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VOICES OF THE CLIMATE CRISIS:
Using quotations to achieve framing in climate change
reporting

ABSTRACT

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Tämän kandidaatintutkielman aiheena on ilmastonmuutosdiskurssi Britannian valtavirtamediassa. Uutismedialla on tärkeä rooli siinä, miten ihmiset ymmärtävät ja arvioivat ongelmia, kuten ilmastokriisiä. Näiden ongelmien kehystämisen uutisissa vaikuttaa merkittävästi vastaanottajien tulkintoihin. Tästä syystä on tärkeää tutkia, miten ilmastokriisiä ja ilmastotoimia käsitellään uutisissa.

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten ilmastonmuutoksen vastaisia toimia raportoidaan ja miten uutisissa esiintyviä ääniä käytetään ilmastotoimien kehystämiseksi. Analyysissä keskitytään sitaatteihin, koska toimittajan ääni voi olla piilossa sitaattien takana, ja tämä virheellinen subjektiivisuuden vaikutelma saattaa alentaa lukijoiden kriittistä arviointikykyä. Analyysin materiaalina toimii neljä uutisartikkelia neljästä eri lehdestä, joista kaikki raportoivat Iso-Britannian hallituksen esittämää ilmastotoimisuunnitelmaa. Analyysiin valittiin poliittisissa ääripäissä sijaitsevat sanomalehdet, joiden lisäksi kahta oikealle nojaavaa lehteä vertaillaan ääripäihin. Tutkimuksen lähestymistapana on diskurssianalyysi ja kehysteoria. Uutisartikkeleissa esiintyvät sitaatit lajitellaan sen mukaan, miten ne arvioivat ehdotettua ilmastotoimisuunnitelmaa ja niiden esiintyvyyttä vertaillaan. Lisäksi yksittäisiä sitaatteja vertaillaan lehtien välillä ja niiden eroja analysoidaan.

Tutkimuksessa tunnistetaan neljä tapaa, jolla sitaattien avulla korostetaan ilmastotoimien joko negatiivisia tai positiivisia aspekteja. Esimerkiksi raportoitavien sitaattien valinta ja sitaattien sijainti tekstissä vaikuttaa ehdotetun suunnitelman vastaanoton vaikutelmaan. Lisäksi lainauksista voidaan esimerkiksi jättää osia pois, jolloin niiden kokonaisvaikutelma muuttuu. Näillä tavoilla toimittajat voivat muuttaa aiheiden kehystystä samalla pysyen ilmeisen objektiivisena. Suppeasta materiaalista huolimatta sitaattien erilaisilla käsittelytavoilla havaitaan olevan merkittävä vaikutus kehystykseen. Kehystyksellä havaitaan olevan tässäkin tapauksessa merkittävä vaikutus artikkelista saatuaan kokonaiskuvaan. Tulosten mukaan lukijan todennäköinen vaikutelma aiheesta riippuu luetusta sanomalehdestä.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, framing, climate change, climate crisis, climate action, media, news, voices, quotations.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

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1. Introduction

The climate crisis is generally recognised to be a global emergency that requires drastic measures to avoid catastrophic consequences. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established in 1989, and since then, the consequences of climate change have been brought forward. However, the truthfulness and scale of climate change has been constantly challenged in the media, even though these contrarian voices are in the minority (Boykoff, 2011).

Climate change was slowly recognised in most mainstream media as a true phenomenon caused by humans, but the debate on the truthfulness of climate change only shifted to the severity and consequences (Ruiu, 2020; Parks, 2020). Even though scientists continue to warn that climate change is a crisis with imminent catastrophic consequences, according to recent studies, especially right-leaning media still debate whether climate change is a crisis that needs drastic counter-action (ibid.).

Climate action – i.e., the measures taken in order to prevent the consequences of climate change – is a complex issue, because many consequences of climate change are still theoretical, while climate action can have immediate negative consequences. In addition, the positive impact of climate action can be uncertain. The issue can be polarized by newspapers by, for example, emphasising the negative impact of climate action while challenging the consequences of climate change. Furthermore, the issue is largely politicised, and conflicting party agendas complicate the issue even more (Carvalho, 2007).

Examining how issues like the climate crisis are reported is important, because the media has a crucial role in how people define problems (Trumbo, 1996, 269). Moreover, how issues are framed in the news affect how people understand and perceive an issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Because climate change is set to have global catastrophic consequences, it is important to understand

how the actions taken against it are reported and how different aspects of the issue might be emphasised.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how climate action is reported in British mainstream media. Specifically, this thesis focuses on how the reporting of quotations is used to emphasise different aspects of climate action. The reason behind the focus on quotations is the seeming objectivity of reporters when quoting other people. It might seem to the reader that reporting other sources removes the possibility of subjectivity from the reporter. The fact that a person is important enough to be interviewed or their comments to be reported can even give them authority. Thus, the barrier of critical reading might be lowered when it comes to reported statements. The voice of the reporter can be hidden by quotation marks and this thesis aims to find it.

