

MASTER THESIS MEDIA & BUSINESS

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Framing of COP28 by the United Kingdom and the United States News Media

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes how news media in the United States and the United Kingdom framed the COP28 climate summit. The study is driven by the important influence of media on shaping public opinion and discussion on climate change. The main focus of the research is to examine how online news media in the UK and US presented the COP28 summit by detecting main frames and analyzing them across various news articles. The news articles are the following; *BBC News*, *CNN*, *The Daily Mail*, *Fox News*, *New York Times*, *Sky News*, *The Guardian*, and *USA Today*, *The Washington Post* and *The Telegraph*. A frame analysis methodology based on established frameworks from Entman (1993), McQuail (1994), Scheufele (1999), and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was utilized in conducting a qualitative content analysis (QCA) and more precisely a qualitative frame analysis. The research consisted of gathering and examining fifty news articles from ten prominent online news sources mentioned prior, evenly distributed between the UK and the US, published before, during, and within a month after the COP28 summit.

The data analysis was conducted with the assistance of the QDA tool *Atlas.ti*, which simplified the process of coding and grouping frames. The study found multiple dominant frames, with "*regulation*" and "*responsibility*" standing out as the most found frames. The frame of "*regulation*," found 505 times, emphasized the execution and success of climate policies, showcasing the summit's emphasis on policy alterations. The "*responsibility*" frame, found 463 times, highlighted the importance of finding accountability.

Additional inductive findings were "*environmental consequences*," "*players*", "*criticism*", "*other subject*" and "*political agenda*", all focusing on various facets of climate change and the summit's influence.

The research also pointed out the utilization of *denial*, *dramatization* and *political agendas*, especially in media sources with specific opinion biases. For instance, *Fox News* and *The Daily Mail* often utilized perspectives that criticized certain administrations and encouraged doubt towards climate proposals, in line with previous research on media prejudice and division.

The results highlight the intricacy of how media presents environmental issues in journalism and how it affects public discussions. Using frames in various media outlets to discuss COP28 indicates a nuanced depiction, but conservative and liberal outlets showed distinct framing strategies. The research adds to our knowledge of how media impacts the portrayal of climate change and emphasizes the necessity for more studies, such as examining non-western media and investigating social media platforms' climate change coverage.

Overall, this study offers important perspectives on how leading media sources in the UK and US present climate summits, impacting policy decisions and societal involvement.

Key Words: *News, Framing, COP28, United States, United Kingdom*

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1. Introduction

The nine years leading up to 2023, have been the warmest on record, according to the World Meteorological Organization (WMO, 2023, p. 1). The United Nations defined climate change as long-term changes in temperature and weather patterns (United Nations, 2023c, p. 1). Human advancements marked by rapid industrialization and consumerism have accelerated environmental deterioration, posing a considerable risk to the ecosystems that sustain life on this Earth (Raudsepp-Hearne et al., 2010, p. 576). This paradox highlights the clear and urgent need for sustainable practices to balance human development with the preservation of our planet. However, there are no simple solutions to climate change, and understanding the complexities involved is crucial to grasp what truly needs to be done. Individuals must comprehend and believe in the severity of the issue to effectively advocate for climate-friendly policies. To understand the solutions, one must also understand the problem itself. A significant challenge lies in how news media frames this issue, as its portrayal can heavily influence public perception and policy decisions. According to D'Angelo (2002, p. 876), media framing is defined as the process by which news reports make a subject and its context understandable to the public. This understanding shapes how individuals think and act about a specific topic (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 873). Considering that, news media should adhere to the principles of objectivity to avoid such polarization, protect against bias, and impart information, it is also important to understand that objectivity also can be seen to have limits (Hackett & Zhao, 1996, p. 11).

The issue is that in the context of climate change, some narratives hinder the unified approach necessary to address this issue effectively (Rondolat, 2022, p. 1). This shouldn't be seen as a light issue as climate change is increasingly portrayed as an urgent problem with a very short amount of time left to solve it (Hecht, 2014, p. 782). Funk and Kennedy (2016, p. 12) and Weaver (2007, p. 143) found that subjects about global crises generally create more polarization. As climate change is one of these subjects, it was expected that the next climate summit, named COP 28 would create polarization within news media representation.

The creation of the UN Climate Change Conferences or Conference Of Parties (COP), is the world's only multilateral decision-making forum on climate change (United Nations, 2023a, p. 1). A record total of 196 countries agreed to the terms of the Paris Agreement in 2015 during the COP21 summit (United Nations, 2023b, p. 1). However, the recent COP 28 has been criticized for its perceived double standards, with media outlets highlighting its role

in oil industry lobbying (Rowlatt, 2023, p. 1). Moreover, the summit's president has controversially dismissed scientific evidence linking oil consumption to climate change (Carrington & Stockton, 2023, p. 1). It is therefore interesting to understand such media coverage and frame to then understand the potential reaction from the audience and the future actions that can be done to stop climate change.

Many media outlets have covered the events but the outlets from the US and the UK stood out as the ones with the most reach and reliability, as they also belong to countries with great political and economic influence (BBC, 2015, p. 1; US News, 2019, p. 1). Christensen & Wormbs (2017, p. 1) and Esparcia & Gómez (2021, p. 1) examined news media framing of COP 15, 21, and 25 in Sweden and the US, revealing key narrative patterns in climate change coverage. Yet, scholarly work on COP28's media portrayal, particularly in influential nations like the US and the UK remains scarce. Documenting media framing's evolution at these summits is crucial in identifying trends or shifts in these countries' climate discourse. The following research question was created:

Research question: "How do online news media outlets from the United States and the United Kingdom frame the 28th conference of the parties (COP28)?"

In light of the urgent environmental concerns, it is critical to comprehend how the media diffuses information about the 28th Conference of the Parties (COP28). It is also important, as these media are from influencing countries with the power to change the pace of climate change. They also have an immense power of influence and can shift public opinion on this specific subject. For instance, the US media coverage of COP25 revealed that Republican-aligned outlets frame climate change skeptically, labeling climate initiatives as "eco-fascism," while Democratic-leaning sources emphasize the consequences and solutions (Esparcia & Gómez, 2021, p. 4). This research shows to some extent what has already been written about the subject of media framing of climate summits, yet there is a significant lack of research on how news media outlets presented COP28 specifically through the lens of two notorious countries, the US and the UK. This research aims to address this scarcity of research through the creation of a qualitative framework for examining how climate change news is framed. Previous research on climate summits has often employed quantitative or mixed methods, focusing on traditional news media's portrayal of earlier conferences. This research employs a qualitative framework and a mix of inductive and deductive analysis to

expand the possibilities of findings and interpretations. This research also has, as a purpose, to confirm or build on existing literature about climate change and news framing.

