UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

Communicating Climate Change:

Content analysis of British and Russian website coverage of climate change

Vytaute Erlickyte

Master of Communication

Abstract

The issue of climate change is central to contemporary society. As our reliance on the media is constantly growing, media plays a crucial role of forming society's perception of climate change and is often deemed to be responsible for lack of action among people in order to improve situation and reduce emission of carbon dioxide. Thus, it is of extreme importance to find out how media communicates climate change to its audience and whether any changes in the way they cover this issue should be made. The main focus of this study is to find out how British and Russian news websites cover the issue of climate change.

The analysis of balanced reporting, framing and linguistic repertoires revealed that the media is still sending mixed messages regarding climate change to its audiences. The analysis revealed, that contrary to the previous research, the use of linguistic repertoires has not improved. Despite a number of similarities regarding coverage practices employed by the two websites, some significant differences were noticed as well.

Key words: *climate change, news websites, balanced reporting, framing, linguistic repertoires*

Contents

1. Introduction

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (hereinafter referred to as IPCC) report of 2013, revealed that period of 1983-2013 is likely to be the warmest in our history.[1] It is widely accepted that climate change is a global problem, which requires urgent actions. According to the information presented by IPCC, the world will experience more cases of "extreme weather", such as heat waves, floods and rising sea levels. Some of these threats seem to be closer than expected as a number of countries have suffered several devastating extreme weather events, which had consequences not only on their economy but also claimed lives of their citizens. Despite the overwhelming evidence proving the magnitude of the biggest threat the world is facing right now, the lack of urgency and efficiency when it comes to taking up the actions, which could help to at least stall the global warming, is rather surprising.

Despite the fact that climate change has been a widely employed buzzword for a number of decades, its official definition has changed throughout the time. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 2008) defines climate change as "a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods". On the other hand, a definition provided by IPCC (2007d) in the AR4, includes the idea that climate change can be caused by natural processes, as they elaborate on climate change definition by adding that "Climate change may be due to natural internal processes or external forcings, or to persistent anthropogenic changes in the composition of the atmosphere or in land use." The definition provided by the IPCC has more breadth, and yet, though being scientifically correct it might imply the division between the opinions whether climate change is man-caused. Without doubt, climate change is a complex natural process, which has been taking place since the very beginning, however recently it has been greatly accelerated and affected by man activities.

---

[1] http://www.climatechange2013.org/images/report/WG1AR5_Chapter14_FINAL.pdf

Climate change falls under an umbrella of what is called global risks or crises. Beck (1999) suggests that our world has changed from that of enemies to that of dangers and risks. According to the scholar, we live in a world risk society, which is marked by fabricated uncertainty and exaggerated fears (Beck, 1999). When facing the risk, people can have 3 reactions: apathy, denial and transformation (Beck, 2006). Unfortunately, people, when faced with the environmental risks rarely opt for the latter one - that of transformation. Global threats, such as climate change, take form only through mass media, as Beck (2006: 332) states "without techniques of visualization, without symbolic forms, without mass media, etc. risks are nothing at all." Consequently, the issue of climate change and how it is perceived in the society is extremely dependent on the media and how it presents it. Previous research (Ereaut & Segnit, 2007; Ward, 2009), which will be discussed in more detail later on, show that people still have doubts about climate change and it could be closely linked to a chaotic discourse of climate change. Even though, a number of researchers attempted to analyze how media presents climate change and what are possible implications, there seems to be a lack of current research done on the British media, whereas some other countries like Russia, which is considered to be the 4th top emitter of carbon dioxide, have been completely overlooked, leaving a huge gap in the field. Furthermore, the countries can be viewed as illustrative cases of different political systems. Besides the evident contrast as Britain is considered a democratic country, whereas Russia is marked by an authoritarian leadership, differences exist regarding their participation in international action against climate change as well. Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyze how the media, namely the popular news websites, of Britain and Russia communicate climate change to its audiences. Thus, the research question is: How do British and Russian news websites, TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru communicate climate change and how do they engage the audience with the issue of climate change?

In order to fully answer the research question, three sub-questions were raised:

Is the norm of balance employed when covering the nature of climate change and thus presenting the views that support as well as argue against its anthropogenic nature?

How climate change is framed in TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru?

What linguistic repertoires are used when covering the issue of climate change in TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru?

1.1 New medium

Mass media and its accessibility have changed significantly from the times of the first printed book, which can be seen as a marking point of the beginning of modern media. Nearly two hundred year after invention of printing, newspapers reached the public domain and secured their place as a respectable source of information for quite some time. However, nowadays the future of printed newspapers seems to be unclear as the number of readers is gradually decreasing. Printed newspapers seem to be pushed aside by television or internet nowadays. Even television, which has been considered to be the most "massive" media of all, according to International Television Expert Group (in McQuail, 2009), is now experiencing a gradual decline. Advances of digital age allow people with access to it to be constantly surrounded by a never-ending flow of information and news. Here, we encounter the newest mass medium – the Internet. According to McQuail (2009: 52) the Internet can be considered as having the status of medium due to its "distinctive technology, manner of use, range of content and services, and a distinct image of its own". Furthermore, as McQuail (2009: 52) suggests that, in order for other mediums, such as newspapers, to survive they must "move to the life online" and employ technological advances available today.

Nowadays, the leading position as the main source of information has been occupied by the new medium – that of Internet. Both press and television have started to employ the latest technological advances in attempt to extend their reach of audience via internet. The Internet helps to avoid time and geographical differences, allowing to access articles and information at high speed, at any time or place and often free of charge. The term "newspaper", as Brock (2013: 118) notes has been "awkwardly stretched to cover print, tablet editions, mobile-compatible output and millions of pages in the online archive". Even though, the term now covers online, digitalized versions of printed newspapers, in order to squeeze them in under the same newspaper term seems to be quite troublesome. It should be taken into consideration, that websites of respective newspapers employ a number of multimodal means, such as videos, audio, and abundance of pictures, that are not available to the printed ones. Furthermore, most of them

are interactive, allowing readers to express their opinion on the issue in a form of comments. Most importantly, the content on the websites can be and often is updated 24 hours a day, which is of extreme importance to the reader as he or she has an access to the freshest information. However, some researchers (McQuail, 2009) view this process of employing new means as a process of extension, rather than the process where new medium is replacing the old one. In a traditional sense, newspaper is "a printed publication, now usually issued daily or weekly, consisting of folded unstapled sheets and containing news, freq. with the addition of advertisements, photographs, articles, and correspondence."[2] (Oxford English Dictionary, 2014) Therefore, a current definition of a newspaper, as found in the Oxford English Dictionary, should be either revised or extended, so that its online form would not be excluded.

1.2 Media theories

Since 1920s, when attention was drawn to the mass media and its effects, there has been a significant amount of studies carried out to determine the links between media's content and audience behavior. According to McQuail (2009) research on media's effects can be divided in four phases. The first phase encompasses the period from the turn of 20th century until 1930s, when film and radio was considered to be powerful enough to shape audience's beliefs and opinions. During this period propaganda was successfully used by different states to influence people, only reassuring the power that of the then new media – film and radio. The second phase, which lasted until 60s, witnessed the emergence of ideas that questioned the power of media, as the focus shifted to personal influence. In the third stage, which was marked by the arrival of television, powerful media was rediscovered once again. The fourth phase witnessed negotiation of media's power. . Lastly, the current phase, which started in late 70s, was marked by social constructivism. Here, a more critical view regarding media's effects (though not denying their existence) is taken. Despite the fact that extent to which it can influence its audience is still questionable, it is widely accepted that media does have cognitive, affective as well as behavioral effects on its consumers (Johnson-Cartee, 2005; McQuail, 2009). When talking about what role

---

[2] "newspaper, n.". OED Online. March 2014. Oxford University Press.
http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.chalmers.se/view/Entry/126631?rskey=QvoDOa&result=1&isAdvanced=false
(accessed May 01, 2014).

mass media plays when shaping people's perception, attitudes and behavior towards certain issues we have to take a closer look at three influential media theories, namely, the direct transmission model, agenda setting, and narrative framing and cultivation theory (Cox, 2010: 174).

The first theory that of direct transmission, which is sometimes referred to as hypodermic needle model (Williams, 2003), uses the simplistic model of a sender and receiver and views media's effects as results of such direct transmission. The theory views media's effects as being simple and direct. Furthermore, this theory suggests that audiences are "highly susceptible to manipulation" (Cox, 2010: 174). However, this theory has been widely criticized for suggesting an oversimplified view of the audience as being easily led and as Anderson (1997) states, for not being based on empirical research and lacking evidence. The scholar (Anderson, 1997: 18), also adds that this theory fails to grasp "the sheer diversity of interpretation that could be drawn by different subsection of the population" as the theory overlooks the fact that people "engage with media messages from their own ideas, prejudices and preconceptions" (Williams, 2003: 172). Furthermore, just like the name transmission itself implies, recipients, in this case the audience, are perceived as being passive and playing no role in how they interpret the message. Interestingly, despite its drawbacks and criticism it has received, as Williams (2003) notes, the image of the mindless audience or as the author puts it "zombie" is successfully being pertained in popular culture. Fortunately, the striking drawbacks of the theory and lack of evidence of direct influence media has on its audience has been taken seriously in the academic field, thus encouraging emergence of other theories explaining media effects such as agenda setting theory.

Agenda setting theory has received more success and has been widely used in political discourse. According to the theory, the media has the power to attract our attention to certain issues. The theory suggests that media may not have full power to shape individual opinion or what they believe in, as there are other factors, such as family, friends etc. , that play an important role, but it does have an effect on whether people perceive a particular problem as important. McCombs et al. (2002: 2) adds that people "learn about the importance of topics in the news based on how the news media emphasize those topics."(emphasis mine) Here, of great importance is how media presents the issue and what tactics are used to make it more prominent to the reader or viewer. This idea has been successfully supported by empirical research, which showed that issues,

which have been widely covered by the media, were perceived as of high importance by the public, whereas public opinion was not mirrored by the media (Cox, 2010). However, the theory has also received some critical remarks. The theory has been criticized for not having a clear definition of what agenda setting is, thus rendering the concept too vague and all embracing (Williams, 2003). Furthermore, as Williams (2003: 182) highlights it does not explain "how far do certain cues (such as headlines, visuals or position of item in a newscast) suggest the importance of an issue?" Only recently the agenda-setting theory researchers acknowledged that media's agenda can be influenced by interested groups, such as government or politicians, to name a few, which adds more complexity to the theory. In general, it can be said that the theory explains how the media can make people think about certain issues, however it does not touch another extremely important aspect: how the media influences what people think about the issue.

The last theory under discussion, narrative framing, looks at how the media "organize the bits and facts of phenomena through stories to aid audiences' understanding and the potential for this organization to affect our relationships to the phenomena being presented" (Cox, 2010: 177). In a similar manner McComas et al. (1999: 36) state that "humans use narratives to weave together fragmented observations to construct meanings and realities". Thus, the main idea behind the narrative framing is that the way we experience and understand certain issue is mainly influenced by the way media constructs narratives about the topic at hand. According to some scholars, (McCombs et al., 1997), framing theory has significant similarities to previously discussed theory of agenda-setting. The researchers view framing theory as an extension of agenda-setting theory and even labeled it a "second-level agenda-setting". Previous research have showed that by using carefully thought-through images, emotionally-laden words and value terms the media can manage to implicitly construct a narrative that shapes an opinion of the viewer (Cox, 2010).

Media, being the main source of information in our society, naturally, has received a significant amount of attention from researchers in various fields. One of the most discussed, yet still ambiguous topic is the impact media has on society. As one of the illustrative examples of media's power and influence on society, McQuail (2009) presents media's, mostly press and film, mobilization during the First World War in Europe and the United States. During that time media was successfully used to inspire and influence people, leaving us little doubt in media's potency. Despite such examples of success, where media has been effectively managed and

consequently encouraged people to take action, nowadays we more and more often encounter a negative perception of media. As McQuail (2009) puts it, media nowadays has become a scapegoat and is often blamed for currently existing social issues, such as political apathy and cynicism, to name a few, and the way they are portrayed as well as for the lack of action when it comes to solving them. Whether such blaming is unfounded is questionable, since the previous research on the way climate change is presented in the media, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, shows that media does have plenty of room for improvement.