Previous study results, which are introduced in section 2, reveal that right-leaning media tend to challenge the necessity of drastic climate action. However, the studies had data only up to the year 2016. Preliminary overview of the websites of the news publications that were examined for this thesis warrants the hypothesis that currently, even in most right-leaning media, climate change is considered a considerable crisis that needs immediate counter-action.

Thus, the research questions for this thesis are:

1: *How are quotations used to achieve framing in the news articles?*

2: *Are the articles consistent with previous study results, i.e., do right-leaning publications still report climate change as uncertain and climate action less urgent than left-leaning ones?*

The chosen approach for this thesis is discourse analysis. This thesis also touches on communication and media studies, as the broader issue in question is media discourse. This approach utilises framing theory in order to examine the different possible emphases and their impact on news narratives.

In the following section, I will present some background information on the climate crisis, the approach taken in this thesis and previous studies on the issue. Next, I will introduce the materials and methods of analysis used in this thesis. Then I will analyse the materials and present results. After that I will discuss the results and answer the research questions. Finally, I will end the thesis with a summary, the limitations and possible avenues of further research.

2. Background

In this section, I will present background information and previous research. First, the climate crisis and related terminology is discussed. Second, the concept of discourse and discourse analysis are introduced. Third, framing theory is introduced. Fourth, an overview of communication and media studies relevant to this thesis is provided. Finally, previous research on the reporting of climate crisis is introduced.

2.1 The climate crisis

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus defines the climate crisis as “serious problems that are being caused or likely to be caused by changes in the world's weather, in particular the world getting warmer as a result of human activity increasing the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere” (s.v. *climate crisis*). According to the United Nations, these problems include “environmental degradation, natural disasters, weather extremes, food and water insecurity, economic disruption, conflict, and terrorism” (United Nations, 2020). Even though *climate crisis* refers to the consequences of climate change, the term is often used interchangeably with *climate change* or *global warming*.

According to *The English Dictionary* hosted at Lexico.com, *climate change* is a more neutral word, with the meaning of “A change in global or regional climate patterns . . .” (s.v. *climate change*), while *climate crisis* is described as “A situation characterized by the threat of highly dangerous, irreversible changes to the global climate” (s.v. *climate crisis*). In this thesis, *climate crisis* is the preferred term, because it encompasses both climate change and its current impact and possible catastrophic consequences.

2.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse is an abstract concept, with many different definitions. Schiffrin, et al. clarify, that all definitions “. . . fall into the three main categories [. . .]: (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language” (2003, 2). The approach of examining discourse is called discourse analysis and it is as multidimensional as discourse itself. A characteristic of discourse analysis is its interdisciplinarity; discourse has been examined within such disciplines as linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, communication, cognitive psychology and social psychology (Schiffrin, et al., 2003, 2). In this thesis, discourse is regarded with the meaning of language use beyond the sentence, as well as media discourse, i.e., the narrative structure of news and the ideologies that the news media propagate.

Discourse analysis can be approached from a number of different perspectives. This thesis focuses on the type of discourse analysis often employed by communication and media studies. This perspective focuses on framing and quotations within the news narrative (Schiffrin, et al., 2003, 3). Even though discourse analysis focuses on language use beyond the sentence, linguistic details on the sentential level are examined to identify frames and classify quotations. Language use is also examined on the word level in order to, for example, examine differences between quotations.

2.3 Framing

Frames serve as “schemata of interpretation”, which direct individuals into focusing attention, processing information and forming opinions in a certain way (Goffman, 1974, 21). *Framing* is a process, by which individuals understand issues in a certain way as a result of these frames (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Framing can be used to emphasize different aspects of an issue with the intention of making the issue more applicable (Nisbet, 2009).

The issue in question needs to be available for retrieval from memory so that a framing effect can occur (Chong & Druckman, 2007). That is, the issue needs to be stored in memory because if an individual does not understand an issue, a framing effect cannot occur. In addition, the issue must be accessible, “meaning its activation potential must exceed a certain threshold so that the consideration is retrieved from long-term memory” (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Accessibility can be increased by recent or recurring exposure to frames, which emphasise the issue in question (ibid.).

People store beliefs in their memory and depending on the situation at hand, different beliefs become accessible and different opinions are drawn based on those beliefs (ibid.). Framing can influence this process “by making new beliefs available about an issue, making certain available beliefs accessible, or making beliefs applicable or ‘strong’ in people's evaluations” (Ibid.).

Especially important for this thesis are what are called emphasis or issue frames, which “highlight specific qualitative features of an issue—such as its likely consequences or its implications for particular values” (Feldman & Hart, 2018, 506). According to Price and Tewksbury (1997), framing works through this emphasising. Frames, which emphasise a certain aspect over others, make certain thoughts and feelings applicable, which activates them in information processing, completing the process of framing (ibid.).