Understanding how the media frames COP28 has significant effects on both science and society. Media attention affects how the public views narratives, which can, in the future, sway discussions on policies, and have a big impact on the success of climate efforts. Identifying trends in media framing can help predict how future climate summits will be portrayed. Based on the extensive research of climate summits and various media framing analyses of climate change depictions in the news, this research aims to validate and expand upon these existing theories and findings and bring them up to date. It is also important to know how specific media outlets influence or sway public opinion and subsequently confirm the existing knowledge about the political polarization of specific media outlets. In addition to this, the current research attempts to highlight frames in the coverage of COP28 and understand the mechanisms of these frames, which can drive a push for better and more objective reporting.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Media Framing Theory

To properly investigate the news media coverage of COP28, it is crucial to understand, what and how framing works. According to D'Angelo (2002, p. 876), media framing is defined as the process by which news reports make a subject and its context understandable to the public. This accessibility is achieved by influencing a person's "trains of thought" through the activation of prior knowledge. To fully grasp Media Framing Theory, it is crucial to understand the underlying theories of humans as social beings. The researcher investigates constructionism and defines it as a paradigm within journalistic reporting where journalists act as information processors. This constructionist approach views news frames as tools that not only reflect reality but also shape public understanding of issues. D'Angelo (2002, p. 873) emphasizes the media's power in influencing the social reality of the consumer, illustrating the clear interplay between media and framing as a tool to construct the audience's social reality.

McQuail (1994, p. 100) in his research on mass communication, described the concept of social constructionism as the processes by which concepts are initially defined or understood in a certain way and given importance by individuals, mostly in mass media. This results in the individual building of more comprehensive images of reality. This approach is largely subjective based on the reader's interpretation, which makes this theory more controversial. By understanding the theories of both D'Angelo (2002, p. 876) and McQuail (1994, p. 100) we can see that journalists construct social realities through framing from a constructionist perspective, which individuals then interpret based on their own prior knowledge and experience from a constructivist viewpoint. Other researchers interpret the process of framing theory differently.

Entman (1993, p. 52) mentions that the act of framing involves highlighting certain characteristics of perceived reality in a communication text. It is used to support a specific description of the problem, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and/or recommended course of action for the item being discussed. He defines *problem definition* as frame that defines the problem by determining what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits. In terms of *causal interpretation* frame, Entman (1993, p. 52) defines it as identifying the forces creating the problem. Thirdly, the *moral evaluation* frame makes a moral judgement by evaluating causal agents and their effects. Finally, the *treatment recommendation* frame

suggests solutions to the problems and predicts their effects.

Entman (1993, p. 52) also states that frames operate at various degrees through the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture, which taken into account, influences societal understanding. Strategic use of framing can lead the way of the audience towards a preferred explanation, as this process is subtle, it shows the power dynamics in influencing public discourse.

Scheufele (1999, p. 104) developed a framework for framing based on McQuail's and Entman's research. His approach looked at four stages: frame building, frame setting, individual-level framing processes, and feedback from individual-level framing to media framing. Scheufele's (1999, p. 114) findings underscore the complexity of framing as it is constantly shaping and shaped by public discourses.

News media should act like a watchdog (Overholser & Jamieson, 2005, p. 169). It should play a role in record keeping and be a sort of coauthor of history. Media framing in a way helps investigate if that role is properly kept or if any bias is found.

The paper by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 94) uses framing analysis to investigate European news coverage and provides a clear framework of a quantitative nature. This research provides a series of frames, such as *conflict*, *morality*, *economic consequences*, *attribution of responsibility*, *human interest*, to describe news frames parallel to the framework laid by Entman (1993, p. 52). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 104) found that the frames depend on the nature of the outlet, whether it is sensationalist or serious.

Frames were also found to be influenced by cultural and national contexts. This is especially relevant when research by Vu et al. (2019, p. 2) and Wang & Downey (2023, p. 3) describes the importance of international and national coverage frames to influence viewership and opinions on climate change. The specific frames will be discussed further as they provide more insight into the purpose of this research. Overall, the research by Entman serves as the core of the research proposed, problem definition, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and recommended course of action are the base variables for his analysis. These frames will be used and modernized to incorporate the variables from Scheufele (1999), Semetko, and Valkenburg (2000) as well as other research variables mentioned later on.

2.2 Frames

To go more in-depth on the framing theories, it is important to understand the available frames on the topic, especially the ones covering the subject of climate change or climate summits. The research by Entman (1993, p. 52) describes the initial frame as the *Problem Definition* based on the original variable. It sets the initial situation in which an issue will be posed and perceived by the public. It explains the essential nature of the problem, considering just a few aspects may be highlighted, while others may be suppressed. It largely sets the terms of the discussion, often influencing what the audience even believes to be the most salient aspects of the issue. Overall, it brings along 3 major settings. The first is the selection of information, giving specific facts, statistics, and points on the issues selected. Then the focus puts the frame in focus and guides the reader to think in a specific way. Thirdly, it can exclude a topic that can downplay other aspects of the main subject. For instance, a problem definition frame can be the depiction of an economic issue, and the frame describes that it results from poor government policies. For climate change, the problem definition can be attributed to personal responsibility for excessive waste or travel.

The tone of this problem definition can have aspects of *dramatization* (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007, p. 1191). This accentuation of frames presents an issue that emphasizes conflict and is used to make the story more engaging for the audience. This generally increases viewership for the news story's sake, making it feel more urgent and evoking strong emotional responses. It can also create misinformation as it skews reality. This can cause desensitization or fatigue for the viewer since every issue can be framed as a crisis in the *problem definition* presented by Entman (1993, p. 52). The use of *dramatization* can vary according to Boykoff and Boykoff (2007, p. 1191). The news outlet can use charged language to provoke emotional responses, use graphic images, use a story that focuses on personal tragedies, and focus on the more extreme outcomes to draw in the viewer. The use of *dramatization* can be seen overall as a clear highlight for other frames as well.

As for other frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96) mention that in their research, the most dominant frame found was *attribution of responsibility* and *conflict* and were dominant in news outlets considered “serious” and less in news outlets considered “sensationalist”. The article outlines five primary news frames employed in media reporting. The *conflict* frame focuses on disputes and clashes among people, groups, or organizations in order to attract the attention of the audience. It relates to the *problem definition* frame by Entman (1993, p. 52). The *human interest* frame adds a personal and emotional touch to news

stories in order to captivate the audience. This approach to framing news places a very strong emphasis on appealing to emotion and personal stories. This is quite effective in attracting attention to, for instance, small island communities and other more vulnerable groups facing the challenges of climate change and rising sea levels. It shows the human face of global problems; therefore, in many ways, it makes the overwhelming nature of this change much more understandable and immediate. The *economic consequences* frame focuses on the financial results of events or issues, emphasizing costs, benefits, and effects (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). This frame generally is brought up for major events with a wide reach. This type of frame appears in more serious and analytical news outlets. Overall, this frame aims to provide a deeper understanding of the real-world effects of policy implementation to prevent future economic losses. This frame also comes as a general concern for the public and is seen as highly relevant, shaping public discourse and policy preferences. It can be recognized in news media in presenting trade policies, government budget announcements, and the cost of implementing new regulations. The *morality and attribution of responsibility* are frames presented by Entman (1993, p. 52) and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96). These frames refer to the way issues are presented through the lens of moral values and ethics and try to attribute a causal explanation, find accountability, and a possible solution. This is especially the case when news articles mention policy implementations suggesting this frame as government action or inaction and the morality behind it. It emphasizes right or wrong and provides emotional engagement by forcing the audience to question morality and ethics on the subject. It can also cultivate social norms that guide a collective perception of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. This frame is depicted by addressing ethical responsibility to the main actors during a crisis. It can create social mobilization as it prompts demands for accountability. For instance, the coverage of deforestation can use the morality frame to discuss the ethical implications of human impact on the environment.

