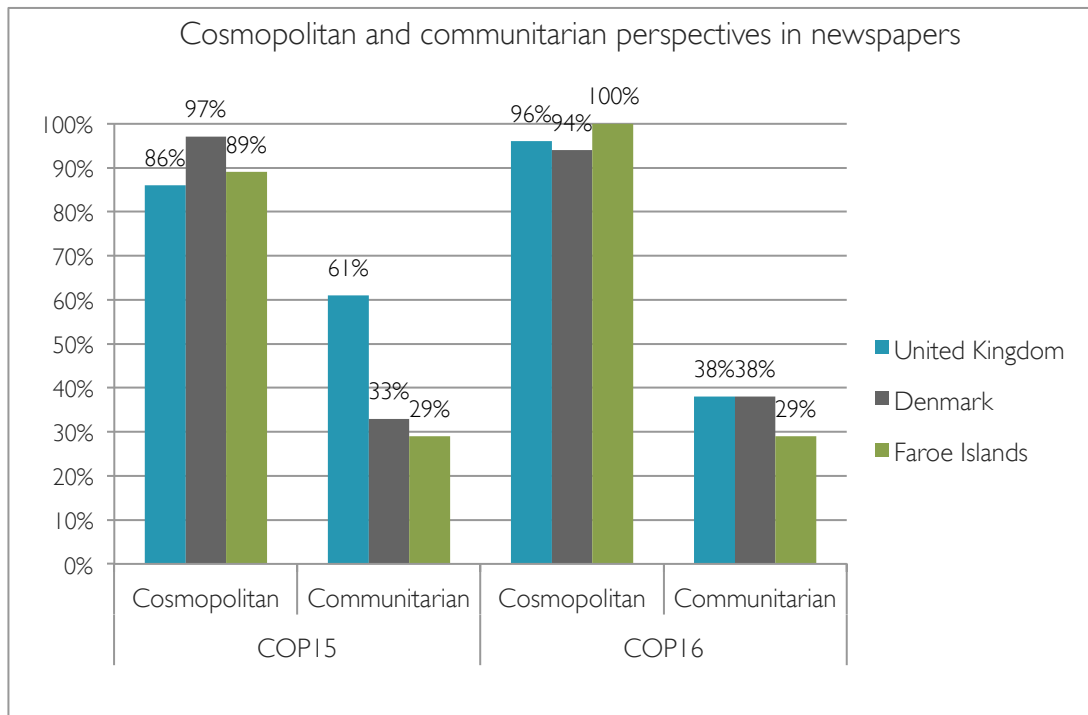


Figure 7.24 - Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives in newspapers by period and country

The picture for television coverage is somewhat different than that for the newspapers (See Figure 7.25). Whilst reports broadcast in the COP15 conference period were more cosmopolitan than communitarian in all three broadcasters, the pattern was reversed for COP16 for the Faroe Islands and UK and communitarian perspectives were more prominent in the later phase.

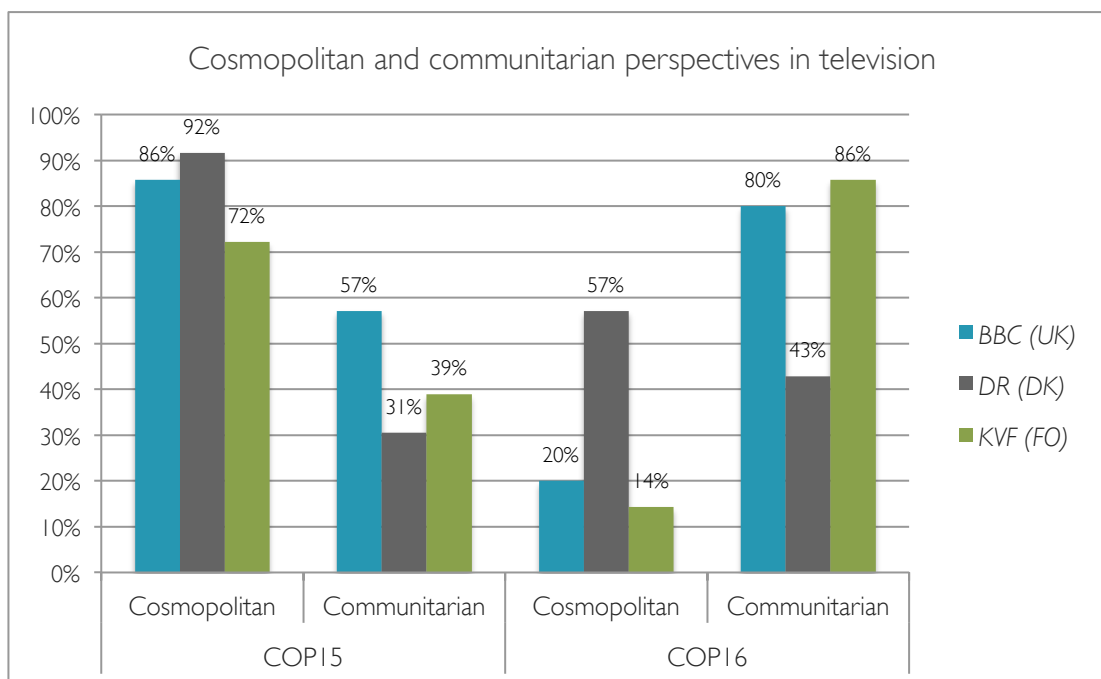


Figure 7.25 – Distribution of cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives by broadcaster and period

DR was the only broadcaster, which had a higher proportion of cosmopolitan perspectives during both conference periods, although the proportion of cosmopolitan perspectives was substantially reduced for the COP16 period. Both BBC (20 percent) and KVF (14 percent) had a very low proportion of reports putting forward cosmopolitan perspectives during COP16. Additionally, all broadcasters had a higher proportion of reports putting forward communitarian perspectives during COP16 than COP15.

Overall, and small individual difference aside, for COP15 the balance between cosmopolitan and communitarian in both press and television looks broadly similar, with the former dominating. For COP16, however, the situation is more complex, with – broadly speaking – television offering more by way of communitarian commentary than the press. This means that in the later phase television viewers were presented with a more local perspective than newspaper readers. On the one hand, this could make climate change more relevant for them. On the other hand, it also means that they are served with a narrower focus on the national interest of the country they are located in. Television viewers are therefore less encouraged to consider climate change from a global perspective. It could be argued that this is unlikely to encourage strong public support for collaborative efforts to address climate change.

7.4.1. Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism within Stories

The thesis also aimed to establish how the discussion of these themes compares and contrasts across the outlets and whether similar arguments were presented across the countries. It was mentioned in the earlier chapters that some themes tend to be more cosmopolitan than others. For instance, as Figure 7.26 demonstrates the ‘consequences’ theme was a very cosmopolitan theme across all newspapers in all countries, whilst communitarian perspectives were rare across the entire sample. As the illustrative material in previous chapters demonstrated, cosmopolitan articles in all countries tended either to mention briefly consequences of climate change on a general level, such as referring to the 2 °C temperature rise. Examples of such stories were present in all the newspapers in the sample. These articles did not deal with the theme in much detail, rather just presenting briefly the key issues at the negotiations. The reports, which engaged more thoroughly with

the theme, focused on the consequences climate change was having in distant countries, and often contained a humanitarian element to them. The stories used the effects of climate change to add urgency and drama to the issue. Such articles are central to public understanding of the issue since they highlight the importance of effective action on climate change and might make readers feel compassion for the victims of climate change. Articles often also implied that the whole world was in it together. It could be argued that without such perspectives being raised, it would be more difficult to get strong public support for collaborative measures on climate change.