The effects of framing can be seen in Sniderman & Theriault's study (2004, quoted in Chong & Druckman, 2007). It was asked whether respondents would favour or oppose allowing a hate group to hold a political rally. 85% of respondents answered in favour when the question was preceded by "Given the importance of free speech", while only 45% answered in favour when the question was preceded by "Given the risk of violence". In the first setting, the belief of free speech was made accessible, while in the second setting, beliefs about hate groups committing violence were made accessible. The opinions of the respondents were shown to be drawn based the beliefs that were made accessible by framing.

2.4. Communication and media studies

The media play a significant role in society and in everyday life. The news media allow people to stay updated on world events and the 24-hour news cycle makes it possible to learn about events around the world almost instantly. However, the media do not simply mirror reality, but instead reconstruct it (Carvalho, 2007, 223). This applies to all reported issues, including seemingly objective issues, such as science and thus, the climate crisis as well. In other words, it is not possible to neutrally report on issues, as a multitude of choices affect what is reported and how issues are reported on. These choices include ". . . whether an issue will make the news, the highlight it will be given, and who is going to speak for it (ibid.)." These choices shape the news narratives, reconstructing reality.

Walter Lippmann suggested in *Public Opinion* (1922) that because the global society is simply too vast for people to comprehend, their understanding of the world is largely created by the news media. This means that the media have a profound influence on how people view the world and its issues. Furthermore, representation of problems, such as the climate crisis, in the news media is crucial in whether people define something as a problem (Trumbo, 1996, 269).

There has been substantial research which has confirmed that framing issues in different ways in the news affect how people understand and perceive an issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Moreover, prior research confirms that public opinion and behaviour regarding climate change is influenced by how the issue is framed in the media (Feldman & Hart, 2018). News items which include scientific information on climate change can affect political outcomes, because having science-based beliefs and risk perceptions makes people more likely to support policies aiming at decreasing global warming (Xiaoquan, et al., 2011). Further, reporting on issues can directly impact politicians, even without pressure from citizens (Parks, 2020).

2.5. Previous research

This thesis follows a quantitative study by Ruiu (2020) on climate crisis reporting in the UK. She notes that general consensus has slowly been reached in the UK news media on climate change being an emergency and that it is caused by human action. However, the debate has shifted to the consequences of the climate crisis and the necessary actions to prevent these consequences. Ruiu's study (2020) revealed that politically centre-right leaning news publications (CR) challenge the necessity of climate action and are sceptical of it, while centre-left leaning publications (CL) present climate action as a given and a matter of urgency. Moreover, CL present the consequences of climate change as dire and impending, while CR continues to debate the consequences by presenting them as unsure in seriousness and urgency:

In fact, the CL-leaning newspapers tend to represent the consequences as certain or mostly certain. In contrast, half of the CR-leaning articles range from uncertain/mostly uncertain consequences, balanced reporting, and not reporting the consequences, suggesting a polarization and a tendency for conservative newspapers to give more space to sceptical positions (Ruiu, 2020, 22).

This polarisation is largely caused by the space given by the media to voices that contradict climate science, even though contrarian voices are in the minority (Boykoff, 2011). Overall, scientists

have a marginal presence in climate change debate (Schäfer, 2012). The reason for this might be that the media focus on the political dimension of the climate crisis, as they report on different political strategies regarding climate action (Ruiu, 2020).

A study by Parks attained similar results in US news media (2020). Major news media has increasingly accepted climate change as a crisis, but right-leaning media continue to de-emphasise the severity of climate change:

. . . mainstream news organizations were much more likely to affirm climate change in crisis connections, and conservative news organizations were much more likely to deny or downplay climate change in crisis connections. But even denials of climate change as a “crisis” indicate a shift in the discursive environment toward the more urgent terminology (Parks, 2020, 94).

The data of the studies reached respectively to 2016 and 2015 and the study by Parks suggested that the climate change was increasingly presented as a crisis. This warrants the question of how the issue is presented currently.

3. Materials and Methods

In this chapter, I will introduce the materials and methods of analysis used in this thesis. First, I will introduce the articles that were chosen for the analysis. Then I will present the methods of the analysis and the specific ways of carrying out the analysis.

Four articles were chosen for the analysis of quotations. The articles report on the same piece of news: the proposed 10-step plan by the British government to counteract the climate crisis. The chosen articles were the following:

“Authoritarian, elitist, anti-motorist.. and eye-wateringly expensive: Drivers, business and economists slam PM's 'Stalinist' plan to ban new petrol and diesel vehicles by 2030 - a date that was NOT in Tory manifesto - and his ten-point green revolution” (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020, *The Daily*

Mail), “Boris Johnson announces 10-point green plan with 250,000 jobs” (Walker & Elgot, 2020, *The Guardian*), “FUEL CARS RIP 2030 Boris Johnson to ban the sale of new petrol & diesel cars after 2030 in a £12billion green splurge.” (Reilly, 2020, *The Sun*) and “Petrol and diesel cars BANNED by 2030: £500m of driver grants in Boris's green revolution” (Hall, 2020, *Express*).