1.3 Previous research

Interestingly, media's attention to climate change for a long time has been rather low, due to the lack of "visual dimension" and the increase appeared only in 2000s, when the effects of it became already visible (Doyle, 2011). Despite a large coverage of climate change issue, society's response to it was not as expected. Therefore, a number of research has been carried out to find out what are current practices employed by the media and whether they are effective. Previous research on climate change communication showed that though media tends to employ fear as a motivating factor for change, it often has the opposite effect as the audience tend to reject such appeals, which consequently results in numbness and apathy (Moser et al. 2011; Doyle, 2011). Furthermore, the researchers (Moser et al., 2011) claim that too much focus on negative aspects of climate change instead of providing possible solutions disengages the reader. These studies show that practices employed by the media are not suitable for covering climate issue and has to be improved. However, in order to be able to evaluate what is the current state of reporting and what are its possible effects we need to take a closer look at the researcher which in detail analyzed practices employed by the media.

1.3.1 Public understanding and balanced view

According to Nerlich et al. (2010) during the last two decades climate change communication had to deal with uncertainty, related to whether anthropogenic climate change is taking place, and concentrated on persuading people that such phenomena is actually happening, whereas nowadays climate change communication should be focusing on urging people to take practical measures rather than persuading about the existence of issue itself. However, as research shows (Boykoff &Boykoff, 2004; Butler & Pidgeon, 2009) media still tends to wander back to the issue of the nature of climate change. Unsurprisingly, a number of studies (Bord et al., 2000; Ward,

2009) have shown that the public is still lacking knowledge about climate change. "A correct understanding of the causes of global warming" as Bord et al. (2000: 23) put it, "is the key determinant of behavioral intentions to address global warming." A survey carried out by Ipsos MORI in 2008, successfully illustrated that gaps in society's knowledge regarding climate change exist, the survey exposed that a staggering 60 percent of respondents agreed with a statement that experts are still questioning if humans are contributing to climate change (Ward, 2009). Apparently, discrepancies between the factual scientific knowledge regarding climate change, which should be communicated to the society, and society's perceptions of it exist. Climate change, as Williams (2009: 29) puts it is "an unobtrusive issue, which is not generally visible to the public except through media". Therefore, one can question whether the media had successfully managed to portray the problem of climate change to its audience.

A hint to the answer of a question why people still do not grasp the severity of the problem can be found in the work of Boykoff & Boykoff (2004). Despite the fact that UN's IPCC made an announcement that in the next 100 years the average temperature of the planet would increase in about 1.5-6 F. IPCC's team of around 1.500 scientists from over 60 nations have reached a consensus regarding the issue, from time to time, voices of disagreement can be heard in scientific community and consequently in the media. However, as Trumbo & Shanahan (2000) point out, the ideas proposed by sceptics should be viewed critically due to the fact that a number of such researchers have been funded by fossil fuel industries whose interests are rather clear. Overall, a picture that is drawn by scientific community is clear because 96% of scientists agree that climate change is anthropogenic (IPCC, 2007a), meaning it is man caused, and its implications are grave, thus actions should be taken as fast as possible both by governments and individuals. A research focusing on reporting practices of climate change in USA quality newspapers (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004) have found that some journalistic norms, such as presenting both sides, might lead to misrepresentation of the issue. This phenomena was named by the researchers as "balance as bias". By giving the same weight to both sides, to those who believe that climate change is happening due to human activities and to those, who don't, rather than taking the weight of evidence into consideration the picture becomes distorted. According to the researchers (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004) the ideal solution to this problem would be for journalists to abandon the balance rule, when reporting climate change, in order to present "the real" picture. One of the most recent research today, carried out by Boykoff & Mansfield (2008)

analyzed tabloid coverage of climate change in the UK, for the number of people reading tabloids is higher than those reading broadsheet newspapers. Their results revealed that throughout the period of 2000- 2006 balanced reporting was still widely practiced, with a number of cases where anthropogenic nature of climate change was strongly questioned. As the researchers suggested (Boykoff & Mansfield, 2008: 8) that such coverage of climate change contributes to "to a skewed public understanding of human contributions to climate change". Butler & Pidgeon (2009) point out, that other media norms exist that come into play when covering an issue. For instance, journalists might prepare to frame an issue in terms of conflict and controversy in order to catch an attention of the audience. Thus, journalists' wish to present an issue as controversial, expecting to grab the attention of the audience, might result in "informational bias" (Butler & Pidgeon, 2009: 45). As one of the examples of informational bias could be coverage of an idea, proposed by Russian researcher, that climate change can be explained by the solar activity, taking away responsibility from people, has been introduced. Despite the fact that this explanation has been rejected by a vast majority of scientists (Royal Society, 2007), introducing it in the article on climate change could cause informational bias. Butler & Pidgeon (2009) also notes that this scientifically refuted idea has influenced the emergence of widely used argument that climate change is a "naturally occurring phenomena".

1.3.2 Framing of climate change

Despite the fact, that balanced reporting of climate change does play a big role in how people perceive the issue, there are other strategies employed by the media that have a big influence in forming our attitudes. One of the first studies focusing on the effects frames have on our perception was carried out by Loftus (1979). The researcher managed to successfully show how certain information that is provided about event can greatly affect our perception about it. In his experiment people watched a video recording of a traffic accident and later on were asked to tell the speed of the vehicles. He formulated the question in two ways: when asking the first group he used the word hit, whereas for another group the word smashed was used. The results showed that verbs used in questions influenced people's perception of how fast the cars went, as smash – was associated with higher speed. This experiment revealed that even the small differences in how the information is presented to people can have a big impact on their perception, thus the researchers have turned to the media, which is the primary source of the news for majority of people.

A number of researchers, following the framing theory discussed previously, tried to look at what frames are used by the media and what influence do they have on our perception of the issue. A big amount of attention has been paid to media's framing strategies when covering political news. One of the most prominent researchers in the field, Claes H. de Vreese, in her book "Framing Europe: Television news and European Integration" looked at how television news framed an issue of integration in EU and how this technique influenced public opinion about Europe. The research (de Vreese, 2003: 115) revealed that differences exist "<…>in the news coverage Europeans affairs when comparing an election campaign to regularly occurring key events (EU summits), to unique vents (the introduction of the euro), and to general, routine news periods." Furthermore, the results of the study suggested that significant cross-national differences exist in the coverage. The finding show that the most common frame used cross-nationally, in Denmark, Britain and the Netherlands, was that of conflict, closely followed by the economic frame. The author (de Vreese, 2003) points out that the conflict is more often domestic rather than that of EU scale. When it comes to effects that frames have on public's opinion, the research received that both conflict and economic frame significantly influenced the way people perceived the issue or as de Vreese (2003: 135) puts it "<…> frames in television news have the ability to direct the thoughts of viewers when conceiving of a contemporary political issue'. Therefore, when a person was presented a news story framed in economic frame he or she later on displayed the thoughts that addressed "costs, benefits, and financial implications" (de Vreese, 2003: 135). The study successfully showed that the news frames largely influence the way we perceive and think of a specific issue. Research carried out by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) attempted to find out the most common frames used in reporting political news in Holland. The results showed that the frame of responsibility was the most common one, as television news often framed government as the one responsible for social issues. The second, most popular frame used was that of conflict, which, as the authors point out, is similar to the practices in USA, where conflicting groups were not only the government and opposition, but also the parties within the coalition.

The research carried out by Manning et al. (2009) looked at how framing affects people's perception of a certain goal. The goal stating message "We must cut carbon 80 percent by 2050", apparently, does not encourage or motivate people to act, thus the researcher looked at whether a rephrased, an probably more motivating, message would be perceived differently. The message

has been worded as "cutting carbon 2 percent per year until the year 2050" Manning et al. (2009: 326). The results showed that participants were much more willing to take actions in order to fight climate change when the message was reformulated by stating yearly sub-goals – 2 per cent. Manning's et al. (2009: 334) research goes in hand with an idea that it is essential to emphasize "small wins" because it is important and effective when it comes to "solving seemingly intractable social problems." Another research carried out by Valkenburg et al. (1999) on effects of frames on people's recollection revealed that news with human interest frame, though often made the information more interesting and compelling to the reader, did not enhance the recollection of information (Valkenburg et al.,1999: 566). On the other hand, people, who were presented news framed in terms of conflict, economic consequences or responsibility, were better at remembering core information. One of the explanations, proposed by the researchers, why human interest frame did not prove to be effective was that human interest frame may have induced cynicism in its readers (Valkenburg et al. 1999).

Zehr (2009) in his research on frames in US press coverage of climate change states that a new environmental/economic hybrid frame was evident in the articles. Climate change was portrayed as an economic opportunity "with the duplicate benefit that action would reduce an environmental threat" (Zehr, 2009: 91). Zehr (2009) notes that this frame is pragmatic as it provides an idea how environmental objectives should be addressed, without suggesting that "more challenging demand for widespread behavioral changes" exists (Zehr, 2009: 91). A research by Bowe et al. (2014) looked at how the media framed the news regarding the so called Climategate, a hacking scandal during which climate research related information was made public, suggesting that researchers manipulated the data. Researchers (Bowe et al., 2014) developed issue specific frames and found out that the most prominent frame in US and British press, was that of scientific dishonesty. This frame portrayed Climategate as solely a data manipulation and in several cases bringing it to the extreme – suggesting that climate change is non-existent. Interestingly, the frame was the most common in both countries, suggesting that, as the authors put it (Bowe et al., 2014: 166), "the allegation of wrong doing <…> is more universally compelling and easier to understand than explanations of complex scientific issues."

A number of research on news and message framing have been carried out in other fields as well. A study in health psychology by Banks et al. (1995) have investigated which frames, gain or

loss, have more effect on decision making. The study found out that loss-framed messages were more effective than gain-framed ones, as patients who received a loss-framed message, which focused on the risks that a person might experience if she does not obtain mammography, were 1.7 times more likely to undergo a medical test in order to prevent possible risks. A study carried out by Cappella et al. (1996) analyzed broadcast and print news regarding election to find out which frames evoked cynicism. Their finding show that news framed in terms of strategy caused the biggest amount of cynicism in audience, whereas news framed in terms of problem-solution evoked low levels of cynicism. This study shows that small changes in how news are framed can evoke cynicism in the audience and though the authors (Cappella et al., 1996) did not directly blame media for apparent cynicism in the American society regarding politics, implications that media focuses on self-interest, which generates mistrust and cynicism, were evident throughout the paper.

1.3.3 Climate change discourse in media

A research carried out by IPPR in 2005-2006, analyzed how UK media covers climate change and found out that the situation has to be improved urgently. Their main findings revealed that there was too much contradiction when presenting the news on climate change and its discourse is chaotic and confusing. After discourse and semiotic analysis of articles found in a variety of British newspapers as well as television and radio advertisements, and news clips, researchers identified a number of linguistic repertoires employed in climate change coverage. Ereuat and Segnit (2006) define linguistic repertoires as "systems of language that are routinely used for describing and evaluating actions, events and people." Their findings suggest that the most popular repertoire was alarmist, followed by small actions repertoires, which are contradictory to one another. Unlike framing, which could be considered as a broader analysis, analysis of linguistic repertoires allows us to take a closer look at linguistic features of articles. Similarly like frames they can be seen as "palette of sense-making devices" (Ereaut & Segnit, 2006: 12). Together with balanced reporting and frames linguistic repertoires paint the whole picture of how the media presents the issue of climate change to the society. Linguistic repertoires, unlike frames, allow us to capture the small nuances, such as pop-culture references or metaphors that might evoke certain images in audience regarding the issue and influence how it is perceived. The final remark made by the authors states that it is not enough to produce more articles on the issue of climate change instead, the media should "work in different and more sophisticated

ways, harnessing tools and concepts used by brand advertisers, to make it not dutiful or obedient to be climate-friendly, but desirable" (Ereaut & Segnit, 2006: 27). Their later research, *Warm Words II: How the climate story is evolving and the lessons we can learn for encouraging public action,* carried out a year after showed how media's coverage of climate has change in this rather short period. The researchers (Ereaut & Segnit, 2007) found that though alarmist repertoire was still prominent it was marked by seriousness without hyperbole, or as the researchers referred to it – "sober alarmism". The "small actions' repertoire was still popular, however now, as the researchers suggest, it is more sophisticated and more attractive to the reader. Despite the fact that the discourse of climate change is less chaotic as virtually no articles questioned the existence of climate change, the authors suggest that there is still a lot to be done.