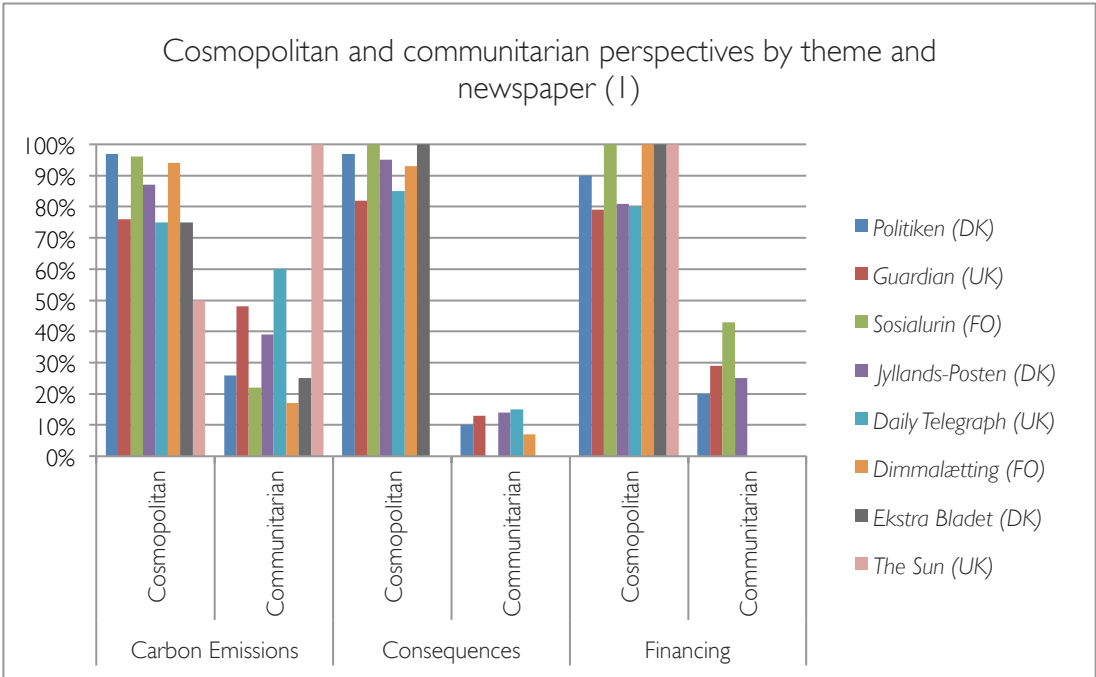


Figure 7.26 - Proportion of theme containing cosmopolitan or communitarian perspective by newspaper (1)

The communitarian articles touching on ‘consequences’ focused on impacts for the individual country, for instance, sea level rise for low-lying Britain or the increasing threat from extreme weather events for Denmark. Such articles have the ability to make climate change more immediately relevant for the readers. The only communitarian article in the Faroese sample focusing on the effects of climate change highlighted the potential for higher levels of climate refugees for Nordic countries in general. Rather than creating a sense of sympathy for the refugees they were represented as a threat to the individual states. As Figure 7.26 demonstrates the number of communitarian articles on the theme was low

across all three countries – papers such as *Sosialurin*, *Ekstra Bladet* and *The Sun* published no such stories in the sample analysed here at all.

In ‘financing’, cosmopolitan perspectives were also prominent and communitarian themes similarly downplayed, although not to the same extent as with the ‘consequences’ theme. The cosmopolitan stories highlighted the need for financing for developing countries. In the majority of articles in all three countries, this was just mentioned in passing when discussing the progress of the negotiations. Sometimes figures were presented, but without engagement with whether these numbers were adequate. In some instances in the Danish and UK sample, there was more engagement with the responsibility of industrialised countries to pay. Rather than engaging in detail with the topic of ‘financing’, the articles in the Faroese newspapers just mentioned the issue briefly when discussing the progress of the negotiations. This is another example of a lack of in-depth exploration of issues within the Faroese press.

The communitarian perspectives raised in relation to ‘financing’ tended to emphasise the cost for the individual countries, by stressing the difficult economic environment and national interest. Three stories in the Danish *Jyllands-Posten* differed in tone by representing developing countries in a particularly negative light, framing them as beggars and corrupted. These articles showed no regard for historical responsibility or the necessity of helping developing countries adapt to the effects of climate change. Such perspectives would have been unlikely to contribute to public support for a strong agreement on climate change. However, it must be stressed that such arguments were exclusive to the pages of *Jyllands-Posten*.

Communitarian perspectives were, in many instances, more prominent in relation to ‘carbon emissions’ than they were in respect to ‘consequences’ or ‘financing’. However, cosmopolitan perspectives still dominated the theme. The only paper to include communitarian perspectives in all their articles in relation to the theme was *The Sun*, although the total number of articles on ‘carbon emissions’ was very small, actually only two. The other two British papers, but especially the right-leaning *Daily Telegraph*, also contained high levels of communitarian perspectives. At the same time, it was clear that the

British papers were also the least cosmopolitan in relation to the theme – marginally for the broadsheets, and most of all for *The Sun*. Therefore, in this instance, the UK press somewhat differed from the other countries.

Within these communitarian perspectives on ‘carbon emissions’ there was a tendency across all the countries to focus on individual countries’ pledges and to highlight that the parties needed to think of their national interests by not cutting their emissions more than others. As such, these articles emphasised the competitiveness of the negotiations. The stories did not stress the importance of collaboration. Rather they contained a communitarian world-view where actors had to look after themselves. Such articles were present within the sample of all the countries, although the proportion was lower in the Faroese newspapers. This could potentially be because the Faroese were not a formal and independent part of the negotiations. So there were no national interests to defend. In addition, there were strong calls for substantial cuts in the country’s carbon emissions within the Faroese media. Communitarian articles focusing on ‘carbon emissions’ often also touched on ‘lifestyle and sustainability’. Such articles highlighted ways that carbon emissions could be cut, by switching to renewable energy for instance. However, the primary justification for cutting was that significant amounts of money could be saved. As such, these stories did not always emphasise the importance of carbon cuts due to climate change, but rather because it would be economically wise.

When articles on ‘carbon emissions’ contained cosmopolitan perspectives, they often tended to focus on the importance of cutting emissions on a general level. The majority of such stories just engaged briefly with the theme by discussing the negotiations and their aim to reach an agreement on carbon emissions. Articles which engaged in detail with the responsibility for reducing carbon emissions were the exception across all three countries. These articles highlighted the duty of western governments to make the biggest cuts.

The most communitarian theme was that of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’, especially in the *Daily Telegraph* (83 percent) and *The Sun* (100 percent) (See Figure 7.27). Of articles focusing on the theme, 43 percent and 46 percent in the *Guardian* and *Sosialurin* also contained communitarian perspectives. Therefore again in this instance, communitarian

perspectives were most prominent in the British press, and more specifically in the right-leaning and tabloid newspapers.

Cosmopolitan arguments in relation to ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ were also prominent across all the broadsheet titles, with the exception of the *Daily Telegraph*. Neither tabloid newspaper published a cosmopolitan article on the theme. The cosmopolitan articles focused on sustainability on the global level. However, articles which fundamentally challenged consumption levels and international inequality were hard to come by, with less than a handful of items from each country. They were more prominent in the left-wing press in Denmark and the UK, whilst the two such reports in the Faroese press were exclusive to the pages of the right-wing *Dimmalætting*. Therefore, ideology did not play a consistent role in determining how the newspapers engaged with the issues.