The articles from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* were chosen for the analysis of reported speech, because they represent the political extremes of British mainstream news media and thus make for a good pair for comparison. *The Guardian* is considered the leftmost major news outlet, while *The Daily Mail* is considered the rightmost one (YouGov, 2017). In addition, both articles focus on the same issue and feature numerous quotes from different people, which is slightly rare, as most articles tend to be much shorter. The articles from *The Sun* and *Express* were chosen as a comparison to *The Daily Mail* article, as *The Sun* is considered to be the third most right-leaning news publication and *Express* the second most right-leaning news publication (ibid.). A preliminary overview of *The Sun* and *Express* suggested that their reporting was quite different from *The Daily Mail* and thus, they were suitable for comparison.

The chosen method of analysis for this thesis is qualitative discourse analysis. However, the analysis begins with a quantitative analysis regarding the frequency of different kinds of statements. Firstly, the quotes or statements regarding the proposed plan were classified into three categories: negative, positive and “balanced”. “Balanced” statements refer to statements that either evaluate the plan sceptically or as challenging to execute. Balanced statements also include conflicting statements, which at first evaluate the plan positively, but then continue with negativity toward the plan. Example (1) is a balanced statement, in which the plan is evaluated positively, but then criticised.

Example (1). ‘While the Government has taken a big step for our climate by ruling out new petrol and diesel cars and vans from 2030, behind the headline is a gaping hole in the funding needed to put us on track to net-zero.’ (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020)

There is some complexity in whether a statement is regarded as balanced or rather a positive statement followed by a negative one or vice versa. The distinction was made on the basis of how the quotations were presented in the texts, i.e., whether the quotation in question was presented as a singular statement or separate statements that were separated, for example, by spacing or separate quotation marks. This distinction is suitable, because the analysis focuses on how voices are represented in the news articles, rather than the original comments themselves.

Negative statements are statements that evaluate the plan negatively or in an overtly critical fashion. Negative statements were further divided into statements that saw the plan as either too drastic or not drastic enough. Negative statements that evaluated the plan as not drastic enough are positive toward climate action, but negative toward the plan. Example (2) is a statement, which evaluates the plan negatively and as too drastic. Example (3) shows a statement which evaluates the plan negatively, but in the context of the plan not being drastic enough to counteract the climate crisis.

Example (2). ‘The decision to bring forward once again the ban on sales of new petrol and diesel vehicles is yet another regressive, anti-motorist policy.’ (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020)

Example (3). ‘This is a shopping list, not a plan to address the climate emergency, and it commits only a fraction of the necessary resources.’ (Walker & Elgot, 2020)

Positive statements evaluated the plan only positively:

Example (4). ‘This landmark announcement signals the end of the road for polluting cars and vans and a historic turning point on climate action.’ (Walker & Elgot, 2020)

The statements were then manually classified and counted, after which their relative frequencies were compared. The comparison of frequencies focuses on *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*, because the articles are longer and feature numerous quotations, while *The Sun* and *Express* articles contain fewer quotations. In connection to this, the position of the quotes was also taken into consideration. The statements included in the analysis responded specifically to the plan. Therefore, statements from the Prime Minister and other members of the government were excluded from

analysis because their statements, all of which positive, were given to promote the plan instead of responding to the plan.

After analysing what voices are represented in the articles, the analysis moves to *how* these voices are represented. Individual quotations were compared between articles to find possible differences in reporting the same statements. In addition, paraphrased and summarised statements were considered in order to examine any possible differences in framing. This analysis by looking closely at individual quotations allowed for determining framing strategies in connection to the representation of voices. Because all of the articles reported on the same issue, comparing the reported statements allowed for examining differences in emphases and thus, the use of emphasis frames.

4. Analysis

4.1 Represented voices

This sub-section discusses what kind of voices are represented in the news articles. This analysis is quantitative, but a closer qualitative look is also taken regarding the position of quotes in the texts. The chapter is divided into sub-chapters based on the examined news publications.