1.3.4 Climate change politics in media

Without doubt politics is not only one of the main topics in the media, but also it is one of the most influential factors when it comes to shaping the content of the news, thus it is important to briefly discuss political climate of the countries and how it influences their policies. First of all, the two countries stand on the opposite points. While Britain is a democratic country, Russia strongly beliefs in authoritarian leadership. As Giddens (2009) points out Russia's attempts to assert itself and strengthen its power status are very much dependent on oil and gas resources, thus its lack of wish to participate in international initiatives against climate change should not be surprising.

Britain, on the other, has taken serious political steps, such as The UK Climate Change Bill, launched in 2006, and a more recent The Climate Change Act[3], which was passed in 2008 and is still in force today. In this act the target of cutting carbon account by 80% until 2050 is set. Two legislative documents regarding climate change were published in Russia as well. The Climate Doctrine in 2009 and the Climate Action Plan, which was launched in 2011. As Sharmina et al. (2013: 374) notes, despite the fact that both documents focused on endorsing "a number of plausible policies at the highest legislative level", none of the documents present quantitative climate change targets, as can be seen in the British Climate Change Act. Furthermore, in

---

[3] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2008/27/section/1

December of 2012 Russia announced their refusal to participate in the second stage of Kyoto Protocol.

Naturally, all climate change related political decisions were reflected in the media. Lockwood's research, which focused on UK' press coverage of IPPC 4th report and Kyoto protocol showed that only 39% of articles employed the *accepted-positive* frame, whereas *ambiguous-use* frame was found in 40 %. This frame highlighted ambiguity regarding Kyoto protocol or even viewed it as an unnecessary tax burden on developed nations. As the researcher suggests (Lockwood, 2009: 198) there was a visible "politicized treatment of those legislative texts most identified with national political agendas". This suggests that doubts regarding credibility of policy texts seem to be "the rule rather than exception" (Lockwood, 2009: 198).

Even higher levels of uncertainty regarding Kyoto protocol were detected in the Russian media. Sharmina et al. (2013) in their research claimed that even though there is a noticeable shift towards balanced reporting of environmental issues in online sources, news regarding Kyoto protocol were predominantly biased, focusing on its negative aspects. The research carried out by Rowe (2013) focused on Russian politics' influence on media's representation of climate change suggested that even though skepticism regarding climate change is still there, the balance has already shifted towards acceptance of climate change as a fact, indicating positive changes. Furthermore, the researcher (Rowe, 2013) stated that discourse of conspiracy regarding climate change was prevalent in the media. As one of the examples of such discourse Rowe (2013) indicated documentary, which suggested that a heat-wave that Russia experienced in 2010 together with forest fires was caused by High Frequency Auroral Research program that was carried out by US air Force. Furthermore, the researcher (Rowe, 2013) pointed out that the media tended to have their own versions with domesticated twist regarding international research, such as IPCC whose internationally produced science was seen as suspicious. As the researcher highlighted the same situation was seen among Brazilian policymakers, who, as the Rowe (2013: 458) puts it, "felt that international science was tailored to advance the interests and agendas of other, more powerful, countries." Another explanation why Russia refuses to follow international framings regarding climate change could be that such action would be perceived as "kowtowing to the West, against which Russia has historically defined itself <...>" (Rowe, 2013: 463).

1.4   Disposition

The paper is structured in six main chapters, namely, introduction, theoretical background, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion, which in turn consists of several subsections. The introductory chapter introduces the topic of the study, its motivation as well as previous research. The following chapter introduces theoretical framework as well as key concepts that are of great importance to the study and will be employed later on. The third chapter that of methodology, in great detail presents the methods that were employed in order to carry out the research. The following, fourth chapter consists of the results that were retrieved after a thorough analysis. The results section is structured according to the three main concepts that were analyzed, that is, framing practices, balanced reporting and linguistic repertoires. Discussion chapter invites the reader to take a closer look at the results and their implications as the results are discussed in relation to the previous research. The last chapter, presents the reader with concluding remarks as well as recommendations, which might improve the media coverage of climate change.

2. Theoretical framework

This section provides presents a closer analysis of the key concepts that are used in the study. Theoretical framework is divided in three parts: journalistic norms, frames and linguistic repertoires. It is assumed that all three aspects are closely related and their analysis helps to evaluate how the media is communicating the issue of climate change.

2.1 Journalistic norm of balance

In order to answer the question why climate change communication has failed to carry across the message one has to turn to "the firmly entrenched journalistic norms that profoundly shape the selection and composition of news" (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007: 2). Since the first-order journalistic norms as introduced by Boykoff & Boykoff (2007), namely, personalization, dramatization, and novelty manifests in framing strategies as well as choice of linguistic repertoires, this section will focus on the journalistic norm of balance, which is central to this research. The norm of balance falls under the label of *second-order norms*, (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007: 3). Balance and bias – two concepts, which from the first look are mutually exclusive, can together be found in the field of journalism. Balanced account of an issue or its objective

presentation is considered to be something that every journalist should strive for. According to McQuail (2009) to present an unbiased account is one of the main information quality requirements, as he puts it: "information should be balanced and fair (impartial), reporting alternative perspectives and interpretations in a non-sensational, unbiased way, as far as possible (2009: 215)." However, the concept of bias itself is rather complex. Bias, in a way that is used in the paper, refers to information bias, which is sometimes related to the notion of distortion (Gans, 1979). According to Byokoff and Boykoff (2004: 127), information bias should be viewed as "a historical product of ever-emergent social relations between mass-media workers, scientists, politicians, and citizens." As another information quality requirement McQuail (2009) mentions objectivity, yet at the same time the scholar elaborates on the issues objectivity might bring up. Due to the rules of objectivity, as the researcher points out, less obvious and new forms of bias might emerge in journalistic practices. McQuail (2009: 215) elaborates by saying that it "can give advantages to well-organized and well-financed or otherwise dominant parties to matters of dispute <…>".

In a similar vein, Starkey (2007) states that balanced view should not always be the goal of a journalist, as there are certain circumstances when journalists should not strive to be impartial. As one of the clear examples could be the issue of racism, where balanced representation would not only be considered as morally wrong, but also as Starkey (2007) points out would go against the law, such as Public Order Act 1986 in Great Britain. However, as the scholar (Starkey 2007) highlights such practice is an exception rather than the norm as it would breach the right to freedom of speech. Such regulations are widely accepted in the society and do not raise many questions, however it is still debatable whether impartiality regarding issues, where, as Starkey (2007: xviii) puts it: "consensual notions of what may be deemed common sense may be considered to be in conflict with a perspective that, although considered maverick by many, may still be shared by others". Boykoff & Boykoff (2004) research, which analyzed US prestige press, found out that balanced reporting norm was applied regarding global warming, which itself is "a very unbalanced issue" (Boykoff & Boykoff 2004: 133). It illustrates how such issue as anthropogenic climate change, which is largely accepted within scientific community, has been presented in the US prestige press as an ambiguous issue to a larger society as a result of balanced reporting.

2.2 Framing

Another theoretical concept that needs to be discussed is that of framing. Framing has been widely used in social sciences, humanities as well as communication studies. As Iorgoveanu et al. (2012) state, nowadays, almost every volume of the biggest journals of communication and media studies have an article on frames and its effects. A closer look at the literature on frames and framing shows that scholars are still far from consensus on what these concepts stand for. According to Entman et al. (2008) there are two main ways or genres of defining frames. The first type of definition, which is characterized by very general terms, was proposed by Gamson & Modigliani (1987) and vastly quoted by scholars, suggests that framing is the "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (1987: 143). However, according to some scholars (Entman et al. 2008) treating framing solely as a story line or central organizing idea is "an insufficient basis for consistent measurement or theory" (2008: 176). Another and more plausible way of defining framing focuses on functional aspects of frames, thus allowing the researcher to clearly distinguish between framing and themes, assertion etc., or as Entman et al. (2008: 176) refer to them "under-theorized concepts".

 The idea of framing and frame analysis stems from the work *Frame Analysis* by Goffman (1974), which was written four decades ago. His work can be considered a core stone for development of frameworks and frame analysis that are currently applied in media and communication studies. Goffman (1974: 10f) provides a definition and characterization of frames, which is often quoted among researchers in the field of media studies, as follows: "I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events <…> and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify." From his definition it can be seen that frames are not consciously created and manage to influence whether some parts of reality will be noticed or not. As one of the examples the scholar (Goffman, 1974) presents a situation where people are neatly lining up and at the bus stop sign. Such situation is possibly evoking the "bus queue" frame for an observing person, yet at the same time other aspects of a situation such as people's appearance, age etc. are overlooked or attention to it is very minimal.

In later years, other researchers elaborated on Goffman's concept of framing and a shift from unconscious to a more active adoption and manufacturing of frames can be noticed. Another influential researcher on frames and frameworks Entman (1993: 52) defines the process of framing as selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation." His definition clearly reflects the shift that took place in conceptualization of frames, as he views this process as being purely conscious selection.

In her book "Framing Europe: towards an integrated process model of news framing" de Vreese (2003) distinguishes between two types of frames: issue-specific and generic news frames. Issue-specific frames, as the name itself identifies, can be applied only to specific issues or topics. Generic frames, on the other hand, are not pertained to a one specific topic and can be "identified in different cultural contexts" (de Vreese 2003: 28). The research on generic frames (Neuman et al. 1992) shows that there are five main frames that are evident in the news media. The frames, according to Neuman et al. (1992), are: human impact, powerlessness, economics, moral values and conflict. However, the main drawback of the study, which invites to question reliability of the study, is that scholars did not identify what measures were used when identifying and assessing the frames.

In a similar vein, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) used content analysis of newspaper and television stories to find out the most common generic frames used in the news media. Unlike Neuman et al. (1992), Semetko & Valkenbur (2000) clearly indicated measures that were used to assess the frames. In the end, the researchers came up with slightly different list of 5 frames than the one suggested by their predecessors (Neuman et al. 1992). The frames indicated by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) are: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences. Conflict frame highlights conflict between institutions or individuals. However, the use of this frame was criticized by some researchers for inducing cynicism in its audience (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). Human interest frame is typified by a strong emotional angle of the story and is often marked by personal experiences. It is assumed that human interest frame is often employed by journalists as it is believed that by adding personal and emotional twist to the story is a guarantee for audience's attention. The frame of economic consequences

frames the issue at hand in terms of what economic (mostly negative) consequences it will have to a particular group. Morality frame places the issue in the context of moral prescriptions. Lastly, responsibility frame highlights who or what is responsible for the issue that is covered. According to Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), this frame is often employed when presenting social issues.

2.3 Linguistic repertoires

Linguistic repertoires can be traced back to the article of Linguistic and social interaction in two communities by John Gumperz (1964), where he refers to verbal repertoires, which according to the author, are "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction (Gumperz, 1964: 137). Gumperz (1964) points out that verbal repertoires differ from descriptive grammars, for repertoires "include a much greater number of alternants, reflecting contextual and social differences in speech" (Gumperz, 1964: 137). Verbal repertoires were initially used for analysis of spoken language yet later on, under the name of "linguistics repertoires", were employed for discourse analysis as theoretical and analytical concept.

Potter et al. (1987: 149) suggest that a repertoire "is constituted through a limited range of terms used in particular stylistic and grammatical constructions. Often a repertoire will be organized around specific metaphors and figures of speech (tropes) <…>." Potter et al. (1987) used this concept to study language use in several disciplines. The focus of their work is on the ways people construct their versions of doing things. Potter et al. distinguished only two types of repertoires: empiricist repertoire, where the focus is on the data rather than personal or social commitments, and contingent repertoire, where the basic principle is that "professional actions and beliefs are crucially influenced by factors outside the realm of empirical phenomena (Potter et al., 1987: 149). In particular, a study of the variations in language use focuses on what kinds of social actions the text performs as well as it can shed light on the ways the text produced by a person constructs their accounts, or versions of reality . In their later work, which was initially developed and used in the field of social psychology, Potter et al. (1988) employ the concept of interpretative repertoire, which, according to Ereaut & Segnit (2006), is often used interchangeably. Potter et al. (1988) define interpretative repertoire as: "<…>building blocks speakers use for constructing versions of actions, cognitive processes, and

other phenomena. Any particular repertoire is constructed out of a restricted range of terms used in a specific stylistic and grammatical fashion. Commonly these terms are derived from one or more key metaphors and the presence of a repertoire will often be signaled by a certain trope or figures of speech."