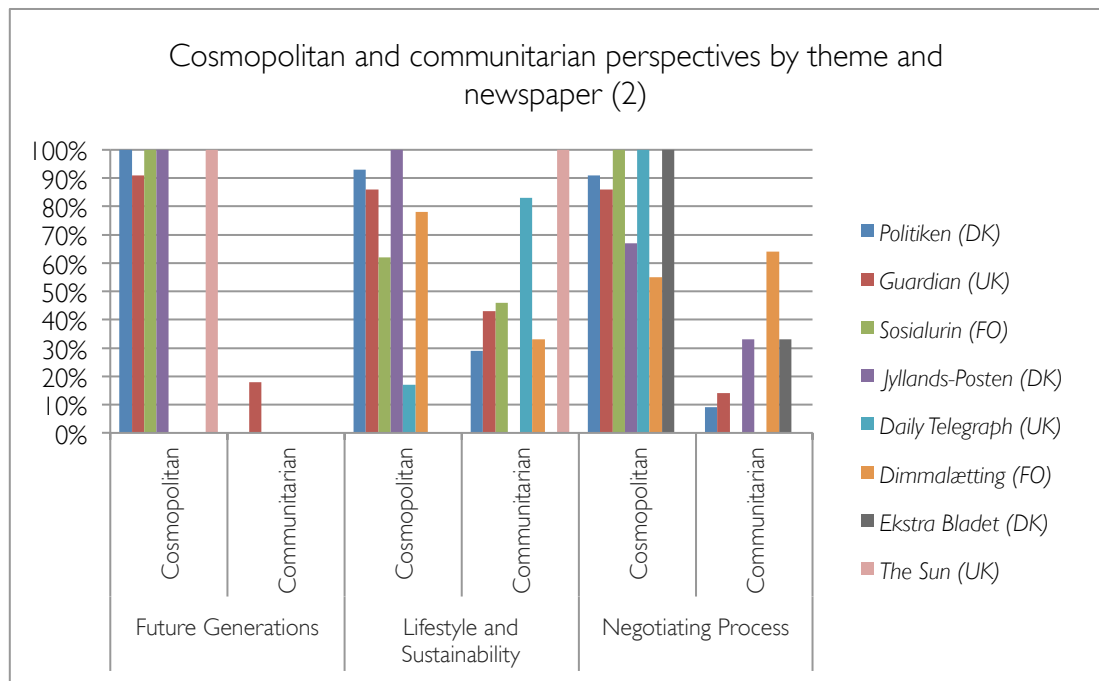


Figure 7.27 - Proportion of theme containing cosmopolitan or communitarian perspective by newspaper (2)

When turning to the ‘negotiating process’ theme it is apparent that this was very communitarian only in *Dimmalætting*, whilst the most newspapers contained predominantly cosmopolitan perspectives in relation to it. The articles with a cosmopolitan focus emphasised the inherent injustices in the negotiating process by

highlighting how developing countries had been marginalised. This theme was much more prominent within the COP15 sample, and when it was brought up in relation to COP16 in the Danish corpus of articles, the Cancun negotiating process was compared to that in Copenhagen. In some instances, the disagreements between the negotiating parties were only presented without much engagement with the issue. However, there were some articles across all countries which were critical concerning the role of the Danes in hosting the negotiations. Such articles were least prominent within the Faroese sample. The left-leaning *Guardian* and *Politiken* published only one story each which engaged with global unequal power relations within the negotiations. This perspective was never raised within the Faroese sample. Therefore, readers would not have received much in-depth and analytical commentary on the process of the negotiations and the inequalities inherent to the system. It can also be concluded that such perspectives were exclusive to the left-leaning press. When communitarian arguments were raised in relation to the theme, developing countries were often presented in a negative light. At the same time, such articles often demonstrated a lot of understanding for the difficulties the Danish hosts had in hosting the negotiations. These communitarian arguments were most prominent in *Dimmalætting*, followed by *Jyllands-Posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*, whilst they were never raised on the pages of the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sosialurin*.

The theme of 'future generations', which was almost exclusive to the left-leaning press, was also very cosmopolitan, with only the *Guardian* putting forward communitarian arguments in relation to it. This theme was never brought up in the *Daily Telegraph*, *Dimmalætting* or *Ekstra Bladet*. The theme was mostly brought to the forefront when actors speaking at the conferences were quoted on the issue. Therefore, journalists never actively engaged with the issue in any of the countries. All newspapers predominantly put forward cosmopolitan perspectives in relation to the theme, mainly focusing on future generations across the world or in general.

Finally, when the prominence of cosmopolitan and communitarian values was examined in relation to the television coverage, some similar patterns emerged (See Figure 7.28). The most communitarian themes in all three broadcasters were 'lifestyle and sustainability' as well as 'carbon emissions', especially so in the *BBC* and *KVF*.

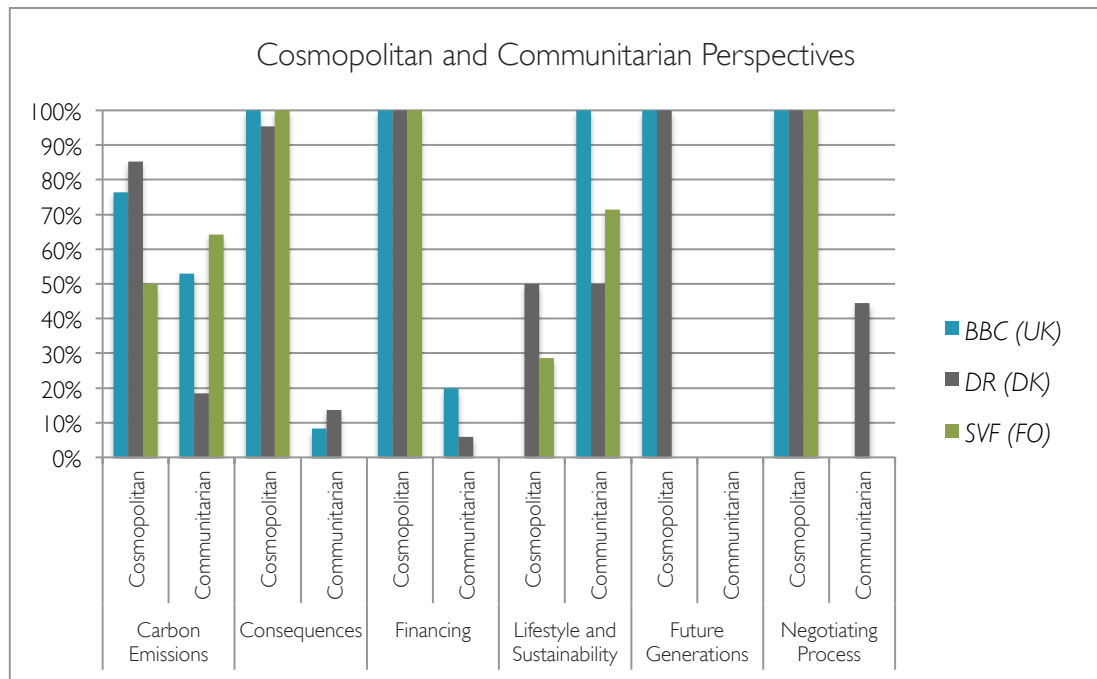


Figure 7.28 - Proportion of theme containing cosmopolitan or communitarian perspective by broadcaster

Like in the press, the communitarian reports touching on ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ tended to focus on reducing emissions and switching to renewable energy sources and changing lifestyles at the local level. For television across the countries, the rationale presented was an economic one emphasising that reducing energy consumption would mean lower bills. KVF differed from BBC and DR in that it actually presented investment in renewable energy as an inconvenience to consumers since it would result in higher energy prices. As such, KVF did not present a strong case for why investments in renewable energy would be necessary from a climate perspective. There was a lack of engagement with wider issues of sustainability across the broadcasters in all the three countries, although DR did mention reducing reliance on fossil fuels. However, none of the channels ever challenged the fundamental notion of over-consumerism.