4.1.1. *The Daily Mail*

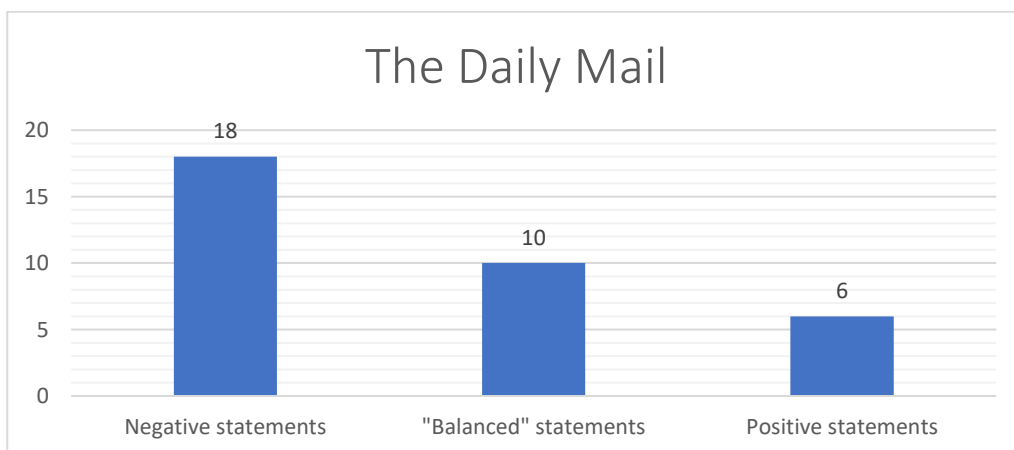


Figure 1. Frequency of statements in *The Daily Mail* article.

Overall, there were 18 negative and 10 balanced statements in the article, clearly outnumbering the six positive statements. Of the negative statements, seven evaluated the plan as too drastic, while three statements evaluated it as not drastic enough. This finding is concordance with the view that CR publications tend to accentuate controversial views regarding climate action.

In addition, it is notable that all positive statements were toward the end of the article. In fact, there were 13 negative and 8 balanced statements before the first positive statement. This could possibly prime the reader to be sceptical of the positive statements. Moreover, the first 10 paragraphs included negative attitudes towards the plan, which gives the negative statements most prominence (Fico et al., 2004).

Furthermore, most of the positive statements were closely followed by a negative statement. This means the positive responses were negated. This will likely give prominence to a more negative interpretation. To the reader, the apparent response to the plan will likely seem controversial at best.

It would seem that a negative interpretation of the plan from the reader is most likely. The results show that the article de-emphasises the consequences of the climate crisis while accentuating the negative impacts of drastic climate action.

4.1.2. *The Guardian*

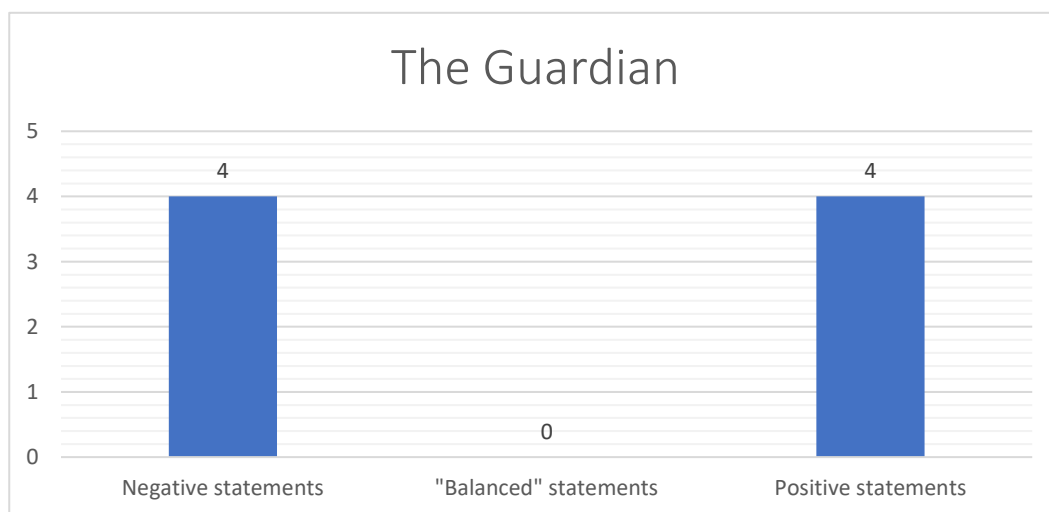


Figure 2. Frequency of statements in *The Guardian* article.

The Guardian article is in sharp contrast to *The Daily Mail* article. Even though the number of negative statements equals the number of positive ones, three of the four negative statements regarded the plan as not drastic enough. Moreover, there were no balanced statements in the article. Thus, the article accentuates the view that action is needed to counteract climate change. This supports the view that CL tend to portray climate action as a given and necessary.

The reporters use a contrary strategy to *The Daily Mail* article, as they exclude most negative responses to the plan. By having fewer negative voices and having relatively more voices who say that the plan is not drastic enough, *The Guardian* reports a seemingly very different response to the plan than *The Daily Mail*. Most notably *The Guardian* article promotes the view that the climate crisis requires immediate and drastic action.