Despite the fact that linguistic (interpretative) repertoires were initially applicable only in a rather narrow field of social psychology they were not overlooked by researchers in other fields as well and became widely used in as well as communication. These analytical tools, as defined by Potter et al. (1988), allow to examine what language is used to describe certain issues in media. Ereaut and Segnit (2006) for their analysis of media's coverage on climate change used the concept of linguistic repertoires, which according to the researchers was borrowed from Potter at al. and developed to be suitable for the analysis of media rather than academic discourse. In the end, researchers (Ereaut and Segnit 2006) came up with 3 main linguistic repertoires used in media: alarmist, optimistic and pragmatic, the latter two having several, and smaller subgroups.

3. Methodology

The paper investigates coverage of two news portals regarding the issue of climate change in 2012-2013. The method employed is that of content analysis. Content analysis that was carried out allowed to indicate three things: first, whether balanced reporting is still practiced, when covering the issue of climate change; second, to establish what frames are used; thirdly, to find out the most popular linguistic repertoires. The measures used in order to indicate these aspects will be presented later on. The news portals were chosen from two respective countries: Russia and the United Kingdom. News portals instead of digital or paper versions of newspapers were chosen due to the constant declining number of printed newspapers' issues, which indicates that less people read newspapers. Both parties: those consuming the news and those producing them have turned to a more easily accessible, digital format, which can provide freshest news 24 hours per day.

3.1 Sources

The empirical evidence for the study was taken from two news portals. The main criteria when choosing news portals were its accessibility, number of readers and availability of content in

English, regarding Russian news portal. Accessibility means that a news website had to be accessible without any membership or charge, thus online newspaper of the most popular British newspaper *The Sun*, was rejected as it restrained its flow of visitors by requiring a membership and charging them. Secondly, the news websites were not chosen according to their prestige in journalistic field, but according to the number of readers and visitors they manage to attract, meaning that their news manage to reach and possibly have an effect on a larger number of people. Thus, these portals are considered an important source of news. Accessibility to the content in the English language was the main priority when choosing a Russian news website, therefore Pravda.ru, which is also popular among people and allows to read its content in the English language, was chosen. Printed newspapers of the same names can be found, however the online Russian Pravda.ru should not be associated with the newspaper Pravda, which has a long history and is currently owned by the Russian Communist party. On the other hand, the news website TheDailyMail.co.uk is directly connected to the newspaper of the same name, yet the content does not necessarily coincide. It should be noted that, even though The Daily Mail is considered to be a tabloid, it falls under the category of "black-tops", which is marked by middle-class socioeconomic readership.

3.2 Sampling

The sample consists of news stories that were produced from 2012 to 2013. The year was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, the last research on British press coverage of climate change was carried out in 2007 by Segnit D. and Ereaut G., thus a several year gap exists, which could show us whether the practice of reporting and covering this issue has had some changes. Secondly, in the last years the world has witnessed a large number of natural disasters and Britain experienced it firsthand. Secondly, talks regarding Kyoto protocol and Russia's wish not to participate in it anymore have been quite prominent at that time. The two countries were also chosen for several reasons. One of the reasons for choosing Russia was that it is considered to be one of the top carbon dioxide emitters in the world and besides that did not participate in the second part of Kyoto protocol. Whereas, Britain, despite its government's active participation, is struggling to reach the targets set by the said protocol and has experienced an increasing number of extreme weather events, which in some research is linked to climate change.

The sample was compiled by using the search term "climate change" in the search engine found in the news portals. Since the aim is to analyze news stories, some articles, which fell under the sections, in the case of The Daily Mail, of fashion or TV & show business, were omitted. Consequently, opinion editorials as well as book reviews were excluded. Initially, the number of articles found in Pravda.ru was 18, whereas the search in The Daily Mail returned 38 articles. After a thorough analysis, the number of articles was reduced, because climate change was a secondary theme when discussing other issues, such as money laundering scandal regarding climate change policy etc. After a close analysis of the article the number was reduced to 15 and 30 in Pravda.ru and TheDailyMail.co.uk, respectively.

3.3 Coding and Measures

In order to find out whether balanced reporting have been applied in the articles, measures proposed by Boykoff & Boykoff (2004: 128), which are presented in the Table 1, were used.

Table 1
Content analysis measures

Measure #1: Coverage of debate over anthropogenic contributions to global warming
- Only presents argument that anthropogenic global warming exists, clearly distinct from natural variations
- Presents both sides, but emphasizes that anthropogenic global warming exists, still distinct from natural variation
- Presents a balanced account of debates surrounding existence of anthropogenic global warming
- Presents both sides, but emphasizes dubious nature of the claim that anthropogenic global warming exists

Measure #2: Coverage of decisions regarding action on global warming
- Dominant coverage of decisions/assertions regarding immediate/mandatory action to deal with global warming
- Balanced accounts of various decisions regarding action
- Dominant coverage of decisions/assertions regarding cautious/voluntary approaches to deal with global warming

Frame analysis has been used in order to find out how climate changed is presented in news articles to its audience. Neuman et al. (1992: 60) define frames as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information". Despite the fact that it is still debatable to what extent news frames can influence and affect the readers it is of no question that frames help people to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" the information (Goffman 1974: 21). In order to distinguish frames used in news articles on the issue of climate change, method, which is deductive in nature, is applied. Deductive approach was chosen over inductive, since the later one has been criticized for being too difficult to replicate and requiring a big sample (de

Vreese, 2003). Five frames that have been distinguished in previous research and are prevailing in the literature (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000, Neuman 1992) will be referred to.

The frames, as described by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000: 95), are:

Responsibility frame - highlights the government's/individuals/groups responsibility.

Human interest frame – has an emotional angle or brings a human face to the presentation.

Conflict frame – emphasis is put on the conflict between parties, individuals, institutions.

Morality frame – the issues under discussion are related to moral values or religious tenets.

Economic consequences frame – the issue is reported in a way that indicates possible economic consequences (both positive and negative) that would touch a group, individual or country.

The list of questions, proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000: 100) will be used in order to identify the said frames. Table 2 presents the guidelines that were followed during the process of frame identification.

Table 2 Questions for frame identification

Attribution of responsibility	- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? - Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem? - Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue. - Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem? - Does the story suggest that the problem requires urgent action?
Human interest frame	Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue? - Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion? - Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the

	issue/problem?
	- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
	- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?
Conflict frame	-Does the story reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups/countries?
	- Does one party/individual/group/country reproach another?
	- Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or the issue?
	- Does the story refer to winners and losers?
Morality frame	- Does the story contain any moral message?
	- Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
	- Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?
Economic consequences frame	- Is there a mention of (financial) losses or gains now or in the future?
	- Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
	- Is there a reference to (economic) consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

The list of linguistic repertoires and their features were taken from the work of Segnit & Ereaut (2006). In their paper, the scholars have identified a number of repertoires, which could be divided in 3 groups. Alarmist, which is distinguishable by the use of extreme and inflated words, optimistic repertoire, which construct an optimistic outlook and tends to use diminishing language, as well as pragmatic optimistic repertoire, which similarly as the optimistic repertoire creates "there's no need to panic" image as long as people act.

Figure 1 presents the complete list of linguistic repertoires as presented in Segnit & Ereaut (2006: 12)

Figure 1 the map of the discourse
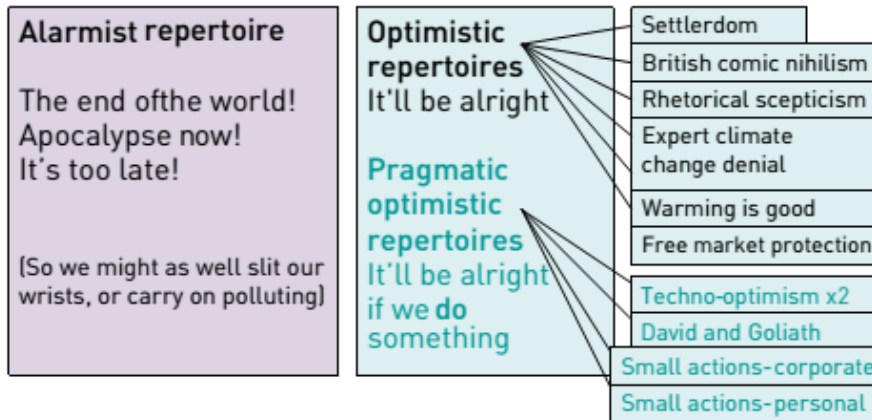
During the process of identification of linguistic repertoires the most common adjectives, phrases and metaphors were taken into consideration in order to achieve a better-rounded picture of how linguistically media portrays climate change.

3.4 Limitations

One of the biggest limitations is the scope of the study, as the study was based on analysis of only two news websites. While it was possible to include more British websites it was difficult to find Russian news websites that would cover the issue of climate in the English language, whereas translation of articles in the Russian language was rejected as it might render the results inaccurate, especially regarding linguistic repertoires. Even though, the results of this study contribute to our overall understanding of the differences of how media cover the issue of climate change, they offer only a partial picture and cannot be generalized to all British and Russian media. However, it can be said that some speculations regarding differences that emerged after the analysis can be made.

4. Results

The following paragraphs will present the results of the analysis of articles found in TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru. The results are divided in three main parts: frame analysis, balance as bias, and linguistic repertoires.

4.1 Differences in climate change framing practices

The data for the analysis was comprised of 30 articles from TheDailyMail.co.uk website and 15 articles from the Russian website Pravda.ru. The number of articles in the British news website was twice as big, however to state that Britain is more concerned with climate change would be too bold of a statement, since other factors here come into play as well, such as how many articles website produces, political setting, current climate events in the country etc. A close content analysis of the articles gathered in combination with Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) provided list of guidelines allowed to establish frames used in the articles. It is assumed that frames strongly influence how a person reading the article perceives the problem, thus what frames are used when reporting about climate change is of great importance. The results regarding frames are provided below in the Table 3.

Table 3 Frames found in the articles

News website	Frames					Total
	Responsibility	Human interest	Conflict	Morality	Economic	
The Daily Mail.co.uk	10	4	3	0	13	30
Pravda.ru	3	4	6	0	2	15

The results show that even though news portals employed rather different framing practices, none of the articles in both websites were framed in terms of morality. However, that would be the only similarity found between news websites because as the results suggest news websites turned to different frames when covering the topic of climate change. The following paragraphs will in more detail discuss frames employed in both news websites.

The most common frame used in the articles found in TheDailyMail.co.uk, with 13 (43.3%) instances, was economic frame. Often, issue of climate change has been frames as having grave consequences on agriculture, and consequently on economy. There were several articles that focused on the damage that has already been done to the economy, and estimated what consequences could be if no urgent actions are taken. One, rather contradicting, instance has

been found, which suggested that current economic green burden will have positive consequences on UK both economically and socially in a long run: "Spending almost £3billion of taxpayers' money helping developing countries tackle climate change will save 'British lives'<...>[4]. Other shades of economic framing were evident in the articles as well. In several instances, climate change and policies imposed by law, which were referred to as "green policy burdens"[5], to fight it were depicted as being a burden to citizens, evoking a rather negative vibe as no positive outcomes were mentioned. Even though, the articles did not directly state that such policies are not necessary such framing might lead audience to think that "the price" (both literally and figuratively) is too high, causing dissatisfaction and discouraging them from participating in and supporting policies, suggested by the government, against climate change. In another similar case, climate change research has been depicted as being too much of an economic burden to the country and not providing results expected. Once again, climate change and its consequences were not directly diminished in the article, but rather portrayed as not worth the monetary costs that are paid. In such a way, the media creates a shady picture of climate research and invites the audience to question whether their money is used in the right way. It can be assumed that such way of framing, though attractive to the audience, shifts their attention from the real issue and how it should be addressed to how big of an economic burden it is to society.

In Pravda.ru, on the other hand, economic frame was not that often as only two instances could be found. However, despite the rarity of the frame, the instances found are worth our attention. One of the articles, suggested that climate change will have grave consequences for Russian society as, "<...> the Russians will soon be begging in the streets."[6] However, another article presented a completely different view, suggesting that, despite the fact that now people should prepare for rising prices, Russia, eventually, might actually benefit from climate change, suggesting that Russia will be able to improve their agro culture in new conditions. It is important to mention that both articles referred to respectable external sources, such as MIT

---

[4] *Government's £3bn aid to tackle climate change in developing countries will save UK lives, claims minister* by Nick McDermott, 2012 June 12, in The Dailymail.co.uk
[5] *Is global warming just hot air?* By Gerri Peev, 2012 April 25 in theDailyMail.co.uk
[6] *Global warming increases probability of coups in poor countries* by Ilona Raskolnikova, 2012 August 21 in Pravda.ru

specialists or the Agency for Monitoring of Russian Agricultural Markets and other competent specialists in the field, thus rendering the article as trust worthy in the eyes of the reader. Despite the fact, that this frame was not prominent in Pravda.ru it shows that media sends mixed messages to its readers, suggesting either a scenario of doom, where Russian people will be forced out in the streets, or the one, where they benefit and improve their economic situation. However, the question arises, which message will be chosen by the audience.