Vu et al. (2019, p. 3) discuss the frame of *International Relations* when speaking about climate change news coverage. This frame highlights how countries interact on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate change through treaties, conferences, and initiatives. Vu et al. (2019, p. 3) underscore that the frame showcases a geopolitical dynamic where some nations take on leadership roles while others do not fulfill their given role and commitments. Examples of this frame presented in the paper include the description of global summits showing great international diplomacy and the description of successful or

unsuccessful agreements. This frame can be seen while covering subjects on policies and their impact on the economy and depicting leadership and responsibility. It can also be spotted while describing who is spearheading global efforts. Overall, this frame underlines the clear interconnectedness of nations addressing a single global challenge.

The *national frame* compared to the *international relations frame* was described in the paper of Wang & Downey (2023, p. 2). This frame, extracted from news reporting on climate change in comparison to the one by Vu et al. (2019, p. 3), is posed on a more local level. It focuses primarily on how climate change affects local weather patterns, agriculture, and the economy. There is also strong government accountability, increasing scrutiny for their action or inactions on climate policies in a more localized area. When focusing on local impacts and solutions, the *national frame* enhances public understanding and engagement due to its relevance to the readers' everyday lives. Issues with this frame are that it might underplay the global nature of climate change and its need for interconnectedness and lead to a more isolationist and nationalistic viewpoint. Wang & Downey (2023, p. 2) mention that conservative news media are found to use the national frame more extensively compared to left-leaning counterparts. This *national frame* is generally presented in the news as a diplomatic interaction showing how national leaders engage with other countries. It can also be a presentation of trade agreements on a national level, policy-making, and how nations respond to international crises, showing national decision-making.

Tryggvason (2020, p. 673) deals with the question of the *winners and losers* frame through the scope of media reporting. This framing of news suggests that some people or groups will be framed as "winners" while others as "losers". This kind of framing is especially prevalent in political or sports reporting, where outcomes are always framed in terms of "victory" and "defeat.". This dichotomous framing could influence an already existing opinion and distort the audience's perceptions of reality and generally treats the process like a sport event with clear winner and losers. It simplifies complex issues and favors narratives that are easy to digest at the expense of depth and accuracy. It can also perpetuate stereotypes and impact credibility. It is also used to attract readers and viewers but has been criticized as it creates a bandwagon effect.

As mentioned by Scheufele (1999, p. 116), *contextualization*, in media framing, is not a stand-alone frame but a highlight. It works as an enhancer with other framing strategies. In this regard, contextualization is an integral part of media framing to provide background and situate stories in any social, political, or historical context. It informs the audience of the

relevance and implications of news events and helps organize the idea of the storyline.

Esparcia and Gómez (2021, p. 6) research the framing of climate *denial*. This frame focuses on how some news articles ignore scientific truth regarding climate change. They do not only deny scientific data but also the responsibility of dealing with the climate crisis.

Esparcia and Gómez (2021, p. 6) show how media-generated frames of *denial* have detrimental effects on public awareness and responses toward environmental challenges. It provokes delay in policy implementation as it spreads doubt and confusion about reality. This frame promotes polarization and makes it hard to reach consensus on climate change for instance. This frame is also used to undermine scientific consensus, which erodes trust and influences public understanding. When used, this frame helps spread misinformation, which can lead to a lack of support for necessary measures (Esparcia & Gómez, 2021, p. 11)

Christensen and Wormbs (2017, p. 691) looked at the dynamics between *developed and developing nations*. This frame is closely related to the frame of *responsibility* as it addresses the actual policies and the investments developed and developing countries have to make to fight climate change. Developing nations typically have few resources to enforce and manage sound climate policies. In contrast, developed countries are faced with a double challenge: they are often more vulnerable to the harmful effects of climate change and have few resources with which to fight back. As Christensen and Wormbs (2017, p. 684) demonstrate, references from previous Conference of the Parties or the frame of *Other COP* in news articles provide a perspective on the efficiency and openness of the processes within the COP. By pointing to events from previous conferences, media articles can leave an impression that there has or hasn't been development in discussions, or that the promises made were or weren't kept. It is a frame that calls into question the *responsibility* of the parties but, in the same vein, gives recognition to the difficulties and challenges that exist in producing meaningful climate policies. The frame of *developed and developing nations* and the frame of *Other COP* have many references to the *attribution of responsibility* frame by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96).

2.3 Climate Change and Media Coverage

Around half of the population, or about 3.3 to 3.6 billion people, is highly vulnerable to climate change consequences (IPCC, 2023, p. 4). According to NASA (2021, p. 1), these changes include more frequent wildfires, increased periods of drought, more intense winds, and much more.

The research by Raudsepp-Hearne et al. (2010, p. 576) reveals that human development and its impact on the environment cause a negative correlation as human activities and prosperity contribute to the deterioration of natural ecosystems. Human development also shows a positive correlation with media development and, in turn advances in communication, which enhance human capabilities (O’Keefe & Zehnder, 2004, p. 731). These two articles highlight how technological innovations in media facilitate human development, yet often at the cost of the environment. This tension between human advancement and environmental impact is further complicated by the reporting of issues related to climate change. In terms of media coverage, climate change is a special case, since many individuals still deny its occurrence. This is because some ecological crises stated by NASA (2021, p. 1) cannot be shown visually. It is also due to the strategic use of these issues by actors as a means to achieve much more than simple debates and policy changes (Funk & Kennedy, 2016, p. 4). Doyle (2007, p. 6) examines the problems in expressing and proving ecological risks that are not immediately apparent. To challenge the idea that "seeing is believing," environmental NGOs and scientists may find it more advantageous to explain that certain environmental challenges are invisible.

The study by Gunster et al. (2018, p. 2) also points out the hypocrisy and frame of climate change talks on both sides of the news media coverage and found 4 different types of climate discourse hypocrisy. Conservatives were found to have individual lifestyle outrage and institutional cynicism. Progressive actors were found to have an institutional call for action and reflexive modes.

Climate change and media coverage have a complex relationship, and it shows that between human development, technological advances in media, and tracking, this relationship with climate change sets to underline a key narrative tension. This reflects tension and the growing understanding of global consequences caused by climate change, as put forward by the IPCC (2023, p. 16), and supported by NASA’s findings on ecological crises (NASA, 2021, p. 1). While advances in media technology seek to make human abilities and participation greater (O’Keefe & Zehnder, 2004, p. 731), it is the environment that pays the cost for such advancements (IPCC, 2023, p. 16).

2.4 Framing Climate Summits

Regarding the framing of climate summits, a number of studies illuminate the ways in which public discourse and perception are influenced by media framing of climate-related

events. Research on Swedish media coverage of COP 15 and 21 by Christensen & Wormbs (2017, p. 690) showed that between these two conferences, there was a change from a conflicting interpretation to a more upbeat and cohesive one. In the very beginning, the 'Climategate' scandal involved far more media attention than COP15 and contributed to a narrative of distrust. Whereas leading up to COP21, the coverage was mainly focused on the individual leader's decisions and commitments. COP21 would show a shift towards collective action and the historic Paris Agreement. This deal was influenced by diplomatic efforts such as the US-China climate deal and higher public mobilization around the climate issue (Christensen & Wormbs, 2017, p 692). This transition in media framing contributed to a more positive narrative, reflective of a possible global collaboration toward climate change.