In all countries, almost all of the reports on television on ‘consequences’, ‘financing’ and ‘negotiating process’ contained cosmopolitan perspectives. For instance, all of the BBC’s reports on ‘consequences’ contained cosmopolitan perspectives. The ‘consequences’ theme was often used to add drama and urgency to the issue. BBC items in particular contained a strong humanitarian element. In contrast, the Faroese broadcaster only briefly mentioned

temperature rises and did not attempt to make the viewers understand the human cost of climate change. DR was the only channel with a series discussing the consequences of climate change across the world. KVF, on the other hand, did not contain reports documenting the effects of climate change over the globe or in vulnerable countries – it only had an item on a melting glacier in Norway. This might be as a result of a lack of resources, since the Faroese television cannot afford sending reporters across the world to document the impact of climate change. The few communitarian articles on ‘consequences’ focused on the implications climate change would have for the local area. Communitarian perspectives were only raised once on the BBC and three times on DR where all the reports focused on extreme weather events and sea level rise.

Cosmopolitan perspectives were very prominent in relation to television’s presentation of the ‘financing’ theme. All of the reports in all three countries contained cosmopolitan perspectives. In such reports, EU was often represented as a central actor. The reports often did not engage in detail with the issue, rather they just mentioned it in passing. KVF did not engage at all with industrialised countries’ responsibility to pay. Rather it presented EU as a giver rather than having a duty to secure the funds. In contrast, DR did raise the concerns of developing countries regarding the negotiating process as well as their need to secure adequate financing in their reports. By doing so, they would have added to the viewers’ understanding of why financing is such a crucial issue. KVF raised no communitarian perspectives in their reports on ‘financing’, whilst the BBC and DR did so in only one report each. DR, for instance, highlighted the corrupt nature of many developing countries. The report gave an impression that the money could end up in the wrong hands and could be used for buying weapons. Such an emphasis did not present financing efforts in a positive light.

‘Future generations’ was the only theme, which was exclusively cosmopolitan, although the theme was completely overlooked on Faroese television. In fact, attention to the theme was very limited across all the media outlets considered here. As such, television viewers across the board were not really encouraged to consider the implications of their behaviour for the future. Like in the press, television’s engagement with the ‘future generations’ was very

shallow. The theme was only brought forward when actors, such as Prince Charles or President Nasheed of the Maldives, at the conferences mentioned 'future generations'.

Conclusion

This chapter has compared and contrasted media coverage of the key issues around climate change in television and the press in Britain, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. The findings have important implications for the overall quality of the public debates. By addressing the research questions from a comparative perspective in this chapter, several important conclusions emerge, which contribute to our overall knowledge of mediated climate change.

The previous analysis has added to our understanding of the role of ideology in shaping coverage. Ideology played some role in all three countries, since the most numerous and longest articles on climate change were to be found on the pages of the left-wing press. The chapter also found that ideological forces were the strongest in the UK context, whilst they were weaker in Denmark and the Faroe Islands. The analysis also indicated the presence of quite a consonant media environment in all three countries, both with respect to the quantity of coverage, the themes and values emphasised. The findings also implied that we might see an increase in the knowledge gap considering the contours of coverage across the sample.

The final conclusions chapter brings together all the findings from this thesis. It discusses these in relation to the main research questions posed and the literature on mediated climate change. It will also discuss what the findings suggest about the potential emergence of a transnational public sphere.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined how the media report the ethical dimensions of climate change in three countries using a comparative approach. It has argued that climate change is one of the most serious issues facing our society. To be addressed it requires an almost unprecedented level of international collaboration. There are clear disparities involved in climate change, both in terms of responsibility for causing the problem and in terms of climate impacts. As such, climate change raises a number of fundamentally ethical issues which explain both the difficulty and the necessity for the international community to tackle it. It is argued that “if a global solution is not just, climate change policies will, very likely, exacerbate existing patterns of injustice in the world, making the poor both poorer and more vulnerable to harsh climate impacts” (Brown 2013: 4-5). Overall “many profound ethical questions are hidden in scientific and economic arguments about various climate change policy proposals” (Brown 2006: 8). The study has called for a new way to examine climate change debates by exploring how the media present the ethical dimension of climate change and which values they employ in portraying it. That way it is possible to look beyond the most prevalent issues: whether climate change is happening or not and whether humans are responsible, and examine in more depth how the media make sense of climate change using ethical arguments that relate to the key issues.

Despite the obvious importance of ethics to discussions of climate change, there has been no research to date that systematically attempts to understand how the media use such arguments. The crucial role of media within liberal democratic societies means that understanding how the media portray the ethical dimension of climate change assumes great importance. In addition, research into mediated climate change has mainly focused on the Anglophone countries, largely overlooking other contexts.

With the above in mind, this thesis has explored how cosmopolitan and communitarian ideas around justice are deployed by the media in discussions of climate change. It argues that these ideas serve as useful tools for analysis to understand the role of values within societal debates on climate change. Using the academic literature on climate change, this

thesis has identified six key issues which pose clear ethical questions. The coverage of these six topics has then been analysed by examining the extent to which they figure in the reporting and how the media use cosmopolitan or communitarian ideas in developing their commentary. This has constituted the analytical framework which has guided the research.

This thesis set out to explore the overall quality of the public debate on climate change in three countries. It has argued that the potential for a strong global agreement on climate change partially depends upon the public and policy makers being informed, in a rounded and comprehensive manner, on climate change and its ethical dimensions. In order to delve in to the understanding of how discussions of ethics manifest themselves in the media a series of questions were developed.

1. What is the overall quality of the public debate on key issues around climate change in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands?
2. How do ethics underpin the public debate on climate change?
3. To what extent does media coverage in UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands indicate an emerging transnational public sphere on climate change?

As Chapter 2 highlighted, the media are expected to fulfil particular functions in a democratic society. They should act as a watchdog scrutinising governments and informing citizens of the most important issues of the day so that they are equipped to take part in the democratic process (Anderson & Ward 2007; Curran 2005; Kuhn 2007; Louw 2010; McNair 2009). They should also act as a platform for debate between civil society and governments (Curran 2005; Habermas 1996; McNair 2009). The chapter also discussed the so-called 'crisis of political communication' (Blumler 1997; Franklin 1997). Television, for instance, has been criticised for being too brief and superficial, failing to flesh out the details and nuances, or to put issues into context (Cole & Harcup 2010). Others argue that with the exception of some tabloid newspapers, most outlets serve their democratic functions reasonably well (Graber 2003; McNair 2003; Temple 2006). Temple (2006) argues that television coverage remains informed enough for (and is very accessible to) its audience, which does not always read broadsheet newspapers, or any press material at all.

Others suggest that television is in a position to address those issues that are under-explored (or explored inadequately) in the press (Gavin 2007b).

Chapter 2 also argued that reasonably extensive coverage of climate change should be expected in all outlets. There is no universally agreed yardstick for judging how much coverage is appropriate since this depends on political priorities and news values (Norris 2000). Nevertheless, arguably little or no coverage is not adequate and will have implications for public awareness and comprehension. The presence of the topic on the agenda is not sufficient in itself. The quality of discussion in the media can also help increase public knowledge and encourage a pluralistic debate. As Norris argues:

“A rich information environment with multiple sources of regular news about politics available from different outlets, is most likely to promote effective government communications, to provide multiple venues for public debate, and to reduce the costs of becoming informed about public affairs” (Norris 2000: 26).