The second most popular found in TheDailyMail.co.uk was that of responsibility. Three parties that were often attributed responsibility regarding climate change and issues related to it were: scientists, government and society. Scientists were often in the focus of discussion when it came to questioning the data and research regarding climate change. They were deemed responsible for misinforming society and manipulating the data. Such way of representing climate change research and specialists of the field to the society seems to be really worrying. Despite the fact, that in some articles the claims made by the journalists are poorly supported with no evidence or statements from specialists, claims like "the 2007 report was widely criticized for sloppy mathematics"[7] and "IPCC report has truly sunk to level of hilarious incoherence"[8] don't do justice. Such articles send a message that specialists and research carried out regarding climate change cannot be trusted, thus suggesting that issue has been over-hyped. Furthermore, it can encourage people to doubt whether any actions have to be taken. The government and governmental bodies of EU also were in a focus and were claimed to be responsible for not tackling the problem in a right way. A few articles, crossed the ocean, and took a look at the situation in US, taking a look at B. Obama's actions regarding the issue. One of the articles criticized world leaders for not taking action by saying that "The politics of economic recovery have distracted world leaders from the long-term threats that face humanity, specifically the dangers presented by climate change and nuclear weapons".[9] Some articles did not directly identify who is responsible for climate change or lack of action regarding it, but rather turned to

---

[7] *Why has global warming slowed*? By Sarah Griffiths, 2013 August 21, in TheDailyMail.co.uk
[8] *MIT scientist ridicules IPCC climate change report, calls finding "hilarious incoherence"* by Daily Mail Reporter in TheDailyMail.co.uk
[9] *The 'Doomsday Clock' stays at five minutes to midnight as scientists accuse world leaders of ignoring climate change* by Mark Prigg, 2013 January 15, in TheDailymail.co.uk

human kind as a whole, by saying it is "up to us", who should take responsibility and act against it.

The responsibility frame, though, not that common as only three instances were found, was used rather differently than in TheDailyMail.co.uk. One article, similarly like it British counterpart, identified humanity as responsible for climate change and suggested that urgent actions would have striking positive results. However, two other articles found someone else that should take the blame and is responsible for current situation - the West. The headlines of the articles themselves there were rather suggestive, for instance, "Who makes bad weather for this world?", or "Global warming, the tool of the West". The statements found in the articles were even stronger, such as "Wars unleashed by the U.S. can be regarded as ecological crime. Explosions that turn cities into ruins bring extra emissions, encouraging climate change."[10] In these articles climate change has been presented as being caused by USA, and used for its own benefits. Though, conflict-like situation emerges in both articles as USA, who is responsible for climate change, and Russia, who has to deal with its consequences, emerges, little attention is paid to Russia's stance, focusing solely on blaming and shaming processes addressed towards USA, thus the frame of responsibility was used. One might expect that such articles are attention-grabbing and attractive to the audience, as they present an unorthodox and "ground breaking" view. However, the problem with such representation, besides the fact that it lacks evidence and comes across as nonsensical, is that it again shifts the responsibility from people of Russia, to others. Implying that they are not responsible for the issue, which in reality is a global one, and blaming another party not only evokes negative associations and emotions towards "the responsible one" but also reduces the pressure to take actions. Furthermore, in one of the articles climate change was presented as a tool, implying that it is controllable by someone, thus once again taking away responsibility for our actions. Naturally, very few references were made to external sources to support the claims made in the articles.

Human interest frame was used four times in both news websites, when talking about climate change. In the article found in TheDailyMail.co.uk the issue of climate change has been related to extreme whether events that have taken place and what impact it had on people. "A Typhoon

---

[10] *Who makes bad weather in this world?* 2013 November 10, in Pravda.ru

Haiyan survivor carries his belongings through the ruins of Tacloban, Philippines, on his way back to his temporary shelter today. Hundreds of thousands of people were displaced by the typhoon."[11] By drawing a picture of a survivor of actual natural catastrophe brings the problem closer to home. Furthermore, such image generates feelings of empathy and seriousness of possible consequences. Other articles focused on possible consequences climate change might have on people's health or habitat or even threatening people with death, like the heading of the article "Ignore climate change and 100m people will die by 2030, shocking new report claims"[12]. It can be said that articles, which were framed in human interest frame, concentrated on the negative and threatening effects people might experience due to climate change.

Similar tendency was spotted in Pravda.ru as well. However, they did not use any powerful images of what has happened or what is about to happen to humans. Just like in TheDailyMail.co.uk, Pravda.ru, highlighted the effect climate change might have on our habitat and health. However, more attention was paid to illnesses as two out of four articles were dedicated to discussion of how climate change will influence the spread of current diseases and emergence of new ones. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that both websites provided powerful and illustrative images supporting the topic at hand. Despite the fact that human interest frame directly addresses what issues people have already encountered or will be facing it does not really invite to take any action to avoid it.

The least often employed frame in the article found in TheDailyMail.co.uk, with only three instances, is the frame of conflict. The conflicting parties found in the articles were people, whether climate change scientists or politicians, holding different views regarding climate change. Both scientists and politicians tended to refer to scientific data to support their views, thus making their statements whether they were pro sound grounded and reliable. However, those against climate change, did not seem to provide scientific data supporting their views, but rather criticized the available one by saying that claims of scientists, who believe that climate

---

[11] *Killer typhoon Haiyan was a DIRECT result of man-made climate change says Prince Charles* by Amie Keeley, 2013 November 20 in TheDailyMail.co.uk
[12] *Ignore climate change and 100m people will die by 2030, shocking new report claims* by Daily Mail Reporter, 2012 September 26 in TheDailyMail.co.uk

change is caused by human activity "simply does not stack up".[13] This way of framing climate change sends a message of uncertainty to the audience. Even though, such articles might be interesting to the reader as they present a different from the usual view, it might have negative consequences when it comes to audience's perception of the issue.

The frame of conflict, on the other hand, was the most popular one in Pravda.ru. The conflict frame has been used 6 times and its use was to some extent similar to its British counterpart. Questions whether climate change is taking place and whether it is man-caused were in the center of the conflict frame.Three articles focused on these issues, however unlike in TheDailyMail.co.uk, no external sources or references to scientific data were provided. Other three articles focused on a different kind of conflict, which could be phrased as Russia vs. the West. One of such conflicts emerged in the background of Kyoto Protocol, which was viewed as a tool of the West to control other countries. "Signing Kyoto for Russia would mean only one thing, complete capitulation to the dangerous and harmful ideology and practice that are being imposed with the help of international diplomacy." or "There is no other word than "war" to describe it."[14] Claims like these not only illustrate contradicting views regarding Kyoto protocol but also there are hints of existent ideological conflicts. Furthermore, the claims against Kyoto protocol were also supported by the statements that climate change has not been proven scientifically. However, in this case the article referred to external sources, such as, Andrei Illarionov, Economic Adviser to the Russian President, ignoring the fact that his statements were made 10 years ago. Another article that is worth our attention focused on an ongoing conflict between USA and Russia. The conflict between the two countries was wrapped in the issue of climate change. The article criticizes USA's political and military practices seeking for the profit by depicting their actions as "the destruction of the international law system, killing of tens of thousands of people and billions in military spending." Interestingly, the article shows Russia as being rather passive and even puts it in the role of a victim by saying that: "It (Russia) will freeze and envy, it is used to it."[15] This statement illustrates a rather pessimistic outlook, suggesting that it is not up to people to change anything. It is interesting to see how such issue as climate change

---

[13] *Davey attacks 'dangerous' climate change sceptics* by James Chapman, 2013 June 3 inTheDailyMail.co.uk

[14] *This is a war against the whole world, not Russia alone* by A I Adam, 2013 11 28, in Pravda.ru
[15] *Who profits from global climate change?* by Yuri Skidanov, 2013 04 04 in Pravda.ru

can become a platform for ideological and political conflicts. However, it might send a mixed message to the audience reducing their willingness to act.

4.2 Balance as bias

In this section the results regarding balanced reporting of climate change will be presented. It is believed that there is a consensus in scientific community regarding the nature of climate change and only very few question whether it is anthropogenic, thus it is important to see whether this consensus is reflected in the media. The analysis, which was carried out following Boykoff & Boykoff (2004) guidelines that were used as tools for indicating balanced reporting, allowed to find out whether anthropogenic climate change is still being questioned in the media. It is important to mention that not all articles were concerned with the nature of climate change, assuming that its anthropogenic nature was taken as a fact, thus they were excluded from analysis. Following Boykoff & Boykoff's (2004) taxonomy, four types of possible reporting were established. The thirst one was labeled balanced accounts, articles that fell under this label presented both views equally. The second one – anthropogenic dominant – means that both accounts were presented, though the one presenting anthropogenic nature dominated over the later one. The third group of articles was labeled as sceptic, due to the fact that they presented solely the skeptical approach towards anthropogenic nature of climate change. Article that presented only the view supporting anthropogenic nature of climate change were included under the label exclusive anthropogenic.

The results show that quite a high number of articles 13 out of 30 found in TheDailyMail.co.uk discussed the nature of climate change, whereas only five articles out of 15 found in Pravda.ru found this newsworthy. Table 4 presents in detail how the articles were distributed according to the way they covered nature of climate change.

Table 4 Coverage of existence of anthropogenic nature of climate change

	Balanced account	Anthropogenic dominant	Sceptic	Exclusive anthropogenic
TheDailyMail.co.uk	2	2	6	3
Pravda.ru	2	-	2	1

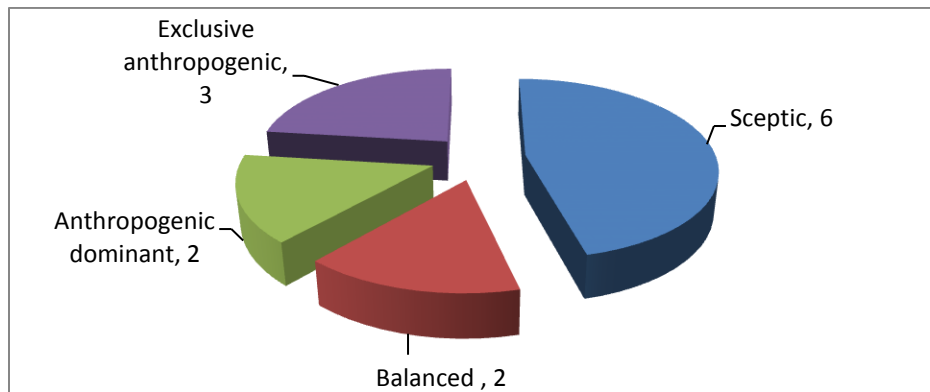## 4.2.1 Coverage of climate change nature in TheDailyMail.co.uk

Figure 2 TheDailyMail.co.uk coverage of nature of climate change.

As can be seen from the results (see Figure 2), what is surprising is not only a high number of articles, that of 13, that included the nature of climate change as their subtopic or even main topic, but also that nearly half of them presented the sceptic approach. The articles that fell under the label "sceptic" not only criticized the idea that climate change is man-caused, by saying that the data from IPCC, reports predicting how the temperature will change, did not actually match the reality, but also provided other theories that could explain the phenomena. One of the theories proposed was that climate change is induced by extreme weather events rather than vice versa[16]. As could have been expected, the infamous idea, that climate change is natural rather than man activity induced was also found in two of the articles, one of them even calling it an "invented trend"[17].

The number of articles, which concentrated solely on anthropogenic nature of climate change was significantly lower, with only three articles. One of the articles presented a thorough account of how human activity has increased levels of carbon dioxide throughout the history, pointing out that now we have reached all-time highs: "the greenhouse gas has not been at such high levels for around three million years."[18] Furthermore, the statements in the article seemed to be well grounded as a number of references to scientific data were made. A common feature of the

---

[16] *Could extreme weather be causing climate change?* by Rob Waugh, 2012 July 26 in TheDailyMail.co.uk
[17] *The crazy climate change obsession that has made the Met Office a menace* by James Delingpole, 2013 January 10 in TheDailyMail.co.uk
[18] *Carbon dioxide levels reach all-time high, prompting new warnings about climate change* by Sara Malm, 2013 May 10 in TheDailyMail.co.uk

articles focusing solely on anthropogenic nature of climate change is that all of them invite people to change their ways in order to make a difference. What is more, such article left little room for any doubt, with rather strong statements, such as: "We did it. No matter how you look at it, we did it. That's it." [19]Such articles not only presented scientific information in quite persuading and reader-friendly way, but also urged people to take responsibility for current situation and be pro-active.