Expanding the analysis to other countries, Tiwari's (2023, p. 31) study on India's climate change news media framing confirms the one by Wang & Downey (2023, p. 3). The majority of the media portrays climate change as a global issue rather than a domestic one, and the efforts are not seen from a national standpoint, despite India's dedication to taking the lead in green energy. Even if this is the case, portraying climate change as a global issue still unifies countries and promotes global solidarity, international policymaking, and the encouragement of multilateral agreements (Tiwari, 2023, p. 31).

The issue is that global unity is not always respected, and large countries contribute to larger CO₂ emissions, meaning their involvement in these summits is necessary. In the research by Yao et al. (2015, p. 2), they point out the need to differentiate policies and tailor them to the economic and development stages of nations. Large economies, especially the ones in the G20 forum, have significant roles in shaping global climate policies. The author stresses that they must collaborate to fix this pressing matter.

Lück et al. (2016, p. 1637) researched narratives and global media framing during UN climate change conferences. Their findings suggested a combination of national distinctiveness and global uniformity in climate change reporting. The narrative techniques bring up "heroes and villains" to contextualize the global issue of climate change similarly to how the description of the problem is generally framed, according to Entman (1993, p. 52).

Esparcia & Gómez (2021, p. 11) investigated the 2019 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 25) in Madrid. They found that the media covered it in differing ways, with some outlets running news that refuted climate change. They found that in terms of partisan media coverage, a stark contrast could be seen between media outlets with different political preferences, *Fox News* was seen as more denying or downplaying the

severity of climate issues. Democratic media focused more on ramifications and the need for action. The research also points out how economic interests, especially those from the fossil fuel industry, influence climate change denial narratives by funding denialist information campaigns, lobbying, and environmental policies. According to Esparcia & Gómez (2021, p. 11), different strategies were used to highlight or discredit the matter of climate change, such as personalization or dramatization as mentioned previously by Boykoff and Boykoff (2007, p.1191).

2.5 Polarization

In the context of media discourse and especially news framing, the concept of polarization is key. Han and Federico (2018, p. 2) define polarization in news discourse as the process by which exposure to conflict-framed news evokes problems along group lines. This then polarizes the viewer's social identities. This is due to the fact that individuals align more strongly with their in-group and perceive out-groups more negatively, which deepens existing divides and therefore creates more polarization. This phenomenon is also seen in many media outlets, especially on social media, where individuals are selectively exposed to content that reinforces their beliefs. Individuals were likely to encounter information aligning with their beliefs, therefore deepening societal division, especially for political subjects (Han & Federico, 2018, p. 2).

In the realm of climate change, echo chambers are a recurrent topic of research. The study by Jasny and Fisher (2019, p. 2) found that polarization is especially visible in expert scientific information on climate change, where echo chambers promote a selective flow of information aligning with the reader's pre-existing beliefs. This issue of polarization and echo chambers on climate change denial was starkly observed during the Donald Trump administration. As Donald Trump pulled out of the Paris Agreement (Walters, 2018, p. 164) his followers reinforced their views on climate denial, illustrating a powerful instance of political influence on political opinion. This phenomenon of shaping perceptions through political actions ties directly into the research of D'Angelo (2002, p. 872) who insisted on the importance of recognizing polarization to have a clear view of the framing under investigation. Weaver (2007, p. 145) discovered that a topic of stronger concern leads to more information-seeking by citizens and in turn more polarization. When the issue becomes highly visible in the media, it tends to create more information-seeking for the viewer, who aims to understand or align with the various ideologies presented to them. In turn, this creates

more engagement, and the viewer can come to consume information from outlets that share their viewpoints, as mentioned with echo chambers (Weaver, 2007, p. 145). This pattern of behavior reinforces confirmation bias, where individuals preferentially seek out and interpret information in a way that confirms their preexisting beliefs. This further entrenches them in their established viewpoint (Fantl, 2021, p. 657).

These previous studies confirm the research by Funk and Kennedy (2016, p. 25), which states that subjects about crises like climate change or elections are generally polarized topics within news media and the general public. As stated previously, subjects of this nature are generally influenced by the media, which stresses the importance of investigating such outlets or articles. Funk and Kennedy (2016, p. 25) also mention that these topics are polarized as they become symbols for larger ideological battles. These issues become embedded in the big political narratives that parties use to mobilize their bases. For these subjects needing new policies, this policy generally deepens polarization through debates about the appropriate response to such crises, where different groups are likely to propose different kinds of solutions according to their interests. This polarization is further complicated by the strategic use of the issues by political actors to consolidate power, influence public opinion, and divert attention from other pressing issues. Therefore, conversations around urgent subjects like climate change are not only aimed at solving these issues, but are also an arena for the broader political, economic, and social fights (Funk & Kennedy, 2016, p. 25).

Research on the impact of media discourse polarization demonstrated how exposure to conflict-oriented news can establish a strong foundation for the reinforcement and deepening of existing societal divisions along group lines (Han & Federico, 2018, p. 1). All this is compounded by social media echo chambers that fuel existing beliefs and sometimes magnify them (Walters, 2018, p. 168). These dynamics underpin the very critical role that the media play in helping shape the very political and social realities; public engagement influences and ideological divides perpetuate (Weaver, 2007, p. 144).

2.6 Media Polarization in the US and the UK

The studies by Fletcher et al. (2019), Hameleers (2018), and Wilson et al. (2020) explain the critical fact that the United States is a hub for incredible media polarization. According to Hameleers (2018, p. 489), in many instances, the U.S. media exposes clear partisan biases that have greatly impacted the way interpretations are made by the public and

fueled a division-filled landscape with an increased narration of "us vs. them."

Wilson et al. (2020, p. 3) further differentiate the three types of polarization: affective, ideological, and false polarization. Particularly for false polarization, the heightening comes from partisan media, which misrepresents the ideological divide and hence its animosities and alignments. This is confirmed by a study done by Fletcher et al. (2019, p. 3), who go on to show, through examination, the incredibly polarized character of U.S. news audiences primarily driven by media catering to specific political biases, creating echo chambers, as discussed previously by Walters (2018, p. 168). Taken together, these studies suggest that media bias encourages partisan divide, this is amplified by the current media dynamic, which increases media bias and changes in public perceptions and discourses.

Hameleers (2018, p. 492), in his paper, explores the various US news outlet media polarizations, starting with *Fox News*, which, in the US is seen as aligning with Republican and conservative right-wing views. It contributes to polarization by focusing on narratives that would serve to attract conservative audiences. Its coverage also reflects skepticism towards progressive policies such as environmental regulations (Yang, 2023, p. 5). *The New York Times* was seen pushing liberal points of view and part of the divisiveness from the other side by promoting stories that might seem more liberal to their audience. *CNN* attempts to have more balanced coverage with a center-left liberal and democratic-leaning audience, according to Hameleers (2018, p. 492). *CNN* often highlights the need for environmental policies, tends to emphasize the urgency of issues, and often reports on international cooperation (Yang, 2023, p. 5). The study by Feldman et al. (2015, p. 493) analyzed climate change coverage in *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*. *USA Today* frequently utilized environmental frames and was less likely to use conflict frames, resulting in balanced coverage that fostered concern and engagement among readers. *The Washington Post* emphasized the negative economic consequences of climate action and often used conflict frames, yet still managed to engage its audience effectively. Both newspapers, through their distinct approaches, contributed to informing and engaging the public on climate change.