In view of the above, how did the media manage to perform those functions?

The findings in relation to the quantity of coverage suggest that ideological factors as well as national context may be influential in determining the amount an outlet in a particular country dedicated to the issue of climate change. For instance, in all countries the left-wing newspapers had more coverage than their right-wing counterparts, although in the Faroe Islands this difference was fairly modest. This is consistent with existing research on the quantity of climate change coverage (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009; Painter 2011). It also suggests that these findings are applicable to a wider range of countries than scholars have researched so far, and additionally relate to the largely unexplored field of ethics.

The difference between the amount of coverage in the left and right-wing newspapers is strongest in the UK context, which suggests that ideological factors might play a more significant role there. The *Guardian* not only had more coverage on climate change, but a larger proportion of this coverage focused on the key issues identified, and the *Guardian* was also more cosmopolitan in its approach. Although *Politiken* also was more cosmopolitan and had more extensive coverage, the differences between left and right-

leaning newspapers in Denmark were not as obvious. In terms of content of the articles, there was not much difference between the left and right-leaning newspapers in the Faroe Islands, and both newspapers had superficial coverage of the negotiations, often failing to put them into context. Thus, the research adds to existing knowledge by demonstrating that ideology does not play a fixed role in shaping coverage, but its significance varies substantially depending on the national and political context. In this respect, our findings are at odds with those aspects of the literature stressing the overwhelming significance of the ideological complexion of papers in impacting media content (Carvalho 2005, 2007; Carvalho & Burgess 2005). Our findings suggest that the importance of ideology should not be overstressed.

It is likely that the differences between the role ideology plays in shaping coverage in the respective countries are partially attributable to a variance in the political culture. Faroe Islands and Denmark are part of the Nordic model, which is characterised by an extensive universalist welfare state (Andersen et al. 2007). Both countries have a multiparty legislature and a tradition of coalition politics. For instance, Danish political parties constantly make political agreements across the left-right ideological line, whilst in the Faroe Islands even coalition governments across the divide are commonplace. Therefore, consensus politics is a strong feature of these systems. The UK, in contrast, with its two party system has traditionally had a sharper divide across ideological lines⁷⁸. The media systems may also partially explain the inconsistent role of ideology in impacting coverage. As Chapter 3 argued: whilst the papers in Denmark and the Faroe Islands emphasise strongly their independence, the British papers often have an overt political agenda which influences most of the news content (Oates 2008: 39).

The research found that COP15 was considered significantly more newsworthy than COP16 in all the outlets in all the countries analysed here. This is consistent with existing research demonstrating the diminishing quantity of newspaper coverage after COP15 (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011), but extends the finding to a wider range of countries than previously explored. This structure of coverage might be due to the particular characteristics of the two conferences. Although both were major international summits,

⁷⁸ The coalition governing at the time of writing presents an exception in the UK context.

COP15 was much larger, and was attended by celebrities, over 100 world leaders, including those of the most powerful nations, alongside a record number of NGOs and activists (Dimitrov 2010a). So, COP15 had intrinsic and overwhelming 'news value' (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Harcup & O'Neill 2001). The COP16 conference, in contrast, was much more low key and attended by very few heads of state (Earth Negotiations Bulletin 2010). These features could have influenced the amount of coverage dedicated to the respective events. Furthermore, it is possible that the global momentum leading up to COP16 was stifled by the disappointing outcome from COP15, and was never really regained. Moreover, it seems that this tendency to dedicate a much larger proportion of coverage to COP15 was particularly applicable to Denmark and the Faroe Islands. This highlights the location of the conference as a factor contributing to the level of coverage. However, regardless of the reason, this reduction in coverage is significant since it resulted in less space in the media to discuss the key issues around climate change.

The thesis has also demonstrated that the tabloid newspapers had substantially less coverage on climate change and the main issues around it than the broadsheets in both Denmark and the UK. This is consistent with the academic literature on climate change (Boykoff & Mansfield 2011; Carvalho 2005; Gavin 2009), although this study has added to the body of knowledge by illuminating the role of ethics specifically. Tabloid newspapers focused less on the key themes and published shorter articles. In fact, both *Ekstra Bladet* and *The Sun* completely failed to engage in any real depth with the ethical dimensions of climate change. This arguably has negative repercussions for public understanding of the issue.

Chapter 1 argued that ethical considerations are crucial to a comprehensive debate on climate change. This thesis set out to explore how six key issues around climate change were represented in the outlets in three countries: Britain, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. It examined which were prominent and which were overlooked. The findings about the coverage suggest that three topics dominated across the three countries. These were

‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’.⁷⁹ Considering that these three topics were the issues most discussed at the negotiations their prevalence in the media coverage could perhaps be expected. Still, other important themes such as ‘future generations’, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ and ‘negotiating process’ were largely overlooked across the media in all three countries.

In addition, as chapters 4, 5 and 6 suggested, climate change was rarely portrayed as a challenge to our way of life and fundamental notions of neo-liberalism were hardly challenged in the outlets considered. This is more consistent with Carvalho’s (2005: 21) research suggesting that coverage of climate change in three British broadsheets - the *Guardian*, *the Independent* and *The Times* over a fifteen year period “...remained within the broad ideological parameters of free-market capitalism and neo-liberalism.” In this sense, ‘ideology’ at the level of underlying dominant ideas, still seems to impinge on coverage.

The analysis here has extended the existing research by shedding light on the variable focus given to different topics. Considering the predominance of the themes of ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’ across all three countries and the failure to engage with fundamental issues of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’, ‘future generations’ and the ‘negotiating process’, the findings indicate a lack of a comprehensive and broad debate in all three countries. This similarity in focus also indicates a degree of ‘consonance’ (Noelle-Neumann & Mathes 1987) in media coverage in all three countries in terms of the themes which were emphasised and overlooked. As a result, it can be concluded that no matter which outlet citizens read or watched they only got a partial appreciation of the key dimensions of climate change.

Television and press coverage naturally have their own intrinsic strengths and weaknesses. The broadsheets, especially the left-leaning ones, clearly had more items on climate change and its ethical dimensions than did television. The coverage in the broadsheets in Denmark

⁷⁹ The Faroese media, which had a smaller proportion of reports/articles focusing on ‘financing’ was an exception. This might be because they did not find it was relevant for the Faroese citizens since the Faroe Islands would not be expected to contribute to financing as they were not an independent negotiating party at the conference.

and UK was also much more in-depth, providing more context and analysis than did the television. Television coverage was clearly briefer and often lacked a rich and in-depth engagement with the key issues. This particular conclusion might partially be influenced by the research design as only one daily news bulletin was analysed from each country. Had more bulletins or current affairs programming been analysed the difference between the press and television might not have been as evident. However, as highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6, the press, especially the right-leaning *Jyllands-Posten* as well as the Faroese newspapers did present a simplistic and sometimes even misguided picture of climate change as well. Citizens would therefore have received more information and analysis by reading broadsheet newspapers, although in some instances this information would have been ambiguous.

However, coverage on television in all three countries had more emphasis on providing facts rather than opinion and debate material in contrast to the press. This might relate to television's explicit duty to remain impartial. Taking an active stance in their engagement with the key themes would go against this notion of impartiality. In terms of individual countries, DR provided the best example of a broadcaster seeking to add a high level of analysis and contextual information to their reports. For instance, due to their relatively large use of special correspondents they managed to inform viewers of the essential information concerning the conferences and climate change in general. However, DR was quite careful not to be too critical of the Danish hosts, much more so than the Danish press. This might also suggest that they had quite a nationally-oriented perspective in ensuring that the COP15 conference was seen as a resounding success.