The issue is framed very differently from *The Daily Mail* article and the reader is probably more inclined to interpret the plan either as a positive step towards counteracting the climate crisis or an insufficient step, albeit in the right direction. This difference in framing is primarily achieved by the selection of quoted statements. For example, the reporters from *The Daily Mail* chose to interview members of the auto industry, while *The Guardian* article featured no quotes from the industry and instead focused on politicians and environmental groups.

4.1.3. *The Sun* and *Express*

The Sun article features significantly fewer different voices, as it only has quotes from two people, excluding the Prime Minister. As two quoted statements are positive and two balanced – in the sense that they describe the plan as a challenge – the overall picture is positive. The *Express* article was similar. The article contains only one quote, in which the plan is evaluated positively.

To summarize, different articles represent voices differently, and representation was found to be a way of framing the issue. The voices represented, that is, the people quoted, focused differently on the positive and negative aspects of the plan. For example, the apparent response to the proposed plan seemed more negative in the Daily Mail article than in the other articles. While the represented voices concentrated on the importance of climate action in most articles, the voices in the Daily Mail article concentrated more on the negative effects of climate action. The reader's probable interpretation of the piece of news could be quite different depending on the news publication.

These results indicate that Ruiu's (2020) results could be outdated. The most recent data of the study was from 2016, and it could be that CR publications have changed their stance on climate action reporting. Even though *The Sun* and *Express* are the estimated as the second and third-most right-leaning publication, their reporting is in contrast to the Daily Mail and more similar to the Guardian, a left leaning publication. Though this analysis examined only singular articles, the results do suggest that only the Daily Mail remains to be more critical toward climate action.

4.2. Differences in quoting

Another framing strategy found in the articles was quoting the same statements differently. In other words, choosing which parts of reported statements are omitted and which are included can be a way of achieving framing.

For example, in *The Guardian* article, Rebecca Newsom of Greenpeace is quoted: "This landmark announcement signals the end of the road for polluting cars and vans and a historic turning point on climate action" (Walker & Elgot, 2020). In the Daily Mail, however, the quote is different: "Rebecca Newsom of Greenpeace UK said it was a landmark announcement and a 'turning point on climate action'" (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020). The phrase 'polluting cars and vans' is omitted. Using the adjective *polluting* in connection to cars and vans would make the problem of pollution regarding

combustion engine cars accessible and salient, which could cause the reader to interpret the numerous quotes from the motor industry differently and thus gain a different picture of the article as a whole.

The possibility of difference in reporting is also shown in *The Sun* article, in a quote from Edmund King. The same statement is reported in *The Daily Mail* as “AA president Edmund King said the 2030 date was ‘incredibly ambitious’” (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020), while in *The Sun* it is reported: “The AA’s Edmund King said the cull of petrol cars was ‘incredibly ambitious’ but ‘welcome’” (Reilly, 2020). The addition of *welcome* changes the impression of the quotation into a more positive direction. The difference in positivity is significant and the reporting in *The Sun* article makes the same statement seem more positive as a whole. This is another example of how seemingly small changes in quoting can affect the framing even significantly.

Similarly, the *Express* article frames climate action and the plan very positively. The reporter chose to present the apparent response as positive. The quote “In response, Greenpeace spokeswoman Rebecca Newsom said: ‘This landmark announcement signals the end of the road for polluting cars and vans and a historic turning point on climate action’” (Hall, 2020) is not presented completely. In other articles, the quote continues: “However, the group warned the scheme also had flaws. ‘It’s a shame the prime minister remains fixated on other speculative solutions, such as nuclear and hydrogen from fossil fuels, that will not be taking us to zero emissions anytime soon, if ever’” (Walker & Elgot, 2020). The fact that in the *Express* article, only the positive part of the statement was included, is evidence that the author intended the reader to gain a positive picture of the plan.

This sub-section showed that framing can be altered by quoting statements differently. Omitting or including different parts of statements can change the impression of the quotes and the probable interpretation by the reader. This can be used to make statements seem more positive, as the quote from Rebecca Newsom in the *Express* article, or negative, as the quote from Edmund King in *The Daily Mail* article.

It is also notable that these changes in framing can be achieved, while the reporter remains seemingly objective. To the reader it seems that the quoted statements do not contain the voice of the reporter, but as it was shown, omitting parts of statements, for instance, can alter the impression of the quotations. These are choices that reporters make, and this shows that the voice of the reporter is present even in quotations.

4.3. Summarizing and paraphrasing quotes

Another framing strategy is applied in the abbreviated parts of texts, i.e., the headline, subhead and lead. For example, example (5) shows the freedom reporters have when summarizing quotes. In example (5), quotes from many different sources are compiled to create a statement, which is further connected to the coronavirus situation, even though this connection does not appear in any of the sources. While seemingly only summarizing reported statements, the reporters create an entirely new statement with new connections. This is a deliberate and efficient way of creating emphasis frames.