The research by Hameleers (2018) and Fletcher et al. (2019) also provides an in-depth overview of the media landscape in the UK. They focus on how the media has been able to instill political polarization, as notably witnessed during the Brexit campaign. Hameleers (2018, p. 497) demonstrates how the differences contrast to some news outlets, such as *The Sun*, and approaches to the Brexit debate—those that predominantly amplified populist narratives aligning with more right-leaning readers. This approach uniquely polarized public

opinion. On the other hand, broadsheets like *The Guardian* generally helped stimulate more balance and deliberative debates, although overall they were still more inclined to favor a Remain position and are more left-leaning liberal. Konow-Lund (2019, p. 108) also indicated that *The Guardian* was known for its investigative efforts in uncovering news stories such as the Panama Papers and Edward Snowden. Fletcher et al. (2019, p. 3) expand more on the polarization in the UK, noting that while the country has quite an extreme level of polarization, the same is mediated by the institutions of the state, including the *BBC*, which is charged with ensuring fairness and neutrality. This is a publicly funded broadcaster to a mixed audience that has a role in moderating polarization, much more pronounced among partisan newspaper readers. It is considered to have a more global reach and audience, which necessitates a wider perspective to cater to a diverse range of viewers across the world.

Fletcher et al. (2019, p. 16) suggest that online outlets exacerbate polarization at an increased rate compared to traditional media. Both studies continue to emphasize the unique position of the UK in having a hybrid media system with the combination of a strong public broadcasting sector and a highly partisan press. This setup contributes to the polarization framework, where newspapers such as *The Guardian* give highly partisan and populist narratives that largely set the frame of public debate or perception, while the *BBC* tempers the extremes, hence promoting an environment of low polarization and neutrality. AllSides (2017, p. 1) provided a detailed examination of *The Telegraph* which it characterized as moderately right-leaning, appealing to a conservative, middle-class readership. Meanwhile, *The Daily Mail* in the UK is strongly associated with conservative views, often reflecting traditional or right-wing perspectives. *Sky News*, in contrast, is identified as left-leaning, moderately aligning with liberal and progressive left-wing ideologies. Research by Cushion and Lewis (2009, p. 140) pointed out that *Sky News* had a more tabloid approach and covered more celebrity news and sensationalist stories. It was also found that its international coverage had increased, but it still focused on human stories and celebrities. Overall, *Sky News* almost had a similar approach to *Fox News*, but considering the media landscape and stricter regulations in the UK, *Sky News* couldn't fully emulate the style of *Fox News* (Cushion & Lewis, 2009, p. 149). These categorizations illustrate the diversity in ideological leanings across different media outlets, influencing the type of news and opinions presented to their audiences.

2.7 COP 28 and Dubai

As COP28 was a recent event in terms of climate summits, research still needs to be published. However, research by Amr El Alfy et al. (2023, p. 1) helps us understand and contextualize the COP28 and the various political and economic actors involved. The article mentions that the new alliance of BRICS, now BRICS + introduced significant changes in the dynamics of global, geopolitical, and climate policies. COP28 served as a great opportunity for this alliance to push for innovative solutions for the climate. This article confirms that COP28 has great stakes for major actors in this fight against the deterioration of the planet. However, Amr El Alfy et al. (2023, p. 15) find major challenges due to the nature of COP28, as geopolitical interests could influence climate negotiations and increase inequality in policymaking between developed and developing countries. This perspective is echoed by Paiement et al. (2023, p. 158), who expand on the difficulties faced by COP, citing structural ineffectiveness that fails to provide progress on urgent climate issues. The author also criticizes the event, as it is more of a show of publicity and commitment rather than an actual actions resulting in positive consequences. Greta Thunberg, an active climate change action advocate, expressed that COP26 was a “failure and a “celebration of business as usual” (BBC, 2021). Paiement et al. (2023, p. 158) also mention that the choice of the location such as Egypt for COP 27 raised concerns over greenwashing authoritarian regimes, using the environmental agenda to overshadow other critical social issues. To provide better advancement in the fight against climate change, the authors mention that the efforts for COP need to double down, avoid greenwashing, address fragmentation, and have genuine representation and inclusivity.

Unfortunately, issues such as greenwashing authoritarian regimes and the support of environmental issues overshadowing human rights violations will be the case for COP28 as it is hosted in Dubai, UAE. Human Rights Watch (2023, p. 1) described Dubai ,UAE, as a concerning host for the 28th United Nations Climate Change Conference. This is because of the degree of human rights abuse concerning migrant workers and more. Despite some labor reforms, the UAE continues to utilize the restrictive kafala system, which privileges employers and enables continued migrant worker abuse and exploitation. 200 organizations have demanded action on UAE human rights abuse before the COP28th summit (DAWN, 2023, p. 1). Migrant workers play a crucial role in preparing for the international conference, facing hazardous heat exposure, a lack of overall protection in such dangerous conditions, and close to no policy response. The UAE’s record of severe restrictions on labor rights, civil

freedoms, and power production from fossil fuels also raises questions about reporting credibility and overall climate agreement dedication (Human Rights Watch, 2023, p. 1). It is also important to point out that Dubai has just lived through a record-high rain that hadn't been seen in 75 years, and this event has been linked to climate change (Ebrahim, 2024, p. 1). The irony of holding a climate summit in a place where environmental emergencies and human rights concerns collide but are not sufficiently addressed is exemplified by this contrast.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction of the Method

Based on the previous research on framing (Entman, 1993; McQuail, 1994; Scheufele, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), a frame analysis was carried out. This method originates from the paradigm of QCA and was a mix of the three methods of QCA described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), conventional, directed, and summative. Firstly, through a deductive process and then an inductive one. The data was analyzed, and new insights have emerged naturally through conventional content analysis. Existing theories guided the identification of initial codes using directed analysis. Finally, the data was quantified and contextualized through a summative content analysis while trying to understand their underlying meaning. The data was collected from a range of news websites from the US and the UK. The framing analysis was drawn upon insights from prior research for inspiration (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Christensen & Wormbs, 2017; Entman, 1993; Esparcia & Gómez, 2021; Scheufele, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Vu et al., 2019; Wang & Downey, 2023). Initial research helped set up the first phase of the deductive part of the analysis and helped form an initial codebook (Appendix A). Through inductive analysis, the following coded frames were found within the data (Appendix B). The research involved a detailed process of an initial deductive process followed by an inductive identification and coding of frame elements based on each media outlet article.

3.2 Main Theory for Qualitative Research

The overarching approach in this research is qualitative, employing a mix of methods to analyze framing in various articles. While the primary focus is on a deductive approach, ensuring a thorough and systematic analysis, the research also embraces a range of inductive theories to comprehensively cover all potential frames during the data analysis. Although Entman's (1993) theory serves as a foundational reference, this research incorporated more recent theories that build upon and expand Entman's concepts, ensuring a modern and comprehensive theoretical framework. The research by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Scheufele (1999) primarily used a deductive approach to investigate framing. This research also based the main use of theories on similar, more recent research such as Esparcia and Gómez (2021), Feldman et al. (2015), and Wang and Downey (2023), which use a more

deductive approach. By using the theory of Hsieh and Shannon (2005) and the previously mentioned studies, this research utilized a comprehensive overview to increase its construct validity. This is the case, as it increases the likelihood that the actual theories will help in accurately measuring what this research is actively trying to measure, therefore leaving no stone unturned (Strauss & Smith, 2009, p. 1).