Overall, broadsheet coverage did provide a richer debate and a wider breadth of coverage by including a larger range of sources than television. In terms of the comprehensiveness and depth of the public debate, there was a clear difference between the performance of the media in the Faroe Islands on the one hand, and Denmark and UK, on the other. The quality of the public debate on climate change in the Faroe Islands could be considered very poor. KVF never mentioned the COP16 conference, they hardly ever quoted sources from developing countries or NGOs and activists and there was no engagement with ethical principles, such as the polluter pays or historical responsibility in their body of

coverage. The newspaper coverage was also superficial and although the titles analysed were broadsheets, their coverage was often more similar to that of the tabloids in other countries. All this means that by using Faroese media outlets, the public would be unlikely to have a well informed understanding of the negotiations, climate change or its ethical dimensions. This perhaps highlights how media even in a small, but developed society, with limited resources, might struggle to cover such a complex issue and global event. As mentioned earlier, the Faroese media do not have the luxury of hiring special correspondents on each issue. This means that the journalists have to write stories on a wide range of issues that they do not necessarily have an adequate understanding of. The fact that there was reference to material from other media and news agencies in the Faroe Islands, as well as Denmark, might be a testament to this fact as well. This may also be relevant to bigger polities, where resource constraints are a common problem, but the country itself is impelled or obligated to join global efforts to curb carbon emissions.

Based on the analysis in previous chapters it is possible to draw some conclusions concerning both the overall quality of the public debate as well as how media differ in informing citizens about climate change. Firstly, the conducted analysis suggested that tabloid newspapers somewhat failed to perform the role we might hope for in a democratic society. Coverage in both tabloids analysed here was very limited. The tabloids contained few articles, avoided certain climate change topics, relied on a narrow range of sources and put forward a limited number of ethical perspectives. Therefore, in this instance it is problematic to argue that tabloids help to create an informed and engaged citizenry as Temple (2006) suggests they do. Readers of tabloid newspapers were very unlikely to be adequately informed about the basics of climate change, and even less so, its range of key challenges. However, this might suggest something about the public's interest in climate change. If news values are at the root of this inability or unwillingness to cover climate change in depth (and to some extent it is likely they are), then the pattern in the coverage identified here reflects a public indifference to the issue and its ethical dimensions. We argue that this has negative repercussions for attempts to address the issue, since the public might find other issues to be of more importance. The challenge from a public engagement perspective therefore becomes to make coverage of the issue more engaging and stimulating.

In terms of ability to inform readers about climate change and its ethical dimensions, the left-leaning *Politiken* and, even more so, the *Guardian* clearly outperformed the other media outlets. But the *Guardian* is somewhat unusual since it is owned by a trust, rather than a conventionally structured commercial concern. Securing its financial and editorial independence was certainly the idea behind the establishment of the trust in 1936 (Guardian Media Group 2013). This has allowed its editors to resist some of the pressures that have led to ‘churnalism’ (Davies 2009), as well as allowing them the latitude to pursue stories about issues like climate change to a greater degree than other titles. This has allowed the paper to continue to focus its attention on an issue which appears to be of limited ‘interest’ to the majority of the population. And it is reflected, not only in an investment in environmental journalism that is much heavier than its competitors, but also in the depth of its coverage, as our assessment has noted.

The thesis also examined the voices represented in the coverage and whether these were associated with particular themes or values. The analysis adds to the existing body of knowledge on the voices involved in climate debates. The findings contribute to our understanding of media/source relations regarding climate change. In some ways, they challenge existing orthodoxies. The preceding analysis found that there was a larger than expected plurality in terms of the voices presented, especially for the broadsheets in all three countries explored. These papers had a large presence of voices (such as scientists and NGOs) which came from outside their national political or governmental elites. The views of non-elite nations such as developing countries and BASIC countries could also feature quite prominently. This suggests the presence of a more plural environment on climate change when it comes to sources than the indexing literature suggests (See Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990; Bennett et al. 2006; Bennett et al. 2008; Davis 2003; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Livingston & Bennett 2003).

With regards to television, the picture was a little different. There was less pluralism within television’s source distribution, especially within the Faroese KVF. All three channels gave fairly prominent attention to their respective governments, as well as to foreign elite sources, such as US and EU representatives. These are the sort of actors Althaus et al

(1996) consider likely to feature in coverage, as these sources can have a significant influence on policy developments. Therefore, television showed evidence of more significant indexing than the broadsheet press.

Regardless, it must be stressed that television overall did not ignore other non-elite voices. All channels gave prominence to vox pops. BBC and KVF gave a large proportion of their coverage to the scientific community, whilst BBC and DR both gave prominent space to both developing countries as well as NGOs and activists. In Denmark, the NGOs and activists cited were often represented in a positive light and as authoritative sources on climate change. This is consistent with research conducted by Jørgensen et al (2010), who found that NGOs representatives were represented as voices of the people. Activists - even radical ones - were allowed to put forward their perspectives. However, the research conducted here extends the analysis to cover ethical discussions about climate change in countries unexplored thus far and over a longer period of time. As such, it adds to our understanding of sources during non-conference periods as well. Our findings regarding source distribution demonstrate, at least with respect to coverage on the main issues around climate change, that there were a wider range of sources accessed than the indexing literature would anticipate.

The findings on source distribution are also in stark contrast with other research suggesting that the scientific community was marginalised in coverage (Painter 2010). The analysis conducted here found that the scientific community was amongst the actors most widely quoted across the broadsheet titles, as well as on the BBC and KVF. In contrast, the tabloids gave no attention to the scientific community. In terms of breadth of voices, there was much less diversity of sources in the tabloid press and in the television coverage. Nevertheless, television did have a higher proportion of public voices than did the press overall. This might help make climate change relevant for the public. Still, those who only read tabloid papers or rely on television to inform themselves on climate change get a very limited range of perspectives on the issue. This has negative consequences for the likelihood of these people having a rich understanding of the complexity of climate change. However, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, this higher than anticipated level of plurality did not necessarily or inexorably lead to under-represented themes being more

heavily presented within coverage. For instance, most of the sources still did not touch upon the marginalised themes of ‘future generations’, ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ and ‘negotiating process’⁸⁰.

Furthermore, there was a real lack of plurality within the Faroese media coverage of climate change compared to the other countries considered. As discussed in Chapter 6, one might wonder whether this is as damaging as a lack of diversity within larger more powerful countries considering the size of the Faroe Islands and the fact that they are not an independent party to the UNFCCC. The answer is almost certainly that it is not. Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 1, climate change requires individuals and states from all over the world to take the necessary steps to combat the problem. The somewhat shallow Faroese coverage is unlikely to have contributed to persuading the public to take action against climate change by reducing emissions or supporting a global agreement on climate change.

This thesis has systematically analysed the ethical dimension by introducing the concepts of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism into the analysis of mediated discussions on climate change. In terms of the values presented, cosmopolitan perspectives were more prominent in all the outlets in all three countries. It was suggested in Chapter 3 that media has the potential to make citizens imagine the world beyond their own community (Chouliaraki 2008) – in other words that the media can help create a more cosmopolitan and compassionate global citizen who cares about the distant other. It could be argued that this was the case to a certain extent, especially in outlets such as the *Guardian*, which had a particularly global outlook. Through a cosmopolitan perspective emphasising for instance the consequences of climate change for individuals and the need for international collaboration, the media could possibly have contributed to encouraging a stronger global identity. However, it was clear that the outlets were still connected, to a significant degree, to the national perspective which was inherent in the communitarian theme evident in coverage. The communitarian perspective was particularly evident in the British and Faroese television coverage as well as across the British press.