Example (5). Other experts questioned whether enough electric vehicles will be in production to meet demand by 2030 - a date that did not feature in the Tory election manifesto - suggesting the costs will be so high that only the 'wealthy' will be able to drive. And there were complaints that the 'authoritarian' programme will come with an 'immense' price tag, at a time when the government is already borrowing record sums due to the coronavirus crisis (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020).

Furthermore, Nigel Humphries of the Alliance of British Drivers is quoted saying “There's something Stalinist about [the plan]” (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020). This quote is also included in the headline: “Drivers, business and economists slam PM's 'Stalinist' plan . . .” (ibid.). The strength of the criticism is increased by changing the wording from ‘something Stalinist’ to ‘Stalinist plan’. Nevertheless, *Stalinist* is presented in quotes in the headline. This gives the impression that this is a

statement by someone else than the reporters and that the reporters are objectively reporting comments instead of making a statement themselves.

The same strategy is applied when quotes are paraphrased. The reporters present their interpretation of the quoted statements. In example (6), the quotes are summarized as *let rip*, which emphasises the negative responses above all else. Example (6) is the lead of the article and works as a strong emphasis frame, which emphasises the negative response.

Example (6). Drivers, business and economists today let rip at Boris Johnson's 'Stalinist' ban on new petrol and diesel cars from 2030 - warning rushing the transition is impossible and electric vehicles are still out of reach for ordinary Britons (Tapsfield & Duell, 2020).

The emphasis frame in question is one that emphasises negative consequences of the plan for the 'ordinary Briton' over positive consequences, or rather the negative consequences of not counteracting climate change. In addition, the frame sets up a narrative of conflict between the government and the taxpayers.

The lead of *The Guardian* article (example (7)) is in sharp contrast to example (6). The frame it creates is significantly more positive. While *The Daily Mail* article calls the proposed plan "Boris Johnson's 'Stalinist' ban", Walker & Elgot chose a much more neutral description, "the government's self-styled green industrial revolution". This sets the tone of the whole article as more positive toward the plan. Furthermore, the response to the plan is introduced with *praise from environmental groups*, which was not included in the lead of *The Daily Mail* article. Moreover, the criticism the plan received is described as *questions*, which has neutral connotations and is positive compared to the wording of *The Daily Mail* article.

Example (7). Boris Johnson has announced plans for the government's self-styled green industrial revolution, bringing praise from environmental groups but also questions about the scale of new funding, and the planned expansion of nuclear and hydrogen power. (Walker & Elgot, 2020)

This analysis shows that reporters can alter the framing of an issue by summarizing and paraphrasing quotes differently while remaining seemingly objective. This strategy is utilised in by the reporters to the result that a reader of *The Daily Mail* can interpret the same statements and issues differently than, for example, a reader of *The Guardian*.

In the discussed examples, the frames used were once again emphasis frames, which emphasised one issue or an aspect of an issue over another. The frequent use of emphasis frame can be explained by the multifaceted nature of both the climate crisis and climate action. Emphasising one of the many aspects while de-emphasising others can be achieved efficiently via emphasis frames.

4. Discussion

The analysis regarding research question 1, “How are quotations used to achieve framing in the news articles?”, revealed four major ways of using voices to achieve framing. Firstly, selecting which voices were represented influenced the apparent response to the plan and thus the reader’s possible interpretation of the piece of news. When emphasising the importance of climate action, voices who criticise possible actions are omitted. When emphasising a sceptical view, voices that criticise possible actions are represented and accentuated, and positive voices are contradicted. The representation of voices then can be a significant factor in how readers define climate change as a problem and what kind of actions are necessary to counteract it.

Second, even though two different reporters would choose the same statements to be quoted in their articles, the framing can still be different. The analysis revealed that certain parts of statements were omitted to affect the impression of the quoted statements into either positive or negative directions. Third, summarizing and compiling statements gave the reporters freedom to alter the emphases of statements and make connections that were not there in the original statements, thus

creating new statements altogether. Lastly, the reporter can choose whether to quote directly or indirectly. Indirect quotes can be written with words with various collocations and differences on emphasis. This paraphrasing was found to be an effective framing strategy.

All of the aforementioned strategies can make framing work in different directions, influencing the possible interpretation by the reader. As mentioned above, these framing strategies had to do with emphasis frames, which emphasise certain aspects of an issue over others. Emphasis frames are especially relevant to journalism, because many reported issues are multifaceted, and it would even be almost impossible to exhaustively cover all aspects of an issue in the confines of a news article. In addition, emphasis frames are especially efficient with issues such as climate action, because there are many immediate negative consequences to climate action, while future positive consequences are uncertain.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that reporters can change the probable interpretation quite significantly while remaining seemingly objective by giving more voice to either sceptical and negative or positive views. For example, a reader of *The Daily Mail* article is prone to interpret the response to the plan as mostly negative because the article clearly accentuates a negative and sceptic response to the government's plan by featuring significantly more quotes from people who criticise the plan. However, the writing style of the reporter remains at least somewhat neutral, as the criticism is presented as quotes.