Two articles, similar in nature to the ones discussed previously, falling under the label anthropogenic dominant were found in the British news website. The difference between "exclusive anthropogenic" and "anthropogenic dominant" was that the latter one left some room for different opinion, though mostly arguing for anthropogenic climate change. One of the articles showed that another view exists and then argued why this view is faulty. It might be questionable which of tactics, covering exclusively anthropogenic nature of climate change or showing that another, though unproven idea exists. One might assume that by showing a different point of view and then arguing in favor of anthropogenic climate change might address the problem that still a high number of people are uncertain about its nature and. However, at the same time, it might suggest that some uncertainty remains in the field.

The last two articles, which talked about the nature of climate change, provided a balanced account, meaning that the same weight was giving to both opinions. Such way of balanced reporting strongly implies that there is no consensus in scientific community, thus increasing uncertainty among the readers. In one of the article a statement that "many scientists are in denial about their mistakes"[20] was made, also adding that impact of greenhouse gasses have been overestimated. This particular article, not only implied that contradiction regarding climate change and its nature is very much alive, but also implied that scientists in the field of climate change are struggling and cannot be fully trusted. The second article was highly similar to the previously discussed one, as it not only presented both views, but also criticized scientist's failed attempts to predict upcoming changes.

---

[19] *Humans have played dominant role in warming of the oceans over the past 50 years, says new study* by Daily Mail Reporter, 2012 June 11, in TheDailyMail.co.uk

[20] *Climate change models may not have been accurate after all as study finds most widely overestimated global warming* by Daily Mail reporter, 2013 September 12

4.2.2 Pravda.ru coverage of climate change nature

The articles found in Pravda.ru had five instances, where the nature of climate change was discussed. Balanced and sceptic accounts had two instances each, exclusive anthropogenic - one, whereas no instances of anthropogenic dominant were found. A low number of articles mentioning the nature of climate change can suggest that the media has changed its focus from questioning its nature to its consequences.

Two articles that were presenting balanced account of climate change nature, similarly like its British counterpart, provided other ideas that could also explain climate change. One of the ideas presented in the article was proposed by the Russian scientist Polevanov and suggested was that climate change is caused by solar activity. Another article suggested that it is a natural process and thus "the balance in nature will continue".[21] In these articles, unlike the ones found in the British website, opposing scientific ideas and their authors were presented. However, by connecting a particular idea to the scientists might even add more credibility, which would be an undesirable effect.

Another two articles, found in Pravda.ru, focused on criticizing the anthropogenic nature of climate change. The article focused around the attempts to criticize the data and explain why actually carbon dioxide is not causing climate change. However, there were no references to external sources, making doubt its credibility. In one of the cases, article's headline Virtual proof of climate science fraud strongly suggested which side will be taken. Furthermore, claims questioning what causes climate change, such as "there is no mechanism for carbon dioxide creating global warming" [22], were made in the same article. The second article did not go into explaining why climate change is not happening and why it is not anthropogenic based on scientific calculations and ideas extracted from unknown sources as it was done in the previous one, but simply stated that "The insignificant global warming was not anthropogenic but natural."[23] This article downplays climate change by calling it "insignificant", however at the same time they attribute those insignificant changes to solar activity.

---

[21] *Will there be another Deluge?* By Igor Bukker, 2012 July 12 in Pravda.ru
[22] *Virtual proof of climate science fraud* by Gary Novak, 2013 November 07, in Pravda.ru
[23] *This is a war against the whole world, not Russia alone* by A I Adam, 2013 November 28, in Pravda.ru

However, the overall picture may not be that dark, since one article arguing in favor and falling under the label of "exclusive anthropogenic" was found. The article presented a number of examples linking man activities to constantly increasing levels of carbon dioxide. The article suggests that the plan of sustainable development has failed, because in the last two decades "the concentration of carbon dioxide in our atmosphere has reached the highest level in 850,000 years, and it is making the planet warmer".[24] What is more, wars caused by the USA were indicated as key factors by saying that "Explosions that turn cities into ruins bring extra emissions, encouraging climate change." Despite the fact that article did not refer to any scientific data, but rather turned to real life examples, which illustrated what activities cause climate change and what are the consequences, might be a plausible approach when reaching a wider audience. An abundance of article that questioned the reliability of climate change science and data produced by the scientists in the field might have had negative effects on the audience and whether they perceive scientific data as trustworthy, however by using examples and illustrations from real life leaves little room for questioning.

4.3 Climate change discourse: linguistic repertoires

This section of results focuses on linguistic repertoires found in the articles analyzed. The following paragraphs will present the data found in the articles respectively from TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru. The results will cover not only linguistic repertoires but will also include an overview of the most prominent metaphors, adjectives and other linguistic features that were found in the articles. In order to establish linguistic repertoires, the model proposed by Ereaut & Segnit (2006) was used.

4.3.1 Linguistic repertoires in TheDailyMail.co.uk

The results from TheDailyMail.co.uk show that only four linguistic repertoires out of 12 were established in the article with alarmism, which was found in majority of cases, being the most popular one. The following paragraphs will discuss the four linguistic repertoires: alarmism, rhetorical skepticism and techno-optimism as well as repertoire of small actions and their linguistic features. Figure 3 presents the distribution of articles in more detail.

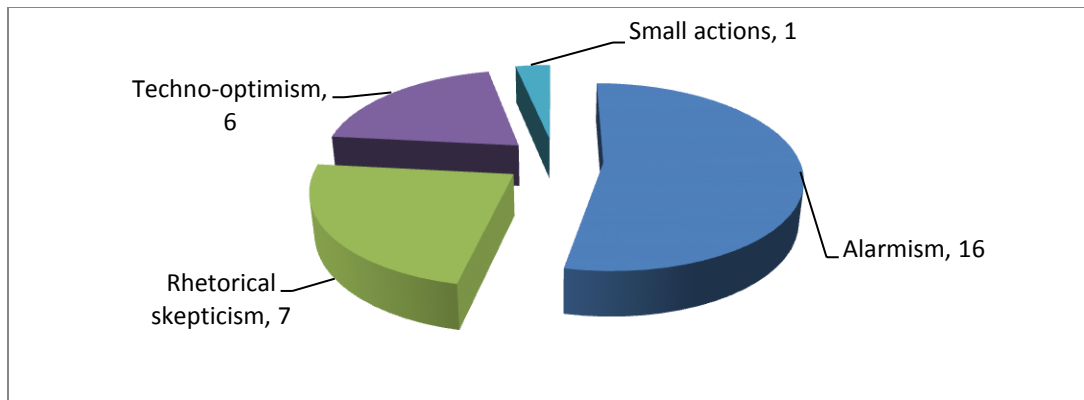[24] *Who makes bad weather in this world?* 2013 October 0,1 in Pravda.ru

Figure 3 Distribution of linguistic repertoires found in TheDailyMail.co.uk

Linguistic repertoire of alarmism was most frequently encountered in the articles produced by the journalists of TheDailyMail.co.uk. What is common to all these articles, no matter how they approach this problem, whether through economic or human- interest frame, is that it employs strong and inflated vocabulary. Such vocabulary creates the sense of urgency and threat. The most prominent word used in this repertoire was "destruction" and its adjectival form. It was used to depict either the consequences of climate change like in "human destruction" or to refer to human actions or opinions as in "destructive climate change sceptics". When talking about consequences and impacts of climate change a variety of adjectives, besides "destructive", was used, such as, disastrous, disruptive, dramatic, devastating, far-reaching, grave, catastrophic, immense and nightmare. All these adjectives paint the situation in dark colors and create an image of a climate change, which is awesome and out of human control. Two metaphors of war were found, such as "launched an attack" and "a common enemy". In this way climate change is drawn as an enemy and people are the ones that are suffering its attacks. However, if we take a closer look at alarmist repertoire, its depiction of our survival chances are rather low, as such phrases like "humans would be wiped out" or "humans will die out" suggest. Images and references to the fire accidents were made about eight times. One of the examples would be the statements made about our current actions which equals to "playing with fire". Alarmist repertoire did not forget to criticize those who don't believe in climate change by calling them "naysayers" (reference to the voting in the parliament) or publicity-seeking critics, and mocking their statements by saying "the shrieking, head-slapping cries of deniers", and affirming that they do not have much influence by saying "the dying gasps of deniers will be put to bed".

Another repertoire, which was found in six articles, was rhetoric skepticism. This repertoire, unlike alarmism, is skeptical towards climate change and even mocks the inflated language of alarmism. In the center of the rhetoric skepticism stand scientists. However, in a majority of cases scientists were "struggling to explain", "baffled" and "confused", thus leaving scientist "embarrassed by this" or "in denial about their mistakes". Furthermore, their methods also received some attention as they were accused of "sloppy mathematics", "slapdash" or "shoddy" explanations and "failed" models. Several times climate change has been referred to as a "mystery", thus predictions of scientists were labeled as "fantasies". Furthermore, the hint of mock was detected when a reference to the physicist was made as she was called "ferociously clever". Several critical remarks were made towards government and its "massively flawed green policies", which were referred to as a "burden" to the society and their "chaotic climate talks". Climate change itself has been labeled as being a "crazy obsession". IPCC has also received some critical arrows as its report was said to have sunk to "hilarious incoherence". Furthermore, critical arrows were targeted towards alarmist language as in the statement "the world was doomed to burn in hellfire" or "graciously conceded doomsday claims". This shows that this repertoire also employs irony in order to criticize and even mock the mainstream view.

Techno optimism, the third relatively large repertoire presented a more positive outlook. This repertoire, unlike previous two, did not use inflated lexicon or irony to channel the message. Unlike rhetorical skepticism, techno optimism claims that science should be trusted and that technology, which will help us fight climate change, is on the way. One of the articles claims that "we're in much better situation" due to recent scientific discoveries and that if actions are taken it is possible to restore the sea ice to "preindustrial era levels". The lexicon used there was rather professional, with references made to scientists as well as including their quotes. Consequently, no metaphors or abundance of adjectives were used. However, it was also noticed that in several articles it was pointed out how, if the right technology is employed, one can benefit from climate change, for instance in agriculture. By no means this repertoire downplays the possible threatening consequences of climate change, but it rather suggests that with the help of technology we are in power to control it and even benefit. The main focus of such articles is how we can benefit from the research in the field of climate change.

The last repertoire, small actions, was found only once and can be considered marginal. Small actions repertoire focuses on how even the smallest changes, whether personal or corporate, can have a positive impact. The article showed that people are supportive of government's initiative to develop low-carbon, home-grown forms of energy. The article employed a lot of statistics in order to illustrate the changing numbers of prices, and shifting opinions of citizens towards a more green thinking, despite the monetary costs. This repertoire, similarly to techno optimism, did not employ many rhetorical tools. However, instead of introducing how people can even further improve situation, the article just focused on the fact that a number of people considering climate change as an important issue is rising, though not that drastically, as the number has risen only by 3%. In this way the article creates an image that small actions done by the government and public is enough for the situation is improving.