⁸⁰ With the exception of developing countries, who were often quite keen to stress the ‘negotiating process’ across the three countries.

This thesis set out to examine whether some themes were more associated with either cosmopolitan or communitarian arguments. As Chapter 7 highlighted certain themes, such as ‘consequences’, were much more cosmopolitan than others in all the outlets analysed here. When ‘consequences’ were mentioned, a focus on distant places was much more commonplace. These articles highlighted that the harshest climate change impacts will hit distant countries, which are often not as well equipped to deal with the effects of global warming as the industrialised countries.

The themes of ‘carbon emissions’ and ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ had a higher prevalence of communitarian perspectives across the sample. Cuts in carbon emissions were often presented in conflict with the national interest – i.e. countries had to ensure that their government did not commit to higher emission reductions than other countries in order to ensure competitiveness. As such, citizens would have been encouraged to think of their own self-interest rather than that of the globe as a whole. Issues of ‘lifestyle and sustainability’ were often discussed in the national context, both in terms of ensuring a steady power supply for the individual country and by mentioning efforts to develop more renewable energy within each country. Thus, the emphasis on particular themes had a bearing on the overall values coming across in the coverage.

The actors quoted also emphasised different themes within their statements. For instance, the scientific community was mainly quoted on ‘consequences’ and ‘carbon emissions’ in all the countries. In addition to those two themes, the developing countries tended to stress issues relating to ‘financing’ and the ‘negotiating process’. Interestingly, the important perspective of developing countries was almost completely absent from the Faroese television coverage whilst it was on occasions misrepresented in the press. This, in turn, has implications for the breadth of coverage Faroese citizens receive on climate change and its ethical dimensions.

The sources also varied in their association with cosmopolitan and communitarian perspectives. It was noteworthy that almost all actors cited, bar the US government in the British press, primarily emphasised cosmopolitan perspectives. In terms of television,

cosmopolitan perspectives also had more prominence. Communitarian values, however, had a larger presence in television, in terms of the proportion of stories, than in the press. The most cosmopolitan actors across all media outlets in all three countries, were developing countries, followed by UN officials, whilst the EU representatives and NGOs and activists consistently put across communitarian perspectives across the three countries. Overall, the actors cited in the Danish media were the most cosmopolitan. The sources accessed in the British press, as well as in KVF and BBC put forward more communitarian perspectives.

One of the central aims of this thesis was to consider whether there are indications that a transnational public sphere is emerging on climate change. The public sphere has been defined as “...dispersed, all-encompassing, discursive network within which citizens, connected by the means of communications, form currents of opinion in seeking how best to resolve common problems” (Habermas 1996: 360). This has been mostly applied to nation-states, but there is no reason why the public sphere cannot extend beyond national borders, when global issues are discussed (Nanz & Steffek 2004). Chapter 2 highlighted that considering the global challenge in addressing climate change, what is needed is thematically connected coverage across a range of countries (Gavin 2009). Eide and Kunelius (2010) also suggest that for an transnationalised public sphere to emerge, a narrative which defines common interests is necessary. It was also argued that a mediated global public sphere could lay the foundations of a more cosmopolitan citizenship (Cottle 2009; Volkmer 2003).

Chapter 2 argued that a transnational public sphere would require the synchronisation and homogenisation of national public spheres (Grundmann 1999; Grundmann et al. 2000; Risse 2003). In addition it would also include a common discourse presupposing a degree of collective identification with each other’s fate across countries (Risse 2003). The preceding analysis found evidence of synchronisation (i.e. similar levels of attention dedicated to climate change) across the three countries. As Chapter 7 demonstrated, all outlets increased their coverage for the COP15 conference, only to decrease it for the following negotiations period. As such, climate change did get a higher level of attention across all the countries during the actual negotiations, although the quantity of coverage

was smaller in the Faroese media than in the other two countries. As discussed earlier, the tabloids also had substantially lower levels of coverage than the broadsheets.

A high level of homogenisation across the countries was also evident within the coverage. As seen in the discussion above, the outlets focused predominantly on ‘carbon emissions’, ‘consequences’ and ‘financing’. Both press and television overlooked the three remaining themes to a large extent, with ‘future generations’ being the smallest theme across all the countries. In that sense, there were clearly similar themes being emphasised across national borders. This homogenisation was also apparent in the dominance of cosmopolitan values throughout the countries, and the similarities in the values put forward in relation to the respective themes. This tendency of newspapers and broadcasters to focus on similar themes, whilst neglecting others resulted in that the public received only a partial perspective on the key issues around climate change in all three countries. This has negative implications in terms of diversity of debate. At the same time, it might suggest the presence of some more universal factors across media systems influencing the prominence of the various themes and ethical perspectives. These factors could include news values, the negotiations or the intrinsic characteristics of the topic itself.

Finally, the conclusions with regards to the presence of a ‘common global discourse’ were not as clear. In some ways, this language was present within the stories analysed. Outlets in all three countries had arguments highlighting the necessity of sharing the responsibilities to deal with climate change. Perspectives emphasising that it was in the interests of all countries in the world to address the problem as quickly as possible were also a feature of coverage across all outlets. For instance, the BBC (see Chapter 4) argued that

“It is described as one of the greatest threat to mankind, a change in the climate, fuelled by our pollution. The impact potentially felt in every country on Earth and now the world has come together to try to forge a response” (BBC 07.12.09).

Such narratives were quite common when stories discussed the urgency of climate change and the need for strong action. *Jyllands-Posten* (See Chapter 5) also highlighted that the world does not need any more summits without results, but political actions, which help alleviate food security and bring about a comprehensive climate agreement (*Jyllands-Posten* 16.11.09). Therefore, a common global discourse was a feature within the reports. Despite

this, there clearly was an element of nationally-oriented commentary within the coverage in all three countries. This aspect of coverage was stronger in relation to television, which was both less cosmopolitan and more communitarian than the press in all three countries.

In terms of media's ability to inform citizens about the processes that take place in global governance (Nanz & Steffek 2004), it can be concluded that this role was fulfilled to a greater extent in relation to the COP15 conference. The media's performance for COP16 was substantially worse. In general, it is unlikely that citizens will have been well informed about the key issues at the later negotiations⁸¹. Overall, it could be concluded that these global high profile conferences on climate change do provide an opportunity for media to adopt a more cosmopolitan approach to climate change, highlighting the interdependence of the peoples of the world. Therefore, one could argue as Eide and Kunelius (2010) do that at least a momentary global or transnational public sphere is possible in these contexts. Granted, the media in these three countries cannot constitute a full transnational public sphere, but they can partially construct it. In view of the above discussion, this thesis found that coverage of climate change in the UK, Denmark and the Faroe Islands does show some clear signs of an emergence of a transnational public sphere. However, in order to explore more fully the existence or the possibility of such a transnational public sphere, one would have to explore coverage in a much wider range of countries than those analysed here.

As the previous discussion has highlighted, the thesis reached mixed conclusions in terms of the overall quality of media coverage of climate change and its ethical dimensions. Although some outlets, most notably the *Guardian* and *Politiken*, were found to perform reasonably well in relation to their coverage of the key issues around climate change, the remaining outlets, especially the tabloid press and Faroese media in general, left much to be desired in terms of their ability to fulfil their functions in an informed democracy. The left-leaning *Guardian* and *Politiken* were also more cosmopolitan and came closest to creating a sense of the world as one global community, and therefore also possibly helping encourage the development of a more 'cosmopolitan' perspective amongst their readers, one that

⁸¹ This was particularly relevant with regards to those relying on television and tabloid coverage, as well as the Faroese public in general.

considers the interests of fellow persons across the world and can imagine the world beyond his or her own community (Chouliaraki 2008). However, all the outlets lacked a thorough and explicit discussion of all the key challenges of climate change.