As discussed in the introduction, research question 2, "Are the articles consistent with previous study results, i.e., do right-leaning publications still report climate change as uncertain and climate action less urgent than left-leaning ones?", was set after a preliminary overview of news sites. The hypothesis that the climate reporting of CR publications has changed was confirmed, at least in the confines of this piece of news. Even though *Express* and *The Sun* were evaluated as the second and third-most right-leaning mainstream newspapers, their reporting was strikingly different to the Daily

Mail and more in line with the Guardian, the leftmost newspaper. This supports the hypothesis, that even in most right-leaning media, climate change is considered a considerable crisis that needs immediate counter-action.

It is noteworthy though, that both *The Sun* and *Express* publicly supported the Conservative Party and Boris Johnson in the 2019 general election. This means the papers have an incentive to report positively on the proposed plan, which might affect the results. However, only singular articles were examined and thus individual reporters and the issue in question has major impact on the results. Therefore, research question 2 can only be answered tentatively, and further research is needed in order to obtain generalizable results. Nevertheless, extra-textual evidence suggests the accuracy of the previously mentioned hypothesis; both *Express* and *The Sun* have climate action-advocating initiatives or campaigns, respectively called Green Britain and Green Team. Moreover, in the Green Team logo it reads “Road to COP26” (United Nations Climate Change Conference hosted in the UK), which emphasises the commitment the UK has made to reach climate goals. These are strong statements favouring climate action, which do indicate the stance of the publications.

The Daily Mail article, however, was consistent with previous study results. All four identified strategies were utilised in the article to accentuate the negative impact of climate action or to downplay the urgency and importance of climate action. The article heavily emphasised negative consequences of climate action to the average Briton, especially regarding motoring. Moreover, the plan was framed as something the government imposes on citizens while disregarding the negative impact, which created a narrative of conflict between the government and citizens. Furthermore, the positive impact of climate action was downplayed. All of this was achieved by the voices represented in the article, which means the reporters’ voices were mostly hidden.

The difference of framing in the articles and the seeming objectivity of the reporters is a notable finding, because it shows that reporters can have even more of an impact than most people perhaps

understand. As previously discussed, the way an issue is framed in the media has a major impact on how people view issues. As the voice of the reporter might be hidden when reporting quotations, this impact can be even greater.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine how climate action is reported in British media and how the reporting of quotations is used to frame the issue in different ways. The analysis showed that reporters can frame an issue in different ways by reporting quotations differently. Selecting which voices are reported impacts the framing of the issue. Furthermore, the way these voices are represented can have a significant impact as well, as reporters have freedom to omit parts of the reported statements and paraphrase as well as summarize them in many different ways. These strategies are used to emphasise certain aspects of an issue over another. Thus, the reporting of voices can be an effective way of emphasis framing. Emphasis framing is especially useful in climate action discourse because it is such a complicated issue.

All in all, it would be good for readers of news to recognise how reporters can frame issues and influence impressions even when reporting comments from other people. The seeming objectivity when reporting statements can mislead readers into lowering the barrier of critical reading. Thus, these strategies of framing would be useful to know in order to develop critical reading.

The materials for this thesis were narrow, as they only covered one piece of news. The reported plan itself and the individual reporters have a large effect on the reporting. Nevertheless, it is notable that the articles can present a very different response to the same plan. The identified strategies did have a strong impact on the impression about the issue.

As regards research question 2, however, the materials were too narrow to produce more than preliminary results. Instead, the analysis showed that a broader study, or an update on the previous corpus-based study, is warranted. As *The Daily Mail* seemed to stand out in its reporting from the other publications, it would be interesting to see whether a corpus study would find similar results. In addition, this study only scratched the surface of the political dimension. Further research could examine the connection of the political alignment of news publications and climate action reporting, especially since reporting seems to have been shifted in CR media. This question could be answered by a Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Another aspect that could be examined is how sales goals impact climate action reporting. News media is a very contested space and newspapers are a fiscally unsure venture for investors. For example, the frame that emphasised a narrative of conflict between the government and the average Briton in *The Daily Mail* article could be a way to appeal to potential customers.

Because the climate crisis and especially climate action are such multifaceted issues, they provide fruitful opportunities for reporters to emphasise certain aspects. In the end, the conflict of narratives boils down to a conflict between immediate and certain negative consequences, and uncertain and negative consequences in the future. Whichever ideology is prominent to the publication in question, they will find it easy to emphasise it, as there are a number of ways to achieve that.

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