4.3.2 Linguistic repertoires in Pravda.ru

Only three linguistic repertoires, alarmism, rhetoric skepticism and techno optimism, were found in Pravda.ru, with alarmist being used in absolute majority of them. Such lack of variety might be due to a rather small sample of articles, as only 15 articles were produced during the year 2012-2013. Figure 4 presents the results in more detail.
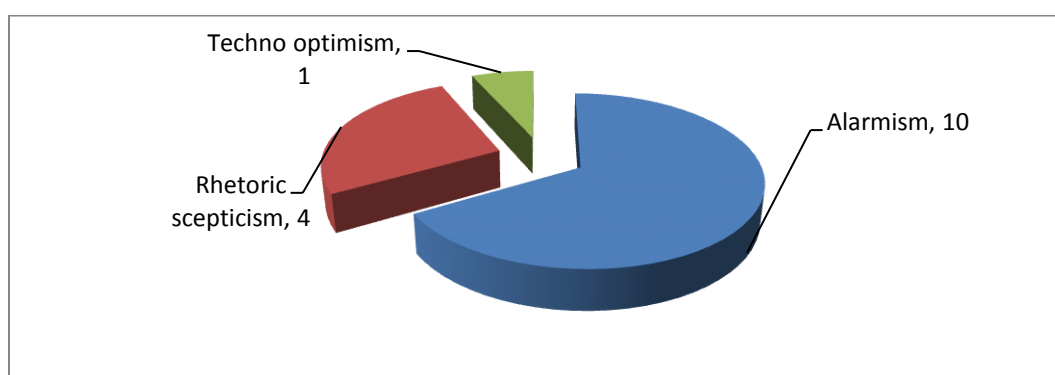

Figure 4 Distribution of linguistic repertoires in Pravda.ru

The most prominent linguistic repertoire with ten instances is alarmism. This repertoire was marked by inflated language and strong adjectives, such as imminent often followed by catastrophe, disastrous, dramatic and grim, to name the most common ones. Unlike in TheDailyMail.co.uk, Pravda.ru used vocabulary of war when talking about climate change. The

whole situation was referred to as a battlefield, or even in several cases straightforwardly calling the situation war, in a similar manner, climate change was called an enemy. One of the articles urged to fight back and if right actions are taken it guaranteed us victory. Besides the practice of comparing climate change to war, biblical motives, such as The Old Testament Flood, were used in order to illustrate the possible consequences that await humanity. Furthermore, a few instances were found when the planet was presented as being on the brink of disaster and facing apocalyptic consequences. One of the most illustrative examples of repertoire of alarmism would be referring to climate change as the giant that kills people and nature. By employing such mythological motives the journalist suggests that it is beyond our means to fight it and that both people and nature will be harmed. To add more dark colors to the picture, scientists according to this repertoire will be of no help because they are like spiders trapped in the jar. It can be said that language used by Pravda.ru was a bit darker as references to war and bible were made.

Rhetoric skepticism was found only in four articles, however a closer look provided interesting results that are worth discussing. Several instances of irony use were found, where irony was often indicated by quotation marks, which was not evident in TheDailyMail.co.uk. For instance, "science", "studies", earth "mother". Quotation marks here indicated that climate change science is not credible and neither are studies conducted about it, whereas ironic use of mother earth, shows that the journalist is questioning whether the concerns regarding earth's wellbeing are genuine. Interestingly, in the repertoire of rhetoric skepticism, climate change and the situation surrounding it was referred to as a game, a silly game, or even a childish nonsense and suggesting that we do not have to play it. In several cases climate change science was compared to religion, implying faith based on no reason, or even a cult Furthermore, scientist were accused of promoting mythology, propaganda, nonsense and absurdity. Skepticism was also expressed towards the methods as they were called crazy ways.

The least popular repertoire with only one instance was techno-optimism. Similarly to the articles found in the British news website, it was not stylistically colorful as it did not employ any metaphors or adjectives. Optimistic predictions, which could take place in Russia, due to technological advances were illustrated with numbers and statistics taken from respectable sources. Even though, this repertoire did mention negative consequences of climate change that

might await Russian people, however it did not inflate them as it is done in alarmist repertoire, and turned to technology as a possible solution, which could even bring benefits to the economy.

As can be seen from the results, two most prominent repertoires used in both news websites were alarmism and rhetorical skepticism. Alarmist repertoire was marked by use of war metaphors in both Russian and British websites. Both employed emotionally laden adjectives, signaling dangers, such as threatening, disastrous, grave etc. However, during the analysis differences emerged as well. It was noticed that articles produced by Pravda.ru not only employed lexicon strongly inspired by the Bible, like words apocalyptic or doomsday, but also made references to Biblical events. The second most popular repertoire among the two websites was rhetorical skepticism, which was aimed towards climate change as a phenomena and its scientists. In the TheDailyMail.co.uk articles a lot of attention has been paid to scientists of climate change, thus they were decorated with a variety of adjectives, such as baffled, confused, shoddy etc., indicating lack of trustworthiness. Even though climate change itself received a label of crazy obsession in one of the article of TheDailyMail.co.uk, the attention it received in Pravda.ru was much higher. The articles found in the Russian website several times compared it to religion or cult, implying that it lacks rationality. Furthermore, a metaphor of game was found, which was not evident in its British counterpart. This metaphor suggests that the whole field should not be taken seriously.

5. Discussion

The present study investigated how Russian and British news websites communicated climate change and how it engaged the audience with the issue of climate change. The analysis of articles retrieved from TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru provided interesting and thought inducing results. By looking at three different aspects, which are balanced reporting, framing, and linguistic repertoires, of articles it was possible to get a clear and well-rounded picture of how the discourse of climate change looks like and how it is communicated to the audience. The results show that media voluntary struggles to communicate climate change in a clear way. The following paragraphs will in more detail discuss the results regarding balanced reporting, framing techniques, and linguistic repertoires in relation to the previous research. Furthermore, main differences that were found during the analysis will be highlighted.

The results showed that climate change, despite the fact that its consequences are already felt, is still presented and communicated to the readers as an ambiguous issue, as 13 instances of balanced reporting were found in TheDailyMail.co.uk, whereas Pravda.ru website had a smaller number of articles, which had balanced reporting. However, to state that Russian website was better at covering climate change would too bald as their other practices, such as framing or linguistic repertoires, which will be discussed later did not add clarity to the issue. This goes in hand with Boykoff & Manfield's (2008) results, which suggested that tabloid press tends to employ balanced reporting when covering climate change. Implications of such reporting can be grave. In the first place, especially when focusing on arguing against anthropogenic nature of climate change, distorts the real picture and misleads the audience. The reason why journalists could choose such reporting can be found in journalistic norms, as suggested by Boykoff & Boykoff (2007). The norms that largely influenced journalists were balance and novelty. While balance by itself is perceived as a positive thing in journalistic world, according to some researchers (Boykkoff & Boykoff, 2004) it might lead to a biased representation. However, a closer analysis of balanced reporting revealed that giving the same weight to different views regarding the nature of climate change was not the biggest issue here. Nearly half of the articles produced by TheDailyMail.co.uk presented a sceptic view, as more weight was given to the ideas that refuted anthropogenic nature of climate change. Despite the fact that such ideas go against a scientifically proven and well-grounded view that climate change is man caused, they were encountered a number of times. Due to the norm of novelty, the so called mainstream view, which may no longer catch the eye of the reader, was discarded in favor of a different and new view suggesting that there is nothing anthropogenic about the issue. Naturally, no statistics showing how many scientists support this different and novel view were presented, since the number would be as low as 4%. This illustrates that the media prefers *groundbreaking* news, even though there may be no ground for it. This kind of reporting communicates that climate change is surrounded by uncertainty, thus implying that little can be done since it may not have been induced by man activities.

Despite the fact that articles produced by both websites had a number of similarities, some important differences became evident as well. One of the things that made articles found in the Russian website stand out was a prevailing political shade and blame tactics employed, which were often encountered in the conflict frame. The whole picture that one might get after reading

these articles is that Russia is a victim of climate change, which has been caused by capitalist world. In such a way they seem to shake away the responsibility, despite being one of the biggest pollutants. Similar tendencies were also found by Rowe et al. (2013) as they pointed out the existence of discourse of conspiracy in Russian media. However, if we take a look at the decisions made regarding international policies, especially the Kyoto Protocol, such reporting seems to be reasonable as it pretty much explained why Russia's decision not to participate in its the second part was the right one.

The results from the articles produced by TheDailyMail.co.uk supported the claim made by Valkenburg & Semetko (2000) that responsibility and economic frames are the most popular ones. However, it should be noted that in a case of responsibility frame the parties held responsible for climate change and consequences related to it were either government or scientists. Here, we again see an interesting phenomenon, where people are rendered passive. It was noticed that human frame was not popular in neither of websites, which could be considered as a positive thing, since according to the research (Valkenburg et al., 1999) news stories framed in terms of human interest have a negative effect on people's recollection of the story and might even evoke cynicism. According to the same research (Valkenburg et al., 1999) news framed in terms of conflict and economic consequences have better recollection rates. However, a question arises whether these frames encourage people to change their behavior and take on action in order to fight against climate change. The conflict frame focused on the conflict among either scientific community or between countries, the latter one applicable to Pravda.ru. This framing technique portrays people as passive spectators rather than active participants capable of making a change. Economic frame, on the other hand, shifts the focus to the people, suggesting that they will experience, in a majority of cases, negative economic consequences. Economic consequences included increasing energy bill and green taxes imposed by the government, however the possible positive outcomes these taxes might have to environment were completely ignored. Whether economic threat is enough for people to act is questionable.

When it comes to linguistic repertoires, the results revealed that discourse of climate change in media has not changed for the better, as Ereaut & Segnit (2007) suggested. The alarmist repertoire was still very much prominent and together with skepticism drew a very obscure picture of climate change. Even though techno-optimism was evident in some articles produced

by theDailyMail.co.uk it was overshadowed by alarmist repertoire and skepticism. It can be said that pragmatic-optimistic take on climate change, which is embodied in small actions repertoire, was not popular in either of websites, contrary to the results of Ereaut & Segnit (2007). Though Al Gore[25] once said that it is "appropriate to have an over-representation of factual presentations on how dangerous it is", alarmist repertoire did not prove to be very successful. As Ereaut & Segnit (2006) suggest alarmist repertoire, though at the same time terrifies and entertains the reader, thus being attractive both to journalists and the audience, has negative consequences for it reduces our sense of being able to act. Such popularity of alarmist repertoire seems to be a dangerous trend, which differently from the results of previous research does not seem to leave its leading positions.

The analysis of all three aspects revealed that media communicates a rather unclear an ambiguous message of climate change. The picture that is seen from the current analysis shows that skepticism is still prevalent whether it is regarding nature of climate change or policies. Despite the fact, that several articles did portray climate change as a serious issue, which could be controlled if people will change their behavior or that current research might provide answers and suggestions how this problem has to be addressed in order to attain the best results, the main message was very pessimistic from the researcher's point of view. Even though Russian and British websites had some similarities, such as the use of alarmist and rhetoric skepticism repertoires, some significant differences in their use of frames were found. In order to find the reasons for use of conflict frame in the Russian website case, or economic frame in the British, one should turn to political situation of the countries both locally and internationally. However, despite the fact that reasons behind the practices employed by the two websites are not that easy to pin point, it is clear that something has to be changed in media's communication of climate change. As Ereaut & Segnit (2006) said, it is not enough just to produce a lot of articles about climate change but the attention should be paid how this issue is presented and communicated to the audience.

---

[25] http://grist.org/article/roberts2/

6. Conclusion and recommendations

The analysis of Russian and British websites, Pravda.ru and TheDailyMail.co.uk, allowed us to get a full picture of how media portrays climate change. Even though, after a close and thorough analysis it can be said that climate change was portrayed as an ambiguous issue in both of them, some interesting and significant differences were spotted as well. These differences, such as popularity of conflict frame and blame tactics towards the West employed by Pravda.ru could be tied to political system of countries as well as their stance in relation to the Kyoto protocol. However, bearing in mind the different political systems of the two countries one might have expected to see a greater number of differences, however it can be speculated that more differences might emerge if the sample size would be increased. Furthermore, despite the differences that were more widely discussed in previous sections it would be too ambitious to claim that any of the analyzed websites did a better job when covering the issue of climate change. Both TheDailyMail.co.uk and Pravda.ru through their use of balanced reporting, conflict, economic or responsibility frames as well as alarmist or skeptical repertoires, websites sent a mixed message to its readers. It is expected that the findings from the present study stimulates further inquiry into how media, especially the new one, covers global issues.

There are a number of recommendations that could improve the coverage of climate change to the society. From the results of the research it can be seen that all three aspects: balanced reporting, framing techniques, and use of linguistic repertoires can and should be improved. This could be easily achieved if the journalists in the case of climate change coverage would abandon certain journalistic norms. It can be speculated that if the value of novelty would be abandoned, alarmist repertoire together with conflict framing would not be as common. However, it should be mentioned that it might difficult to abandon these norms completely, when covering climate change, yet it is possible to prioritize other aspects in order to improve its communication. Furthermore, there should be a shift towards a *small actions* repertoire, which encourages people to act. When it comes to framing techniques, the journalists should avoid using conflict frame, especially when it comes to presenting it as an international conflict, as it was noticed in the case of Pravda.ru. What is more, when using economic frame the media should focus on the positive outcomes that might be brought by certain policies rather than negative ones. Also, when it comes to responsibility frame blame tactics should be discarded, as it shifts the responsibility

from people. Furthermore, it is important that the norm of balance would be avoided when covering the nature of climate change because it adds even more uncertainty to the already complex issue.