The use of the Grounded Theory Method was also deemed important as it follows the inherent idea that theories need to come out of the data itself and are not imposed prior to the collection and analysis of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3). Considering the various theories mentioned previously, this theory will aid the research by being part of an umbrella of theories combining deductive and inductive frame collection. The Grounded Theory approach underscores the continuous interaction between data collection and analysis to develop a theory that is close to mirroring the observed realities. Grounded Theory is especially valued for being a rigorous but flexible methodology that is very responsive to unfolding complexities in the data, hence highly powerful for qualitative research (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6396). It presents a pragmatic framework that applies across many qualitative studies, including this very research, allowing an in-depth understanding of the underlying patterns and themes (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6396). Grounded theory is incorporated by Scheufele (1999, p. 108) into media framing analysis, highlighting the possibility of methodical investigation and explanation of how media frames and constructions impact prevailing beliefs and social discourse, adding to its relevance for this study.

However, for this study, the Grounded Theory used will also be accompanied previously by a deductive process, which was mentioned by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1281) in the directed content analysis phase, which uses existing theories to help understand the data better and helps develop the initial coding scheme before the start of the data analysis.

3.3 Sampling

The collection of news articles was done based on the report of Newman et al. (2023) on the popularity of the news media in the US and the UK. The research aimed to collect a grand total of 50 articles. Considering there were 50 articles to collect, for the sake of the research it was decided to collect these articles from 10 different news outlets. Since these news articles were going to be used to evaluate frames, the research found it important that the articles had a homogenous length and no less than 300 words. The use of the US and UK

was due to multiple factors. The first is their great impact on the world order (BBC, 2015; US News, 2019). Their news media is also perceived as the top ten most influential media in the world (Wu, 2000, p. 110). In terms of media freedom, the US ranks 45th and the UK 26th (RSF, 2023, p. 1). Analyzing the media landscapes of the United States and the United Kingdom was crucial due to their high levels of media polarization, significant influence on international policies, and potential impact on global discourses. The distinct media ecosystems in both countries exemplify how partisan biases shape public opinion and fuel political divisions, affecting both domestic and international spheres (Fletcher et al., 2019; Hameleers, 2018; Walters, 2018; Wilson et al., 2020; Yang, 2023). The research will focus on the top 5 online news media per country. The top five online news outlets in terms of reach and usage per week in the United States are *CNN Online*, *Fox News Online*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *The Washington Post* (Newman et al., 2023, p. 109). The top five online journals in terms of reach and usage per week for the United Kingdom are *BBC*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mail Online*, *Sky,News Online*, and *The Telegraph* (Newman et al., 2023, p. 59). News aggregators were not selected as they do not produce their own news. The research was carried out using the method of purposeful sampling, where the news articles were selected based on their discussion of COP28 and their lengths (not less than 300 words). This sort of sampling offers increased reliability, validity, and flexibility in the analysis (Palinkas et al., 2015, p. 535). This form of data sampling was also extremely efficient in resource usage, as it focused on cases that were most likely to provide the necessary information. In the context of this research, these specific articles had to be about COP28.

3.4 Data Collection

To conduct the study, news articles from 10 different online news media outlets were collected. Five articles per news outlet were gathered and represented a total of fifty articles. These news articles were selected due to their high online audience (Newman et al., 2023, p. 109) and the influence of their country of origin (Fletcher et al., 2019, p. 10). Since the study focuses on the news media framing of two major democratic countries, it is important to divide them in an equal fifty-fifty split. The present study attempts to evaluate the media framing of a particular event, COP28, a climate summit that occurred in Dubai. The various articles were manually collected directly from each online news outlet's search engine while typing keywords such as "COP28" and "Climate Summit 28". The first articles were picked based on relevance, date, and length. If the articles were not available using this method, then

the research was carried out by searching on the search engine Google. The articles were then selected based on a period of up to 1 month after the COP28 event. To put this into actual dates, COP28 started on November 30th 2023 and ended on December 13th, 2023. The collection of data did not include articles after the 13th of January, as they aren't considered recent. The documents were organized according to the title of the news outlet and country of origin.

3.5 Data Analysis

To analyze the data, a qualitative data analysis (QDA) program, *Atlas.ti*, was employed due to its efficient coding procedures and capabilities to handle a large dataset. The software allowed the organization and evaluation of data collected from news articles, which ensured a systematic approach to the coding analysis (Hwang, 2007, p. 521) and provided a clear transcript for future use (Appendices A and B). The program also provided detailed graphics and demonstrations for a better understanding of the data, such as a Sankey diagram and a case quantity chart (Appendix C). For the data analysis on *Atlas.ti*, the code-document page was mostly used, which investigated the presence of codes or frames within the documents or articles. Based on the analysis of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 95) on news framing, and the available literature, the research took an inductive and deductive approach by coding, creating meaning through the creation of these codes. This framework allowed for a flexible and tailored analysis, adapting to the specific context of the research and being open to the reader's interpretation (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, 1286). With systematic and rigorous analysis using conventional, directed, and summative analysis, the articles revealed their patterns and the main frames present. The articles were collected prior and loaded into the QDA program *Atlas.ti*. During the coding process, each article was segmented into sentences or paragraphs, which served as individual coding units. These units were related to a specific coding frame, which would later be used to uncover which frame was used the most. These units were manually coded to identify frames, following the criteria set by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 97). This approach enabled the identification of both pre-defined and emergent frames. The coding frame was revised iteratively throughout the analysis to ensure unidimensionality, mutual exclusiveness, and exhaustiveness (Scheufele, 1999, p. 119). The findings were clustered and presented in tables sorted by news outlets, country, and major frames (Appendix D). All the main coding frames were organized by color categories. The first codes were initially discovered using the available research

(Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Christensen & Wormbs, 2017; Esparcia & Gómez, 2021; Scheufele, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Vu et al., 2019; Wang & Downey, 2023). The main frames were then operationalized to make sure they fit the specific topic under investigation and formed the coding frame providing a name with an acronym, a definition, and an example collected from the data (Appendix A). The frames were then categorized using the main theory of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 52) and other literature present in the theoretical framework as a reference. These main overarching frames were *Morality*, *Attribution of Responsibility*, *Economic consequences*, *Environment consequences*, *Human Interest*, *Relations* and *Conflict*. This was done for the purpose of organization and a better understanding for the reader. Through the inductive process and the main grounded theory, other frames found inductively were the *Regulation* frame and *Player* frame.

As a form of pre-test, while starting the initial coding phase, three articles were randomly selected as trial articles to test out the initial coding frames collected from the literature. This process was also used by Christensen and Wormbs (2017, p. 10) and served as an efficient way to verify if there were any issues or overlaps with the codes before the analysis started. The process of analysis provided an overview of the data and helped answer research questions regarding the presence and comparison of frames across different news outlets, ultimately addressing the main research question on how the UK and US online news media framed COP28.