The above raises the question of what exactly one might realistically expect from the media. In other words, what characteristics would a genuinely rich climate change debate in the media possess? At the very least, such a debate would contain a treatment of all the key challenges of climate change as opposed to merely focusing on a set of issues across media outlets. In addition, the media would engage in detail with the important issues intrinsic to climate change. A rich debate would also include a wide range of perspectives of all the stakeholders involved. There would have to be a sustained level of media interest in the issue over a prolonged period of time across the media outlets and countries. This should not be limited to a few broadsheet titles, but also include tabloids and television. The shortcomings of the tabloid newspapers in this respect are all the more serious in view of their high circulation figures. It is nevertheless possible that this is too much to ask of the media. The evidence presented here suggests that the outlets struggled (some clearly more than others) to provide such a rich debate.

These conclusions all have implications for efforts to address climate change at multiple levels – the individual, national as well as the global. As mentioned in Chapter 1, climate change is a particularly challenging issue to address, since the consequences are a) generally more serious for people in distant places and b) more likely to afflict people in the future. These geographical and intergenerational elements of climate change make the issue seem less urgent. As Giddens (2009) argues, democratic countries, by their very nature, tend to be driven by the immediate concerns of voters at any one time. Politicians often operate on a short-term basis, and are principally concerned about their re-election. As a result, they often attempt to solve problems where the benefits can be seen immediately.

A citizenry that is uninformed on climate change (and that is ignorant of its ethical dimensions) will make it all the more difficult for politicians to take the necessary steps to address the issue, i.e. if the public are not concerned about climate change, it becomes difficult for politicians to justify the necessary measures to tackle the problem. As such, it is

crucial that the media inform citizens of the seriousness of the issue and thereby persuade them that action is necessary and even urgent. Considering the performance of the outlets analysed here, this does not bode well for efforts to address the issue. The findings here suggest that the vast majority of citizens would be unlikely to have a strong understanding of climate change. This therefore has implications for politicians' ability or willingness to take the necessary decisions on the issue. In addition, considering the intergenerational and geographical elements fundamental to the issue, it could be argued that a strong ethical understanding of the challenges posed by climate change and a cosmopolitan perspective become essential for successful international cooperation. Without such perspectives in the media, the public could be even less likely to consider climate change as an important matter to be addressed. As such, the issue, considering the costs involved, becomes all the more difficult to sell to the electorate. The findings here therefore have negative implications for the ability of politicians to take action on climate change.

This discussion relates to one more issue. Chapter 2 outlined a range of functions that the media should ideally perform within liberal democratic societies. Graber (2003) suggests that we should not judge the media too harshly. Firstly, media are commercial enterprises concerned about their bottom-line. Secondly, journalists know that average citizens are only mildly interested in the political life surrounding them (they would rather have news about issues such as crime, celebrity and scandal). Considering this, she argues that the "...surprise is not that the media have failed to perform the functions that are deemed so essential for participatory democracy, but that they have retained a public-service orientation at all" (Graber 2003: 148).

Graber's argument here is an important perspective to bear in mind. From that viewpoint, it is understandable that climate change does not get all that much attention especially if newspapers do not consider it to be of interest to their readers. After all, they cover the issues that they think will sell papers. In that sense, one could argue that commercial media are intrinsically limited in how far they can perform their functions within a democratic society. Alternatively, it could be claimed that society asks too much of a profit-driven press that is already under economic pressure, due to issues such as declining newspaper sales. This leaves the broadcasters, who are bound by their explicit public service

obligations. Ideally, they should fill the gap left in the coverage by the press, as they do in some instances (Gavin 2007b). However, the preceding analysis has demonstrated that their coverage of climate change and its main challenges was, at the very least, no more (and sometimes less) comprehensive than that of the broadsheet press. For instance, all outlets failed to engage substantially with the themes of 'future generations' and 'lifestyle and sustainability'.

The failure of the tabloids (and most outlets for the COP16 period) to engage comprehensively with climate change throughout both conference periods could indicate something about the public's concern about the issue. It could be argued that the limited coverage of climate change is a re-expression of a lack of public interest in the issue. Paradoxically, this same media coverage is crucial to increasing that interest.

However, that said, this thesis discovered a predominance of cosmopolitan perspectives across the outlets in all three countries. The findings suggest that key issues around climate change present an opportunity for the media to address media consumers as global rather than local citizens. It was argued in Chapter 1 that the media often take a nationally-oriented perspective, emphasising the local interests. These findings indicate that climate change has the potential to partially break down the communitarian barrier that so often is part of media practice (Cottle 2009). A cosmopolitan perspective might help citizens appreciate firstly, the global nature of climate change and secondly, their responsibility to address it. As such, the high presence of cosmopolitanism in the media could potentially contribute to persuading the public of the necessity of introducing measures to combat climate change.

The findings outlined in the thesis raise several new important questions. Firstly, the differing role that ideology played within coverage within the different countries highlights the need to conduct more research on climate change in non-Anglophone countries. The research here has demonstrated the value of comparative methods in relation to climate change. It would be worthwhile to extend the analysis conducted here to other countries to see how the findings compare across the world. This could indicate whether the findings reached here are specific to this topic or whether they can be attributed more generally to

the media system and the political context. Applying the analytical framework developed here to a wider range of countries would also enable a better understanding of the potential emergence of a transnational public sphere.

This thesis has not considered the images of the television and press coverage. Bearing in mind the vast amounts of data explored and the fact that press images were difficult to obtain considering the databases available, this was not possible to do. However, research in future could make more of the visual communication of climate change, considering the power of images to bridge the gap between abstract concepts and every day experiences (Nicholson-Cole 2005). Images have the potential to stimulate public engagement with the issue. Research thus far has also demonstrated that the deployment of some imagery might be counterproductive from a public engagement perspective (O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole 2009). This highlights the need to explore in more detail how the news media use visuals in the communication of climate change and the potential effects different images have on public perception and engagement with climate change.

One of the more significant discoveries of this research related to the source distribution. This thesis found more plurality in the source distribution than would have been anticipated from the indexing literature. It is possible that this could be down to the choice of issues explored or the fact that coverage of climate negotiations rather than every-day coverage was investigated. Granted, since the periods of analysis were three months around each conference, some day-to-day content was assessed, but the bulk of material was published in relation to the conferences themselves. This could have had an impact on the findings. Potential future research could and perhaps should revisit the literature on indexing and explore in more detail the source distribution during non-conference periods and in relation to climate change more generally.

Especially the COP15 period analysed here represents a somewhat exceptional case study due to its level of attendance and the global interest it attracted. As this thesis has demonstrated, analysing a case study like that does help gauge which factors influence news content. Even so, it does not give a good indication of the way media engage with climate change more generally. Future research could explore how media cover other climate

conferences, as well as investigate how the media perform during non-conference periods in order to get a fuller picture of the ways in which media engage with the issue.

This thesis found a clear predominance of cosmopolitan perspectives. However, this could be particular to coverage of the main issues around climate change. In order to delve more into how ethics underpin debates in the media, future research could explore the ways in which cosmopolitanism and communitarianism are a feature of coverage on other global issues. Finally, this thesis chose to focus on press and television only, since evidence suggests that these are the public's main sources of information on climate change (Whitmarsh 2009). Despite that, it is likely that the Internet may become an increasingly important source in the future. As such, it would need to be studied in any future assessment. Considering the magnitude of information available there, this would be a massive enterprise, and probably beyond the capacity of a doctoral thesis.

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