7. References

Anderson, A. (1997) *Media, Culture, and the Environment*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Banks, S. M., Salovey, P., Greeener, S., Rothman, A. J., Moyer, A., Beuavais, J. & Epel, E. (1995) The effect of message framing on mammography utilization. *Health Psychology,* Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 178-184.

Beck, U. (2006) Living in the world risk society. *Economy and Society,* Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 329-345.

Beck, U. (1999) *World Risk Society.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bennett, W.L. (2002) *News: the Politics of Illusion (*5th ed). New York: Longman.

Bennett, W.L. (1996) An introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics. *Political Communication,* Vol. 13, pp. 373–384.

Boykoff, M. & Mansfield, M. (2008) 'Ye olde hot aire': reporting on human contributions to climate change in the UK tabloid press. *Environmental Research Letters,* Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 1-8.

Boykoff, M. T. (2007) Flogging a dead norm? Newspaper coverage of anthropogenic climate change in the United States and United Kingdom from 2003-2006. *Area,* Vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 470-481.

Boykoff, M. T. & Boykoff, J. M. (2004) Bias as balance: global warming and the US prestige press. *Global Environment Change* Vol.14, pp. 125-36.

Bord, R. J., O'Connor, R., & Fischer, A. (2000) In what sense does the public need to understand global climate change? *Public Understanding of Science,* Vol. 9, No.3, pp. 205-218.

Bowe, J. B., Oshita, T., Terracina-Hartman, C. & W. Chao. (2014) Framing of climate change in newspaper coverage of the East Anglia e-mail scandal. *Public Understanding of Science.* Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 157-169.

Brock, G. (2013) *Out of Print: Newspapers, journalism and the Business of News in the Digital Age.* London: Kogan Page Limited.

Butler, C. & Pidgeon, N. (2009) Media Communications and Public Understanding of Change – Reporting Scientific Consensus on Anthropogenic Climate Change. In T. Boyce & J. Lewis (Eds). *Climate Change and the Media* (pp. 43–58). Peter Lang: New York, USA

Cappella, J. N. and Jamieson, K. H. (1997) *Spiral of cynicism. The press and the public good.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Cappella, J. N. & Jamieson, K. H. (1996) News Frames, Political Cynicism, and Media Cynicism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 546, No. 1, pp. 71-84.

Cassidy, W.P. (2005) Variations on a theme: the professional role conceptions of print and online newspaper journalists. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 2, pp. 264–80.

Cox, R. (2010) *Environmental Communication and the Public Sphere.* (2nd ed.) SAGE: London.

Doyle, J. (2011) *Mediating Climate Change.* NY: Ashgate Publishing.

Entman, R. M. (2008) Theorizing mediated public diplomacy: The U.S. case. *Press/Politic,* Vol. 13, pp. 87-102.

Entman, R. M. (1993) Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 51–58.

Ereaut, G. & Segnit, N. (2007) *Warm words II: How the climate story is evolving and the lessons we can learn for encouraging public action.* London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Ereaut, G. & Segnit, N. (2006) *Warm words: How are we telling the climate story and can we tell it better?* London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987) The changing culture of affirmative action. In R. G. Braungart & M. M. Braungart (Eds.) *Research in political sociology*. Vol. 3, pp. 137–177). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Gans, H. (1979) *Deciding what's news*. New York: Patheon.

Giddens, A. (2009) *The Politics of Climate Change.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: an Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Gumperz, J. J. (1964) Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 66, No. 6, part 2, pp. 137-153.

Iorgoveanu, A., & Corbu, N. (2012) No Consensus on Framing? Towards an Integrative Approach Defining Frames both as Text and Visuals. *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 91-102.

IPCC. (2007d) *Climate Change 2007 – Synthesis report: Summary for Policymakers.* Cambridge University Press. //ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/

Johnson-Cartee, K. S. (2005) *News Narratives and News Framing: Constructing Political Reality.* Washington DC: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lockwood, A. (2009) Preparations for a Post-Kyoto Media Coverage of UK Climate Policy. In: Boyce T. and Lewis, J. (eds.) *Climate Change and the Media.* Peter Lang Publishing Inc., New York, pp. 186-200.

Loftus, E.F. (1979) *Eyewitness Testimony.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Manning, C. M., Amel, E. L., B. A. Scott, & Forsman, J. (2009) Framing climate change solution: get the numbers right. *International Journal of Climate Change Strategies and Management,* Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 326-339.

McComas, K. &Shanahan, J. (1999) Telling Stories about Global Climate Change. Measuring the Impact of Narratives on Issue Cycles. *Communication Research* Vol.26, No.1, p. 30-57.

McCombs, M. & Reynolds, A. (2002) News influence on our pictures of the world. In Bryant, J., & Zillmann, D. (Eds.) *Media effects: Advances in theory and research.* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, pp. 1-18.

McCombs, M., Shaw, D. L. & Weaver, D. (1997) *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

McQuail, D. (2009) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. (6th ed.) London: SAGE.

Moser, S. & L. Dilling. (2011) Communicating Climate Change: Closing the science-action gap. In Norgaard, R., Schlosberg, D. & Dryzek, J. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society.* Oxford University Press: New York, pp. 130-148.

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992) *Common Knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nerlich, B., Koteyko, N. & Brown, B. (2010) Theory and language of climate change communication. *WIREs Climate Change*. Vol. 56, No.1, pp. 97–110.

Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1988) Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretive repertoires. In Antaki, C. (Ed.), *Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp. 168-183.

Potter, J. & Wetherall, M. (1987) *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behavior.* London: Sage.

Royal Society. (2007) *Climate change controversies: A simple guide.* London: The Royal Society.

Rowe, W.E. (2013) Climate science, Russian politics, and the framing of climate change. *WIREs CLIMATE CHANGE,* Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 457-465.

Sharmina, M., Anderson K., and Bows-Larkin, A. (2013) Climate change regional review: Russia. *Willey Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change,* Vol. 4 No. 5, pp. 373-396.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000) Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication,* Vol. 50, No, 2, pp. 93-109.

Starkey, G. (2007) *Balance and Bias in Journalism: Representation, regulation and democracy.* NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trumbo C.W., & Shanahan J. (2000) Social research on climate change: Where we have been, where we are at, and where we might go. *Public Understanding of Science*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 199-204.

UNFCC. (2008) *United Nations Framework on Climate Change. //unfccc.Int/ (accessed 20 April 2014)*

Valkenburg, P. M, Semetko, H. A. & de Vreese, C. H. (1999) The effects of news frames on readers' thoughts and recall. *Communications Research,* Vol. 26, pp. 550-569.

de Vreese, C. H. (2003) *Framing Europe: television news and European integration.* Amsterdam: Aksant.

Ward, R.E.T. (2009) *Climate change, the public, and the media in the UK: a watershed moment.* In Boyce, T. and Lewis, J. (Eds.) Climate Change and the Media. Peter Lang Publishing Inc., New York, pp. 59-64.

Williams, R. (2009) Ideological Construction of Climate Change in Australian and New Zealand Newspapers. In Boyce, T. & Lewis, J. (Eds.) *Climate Change and the Media.* Peter Lang Publishing Inc., New York, pp. 28-43.

Williams, K. (2003) *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Arnold.

Zehr, S. (2009) Hybrid Frame in US Press Coverage of Climate Change. In Boyce, T. & Lewis, J. (Eds.) *Climate Change and the Media*. Peter Lang Publishing Inc., New York, pp. 80-92.

7.1 Appendix

Analyzed articles from TheDailyMail.co.uk

1. *Is climate change causing the rise in freakish weather conditions?* By Savita Verma, 7 January 2013
2. *Alternative thinking on climate change: Is it time to paint the world white?* By Michael Hanlon, 18 April 2012
3. *The climate change slowdown baffling scientists across the globe,* by Daily Mail Reporter, 16 April 2013
4. *Humans may not be responsible for global warming, it may just be a natural phase, says climate change MP, by* Daniel Martin, 29 May 2013
5. *Climate change is causing Earth's poles to DRIFT, claim scientists* by Victoria Woolaston, 16 December 2013
6. *Could a rogue nation 'hijack' climate change? New report warns of the danger* by Damien Gayle, 10 January 2013
7. *Second Tory with key climate change role in bid to build giant North Sea windfarm* by David Rose,18 August 2012
8. *Climate change: forget heatwave fantasies and start planning for the floods* by Michael Hanlon, 17 July 2012
9. *Is this starved polar bear which died as 'skin and bones' the 'categorical proof' that climate change is wiping out the species?* By Victoria Wollaston, 7 August 2013
10. *Nature's water cooler: How whirlpools in the world's oceans 'suck' carbon dioxide out of the atmosphere and help combat climate change* by Eddie Wrenn, 30 July 2012
11. *Fears over fuel bills surge to record high: But climate change is top concern for just one in 20* by Tamara Cohen, 30 April 2013
12. *Britain's great climate change divide: Winters in the North are becoming warmer - while in the South it's summers that are getting hotter* by Emma Innes,12 September 2013
13. *Does climate change exist? It all depends on what date you ask someone and whether it's raining at the time, claims scientist* by Victoria Woollaston, 3 July 2013
14. *Melting permafrost 'will DOUBLE carbon and nitrogen levels in the atmosphere': Experts issue chilling new climate change warning* by Damien Gayle, 26 November 2012
15. *Number of people dying because of unbearable heat 'set to double this century because of climate change'* by Jaymi Mccann, 19 May 2013
16. *Seabird could become UK's first wildlife victim of climate change as research shows numbers have halved since the 1980s* by Kerry Mcqueeney, 23 August 2012
17. *Climate change is 'strongly linked' to conflict and violence across the world, with even minor variations affecting behavior* by Emma Innes, 1 August 2013
18. *Government's £3bn aid to tackle climate change in developing countries will save UK lives, claims minister* by Nick McDermott, 2012 June 12

19. *Is global warming just hot air?* By Gerri Peev, 2012 April 25
20. *Why has global warming slowed*? By Sarah Griffiths, 2013 August 21
21. *MIT scientist ridicules IPCC climate change report, calls finding "hilarious incoherence"* by Daily Mail Reporter
22. *The 'Doomsday Clock' stays at five minutes to midnight as scientists accuse world leaders of ignoring climate change* by Mark Prigg, 2013 January 15,
23. *Killer typhoon Haiyan was a DIRECT result of man-made climate change says Prince Charles* by Amie Keeley, 2013 November 20
24. *Ignore climate change and 100m people will die by 2030, shocking new report claims* by Daily Mail Reporter, 2012 September 26
25. *Davey attacks 'dangerous' climate change sceptics* by James Chapman, 2013 June 3
26. *Could extreme weather be causing climate change?* by Rob Waugh, 2012 July 26
27. *The crazy climate change obsession that has made the Met Office a menac*e by James Delingpole, 2013 January 10
28. *Carbon dioxide levels reach all-time high, prompting new warnings about climate change* by Sara Malm, 2013 May 10
29. *Humans have played dominant role in warming of the oceans over the past 50 years, says new study* by Daily Mail Reporter, 2012 June 11
30. *Climate change models may not have been accurate after all as study finds most widely overestimated global warming* by Daily Mail reporter, 2013 September 12

Analyzed articles from Pravda.ru

1. *UN: Unprecedented climate change* by Timofei Belov, 2013 July 05
2. *Climate change should reduce variety of plants and animals* by Lisa Karpova, 2013 May 15
3. *Climate Change to create epic surfing conditions?* By Timothy Hinchey, 2013 January 14
4. *Bananas have key role in food for the warming world* by Lisa Karpova, 2012 November 01
5. *The flood is waiting in the wings* by Lisa Karpova, 2013 May 13
6. *Russia to switch to growing soy beans and grapes?* By Maria Snytkova, 2013 March 11
7. *Who makes bad weather in this world?* 2013 November 10, in Pravda.ru
8. *This is a war against the whole world, not Russia alone* by A I Adam, 2013 November 28
9. *Who profits from global climate change?* by Yuri Skidanov, 2013 March 04
10. *New diseases – new approach* by Maria Snytkova, 2013 December 28
11. *Will there be another Deluge?* By Igor Bukker, 2012 July 12
12. *Virtual proof of climate science fraud* by Gary Novak, 2013 November 07
13. *This is a war against the whole world, not Russia alone* by A I Adam, 2013 November 28
14. *Who makes bad weather in this world?* 2013 October 01
15. *Global warming increases probability of coups in poor countries* by Ilona Raskolnikova, 2012 August 21