3.6 Operationalization

Following the main theories by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1278), Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 101), Kendall (1999, p.746), and the main framing theories by Entman (1993, p. 52) and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 94), these research provide a base framework. This section operationalizes several frames observed in previous research by Boykoff and Boykoff (2007), Christensen and Wormbs (2017), Entman (1993), Esparcia and Gómez (2021), Scheufele (1999), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Tryggvason (2020), Vu et al. (2019), and Wang and Downey (2023). As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) provided a modernized version of frames based on Entman's (1993) paper it was crucial to incorporate it in this research.

In operationalizing the frames for the analysis of COP28 media coverage, existing frames were systematically synthesized and adapted based on the research of various scholars in a deductive fashion. Building upon Entman's (1993, p. 52) and Semetko and Valkenburg's

(2000, p. 52), the *conflict* frame was created, capturing the nuanced dynamics of the climate change matter. The *denial* frame (Esparcia & Gómez, 2021, p. 6) had 3 subcategories; *allegation resistance*, *climate denial*, and *lobby defense*, and captured the portrayal of climate change skepticism. It was incorporated within the frame of *conflict* as a subcategory as it actively clashes with specific groups, in this case climate activists or science in general. The *winners and losers* frame (Tryggvason, 2020, p. 673) was retained to depict the dichotomous outcomes often presented in media and was also placed under the overarching *conflict* frame as a subcategory as it emphasizes a battle or a clash between parties.

Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000, p. 52) *economic consequence* frame was maintained and incorporated into three subcategories; *budget*, *infrastructure*, and *policy*. A parallel *environmental consequences* frame was introduced to address the environmental focus of COP28, which itself held three subcategories, *fossil fuel*, *degree*, and *disaster*.

The *national relations* frame (Wang & Downey, 2023, p. 2) and *international relations* frame (Vu et al., 2019, p. 5) were preserved to highlight the local and global dimensions of climate discussions. Both frames had *successful relations* and *failed relations* as subcategories and were categorized as part of a larger frame, namely *relations*.

The *morality* frame by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), emphasizes moral considerations in climate policies, which hold three subcategories; *fake promises*, *wrongdoing*, and *irony/hypocrisy*.

A distinct *attribution of responsibility* frame was created based on the main frame by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), with four subcategories: *denouncing*, *other COP*, *developed vs developing*, and *anti-lobbying*, to underscore accountability in various contexts, drawing on Christensen and Wormbs (2017) insights.

The *human interest* frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) was also preserved to highlight personal and emotional narratives. This frame was also divided into four subcategories; *small actor*, *hope*, *disaster*, and *human stories*. This structured approach allows for a comprehensive analysis of media framing in the context of COP28.

Dramatization (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007, p. 1192) and *contextualization* (Scheufele, 1999) were treated as distinct add-ons that amplify the impact of other frames. They are therefore not frames but simple frame highlights and were therefore placed in the frame category *highlight*.

The subcategories were often derived from literature but also from the inductive part of the data analysis, which allowed for a more precise categorization of the frames. It was

expected that many new frames would appear from the data analysis.

Considering the modernization of Entman's (1993) research by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and the more recent research by Christensen and Wormbs (2017), Esparcia and Gómez (2021), Tryggvason (2020), Vu et al. (2019), and Wang and Downey (2023), the frames were either incorporated into the main frame categorization of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) or were created to obtain a more complete categorization. This was the case for the addition of the *relations* frame and the *environmental consequence* frame. The inductive analysis also offered one extra overarching frame, notably the *regulation* frame and the *players* frame, as it was extensively found within the 50 news articles. The *regulation* frame had subcategories such as *slow*, *failed* or *successful*. The *players* frame was distinguished between two sub-categories, *national players* and *international players*. The rest of the inductively found frames were placed in the existing overarching categories which was the case for the *criticism* frame, which was included in the *conflict* frame as a subcategory as it directly condemned certain actions. It was also the case for the *other subject* frame placed in the *human interest* category because of the multiple references to stories unrelated to COP28 and related to war and human suffering.

Finally, the inductively found frame of *political agenda* was added to the overarching frame category of *attribution of responsibility* as it actively expressed accountability within various political administrations of governments, specifically. The research found a total of ten overarching frames.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

The approach carried out in this paper greatly improves the accuracy and trustworthiness of the study. The use of a purposive sampling method, as previously mentioned by Palinkas et al. (2015, p. 534), guarantees that the data gathered is targeted and pertinent, resulting in a more reflective overall sample. Moreover, grouping data in a previously approved structure enhances the credibility and accuracy of the results, according to Matthes & Kohring (2008, p. 263) and Semetko & Valkenburg (2000, p. 94). Utilizing established methodologies by Entman (1993, p. 52) and Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1278), this framework minimized subjectivity in gathering and analyzing data. These methods enhance the study's overall reliability and validity of the findings. Clearly stating the operationalization also doesn't leave room for doubt on the creation of the frames and establishes that no overlaps are present in the codes. A pre-test to verify that the original

coding matrix extracted from the literature was made and used on 3 articles increased the overall validity of the research (Christensen & Wormbs, 2017, p. 10). The use of a known and well-trusted QDA program (*Atlas.ti*) also increased the validity of the research as it was already proven to be reliable (Hwang, 2007, p. 521). The data analysis also ensured consistency during the coding, which makes the research more reliable and guarantees that another researcher would find the same results or observe the same phenomenon. The coding frame was observed iteratively, which increases the quality of the paper (Scheufele, 1999, p. 119). The data collected also had particular criteria before the collection, such as a time frame and a size or length. Since this was respected, it ensured reliability in the research. Many frames were observed in the text which were mentioned in previous literature. This overall increased the external validity as this research confirmed the presence of these frames, overall confirming the accuracy of the sourced literature.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to tackle possible concerns regarding validity and reliability. Even though purposive sampling improves the sample's significance, it may bring bias, especially if there is not enough variety in the selection of news articles. To address this issue, sources were thoroughly reviewed to guarantee a fair portrayal of different viewpoints.

3.8 Ethics

The study's identification of framing devices was done in a neutral manner, free from the researcher's personal opinions. Collecting publicly available data from news organizations does not raise any major ethical issues in the research. This method ensures that the study does not require confidential data or violate privacy. The data was sourced as indicated in the sampling section to ensure transparency and allow a possible reproduction of the research or research of a similar type. Moreover, all information utilized in the research was gathered from sources that are available to the public, and appropriate credit was provided to the original creators and publications. Adherence to ethical standards enhances the integrity and transparency of the research process. The researcher also ensures data integrity, meaning that the data was accurately and honestly reported based on inductive and deductive observations without fabrication, falsification, or inappropriate manipulation. As the researcher does not work for any media outlet and is considered an external actor, there is no reason to doubt or state any conflict of interest that would have the potential to influence the research outcomes or compromise the study's objectivity. In conclusion, the strong methodology and ethical considerations of this study increase its credibility and accuracy, while reducing potential

biases and ethical concerns.

4. Results

The following chapter discusses the results of the data analysis of the fifty online news articles from two countries, the UK and the US, using the QDA program *Atlas.ti*. The general findings will first be uncovered and will indicate the most recurrent frames across all media outlets and countries and the least recurrent frames. The main findings, which are sub-category specific, will then be explained, as they are greatly suggestive of the nature of the outlet and how it affects the public. This section will then be followed by a section on the distribution of frames across all media outlets. It will investigate the spread of these frames and their recurrence. In addition to this, the following section will be media-specific, investigating the media outlets and the found frames that were not discussed previously. Finally, this part will be concluded with a country-specific frame analysis for firstly the US and then the UK, which will help uncover the main points of interest in each country. As this is not a cross-country comparison research there will be no real comparison but rather an initial impression of differences. The goal is to observe a global overview.

4.1 General Findings

4.1.1 Main Frames

After the data analysis, several frames were found to be the most present in each news article. The program *Atlas.ti* helped access and understand how recurrent these frames were. The overall main frames found were categorized and presented in a set of charts and diagrams (Appendices C and D). Overall, 10 overarching frames with a total of 2836 frame units were found in the 50 articles. Around 1414 frame units were found from the 10 main frames in the UK online news media articles and 1422 frame units were found from the 10 main frames in the US online news media articles. This represents a uniform balance between the two countries and their coding process. It is especially relevant considering the fifty-fifty division in articles. Table 4.1 helps understand the amount of time the specific frames were found in the total combination of the US and UK media outlets.

Table 4.1*Use of news frames in the articles from most found to least found.*

Frames	Overall total presence (units)
Regulation (R)	505
Attribution of Responsibility (AR)	463
Environmental Consequences (ENC)	319
Players (P)	276
Morality Frame (MF)	262
Relations (R)	242
Human Interest (HI)	233
Conflict (C)	235
Highlights (H)	168
Economic consequences (EC)	133

The table indicates that the most recurrent frame is the one of *regulation* which was found 505 times in both UK and US articles through inductive analysis. This frame also had multiple subgroups, notably *successful regulations*, *failed regulations*, and *slow regulations*, and overall described the implementation or lack of implementation of a regulation resulting in intended or unintended consequences in the context of climate change and COP28. The main frame of *regulation* can be exemplified by the following sentence: “For the first time, countries agreed on the need to "transition away from fossil fuels in energy systems"” (*BBC*). This quote specifically demonstrated a *successful regulation* frame. The *regulation* frame was found to explain the main decision taken during the summit. It is interesting to point out that out of all the articles on the COP28 summit, the most dominant sub-category for *regulation* was both the *successful regulation* and the *failed regulation* frame, which were found 94 and 96 times, respectively. This demonstrates an overall balanced approach in reporting by highlighting both a failed and lengthy decision-making process, while also acknowledging progress in the fight against climate change. This frame was mostly dominant since it is

present in the context of a summit on climate, which is based on creating, stopping, or enforcing regulations. It is relevant because the summit is supposed to deliver changes in current national and international regulations to limit the impact of countries on global warming and act on the previous decisions made in previous COPs. The media outlet with the most regulation frame found was *CNN*, with 73 mentions of the frame. This confirms the existing theory that *CNN* often highlights the need for environmental policies, according to Yang (2023, p. 5).

The close second to the *regulation* frame was the *attribution of responsibility* frame which emphasizes right or wrong and more precisely accountability and was found 463 times. It was divided into 4 subgroups; *responsibility other COP*, *responsibility anti lobbying*, *responsibility denouncing*, *responsibility developed vs developing*. This frame can be illustrated with the following quote: “There will be a lot of talk about who pays for what” (*BBC*). This example was one of many that focus on determining who is responsible and accountable in this specific case, for financial obligations. Determining financial responsibility was a main topic at the summit, as was the creation of the Loss and Damage Fund, which was aimed at helping the most vulnerable countries. The sub-categories helped determine the exact distribution of accountability and pointed out the responsibility to very specific individuals or groups. The frame generally aims to prompt social mobilization by publicly condemning it. This frame was also found to be a dominant frame in the research by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96). This type of frame was found to be more present in “serious” media outlets (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 104). The media outlet *The Guardian* was found to have used the *attribution of responsibility* frame most frequently. This suggests that *The Guardian* prioritizes identifying and holding accountable the real actors responsible for climate change and its mitigation efforts. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 104), such framing could indicate a tendency towards sensationalism, as these outlets often emphasize dramatic or emotional aspects to capture and retain audience interest. However, this characterization might be an oversimplification. Konow-Lund (2019, p. 108) highlights that *The Guardian* is also renowned for its investigative journalism, exemplified by significant stories such as the Panama Papers and Edward Snowden revelations. This dual approach of combining investigative rigor with engaging storytelling reflects *The Guardian's* commitment to both uncovering the truth and making complex issues accessible to a broad audience. The news outlets *Fox News* and *USA Today* were the ones with the least amount of *attribution of responsibility* frame. This shows their overall lack of

seriousness and their leniency towards sensationalist reporting, which overall simplifies the story for their audience giving fewer details and allowing for a less understanding of a complex issue.

The *environmental consequences* appeared third in terms of findings, with around 463 frame units. This frame was used to showcase the current and possible environmental consequences and describe the current climate situation in line with the reporting of the summit. This frame highlights the real environmental consequences of climate change, addressing Doyle's (2007, p. 6) point about the difficulty in conveying and proving ecological risks that aren't immediately obvious. The *environmental consequence* frame was most used by *The Guardian*, with 40 frame units. It is likely that this media outlet used this frame extensively, as it aims to raising awareness about the tangible effects of climate change on the planet and raising awareness about the importance of the summit in doing just that. The most used subcategory of this frame was the *fossil fuel* subcategory frame (170). It can be exemplified by this quote: "Oil – like gas and coal – is a fossil fuel. These are the main causes of climate change" (*BBC*). This extensive use of this frame shows the primary source of concern for climate change and is the central topic of conversation, reducing its use in industries and coming up with new forms of sustainable energy.

The *economic consequences* frame was the least found frame within the 50 news articles. This is somewhat ironic, as many demands for regulation came at a cost and one of the biggest successes of the summit was the creation and financing of the Loss and Damage Fund, which wasn't as represented in the media outlets. This means that most media outlets did not prioritize this type of coverage, meaning it can affect the public understanding of the current solutions put forward and the country that participated in the funding. The subcategory *budget* was the most discussed frame from the *economic consequences* frame with 79 frame units. It can be exemplified by the following quote: "Nations pledge millions to new climate damage fund at COP28" (*CNN*). The media outlet with the most use of *economic consequences* frame was *The Washington Post*. Their usage of this frame represents a leaned interest toward the tangible financial decision to invest in summit-related solutions. It could either indicate a more economic vision of the situation or reflect a strategic editorial choice to resonate with readers concerned with financial impacts and economic outcomes. This type of framing can help shape public perception by emphasizing the monetary benefits and costs associated with COP28.

4.1.2 Main Findings Sub-Category Frames

After understanding the main frames and their usage in the media outlets, this research found it imperative to not overlook any important frames. These indicative frames or sub-categories of frames, are not always widespread but speak at length about the nature of the media outlet if used and help confirm existing theories.

The *climate denial* sub-category frame of *conflict* was found 6 times as a frame for the media outlet *Fox News* and was found in no other news outlet. The media outlet openly denied the effect of meat reduction as a way to reduce climate change, even though it is a proven fact that this is a great way to reduce climate change. According to the study by Stoll-Kleemann and Schmidt (2016, p. 1261), livestock farming contributes to approximately 14.5% of global anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions and is a major driver of deforestation and biodiversity loss. Reducing meat consumption would directly lower these emissions and play a crucial role in addressing climate change. The news media blatantly ignores this correlation by directly stating “Reducing beef consumption in the U.S. is not a realistic or impactful solution for climate change”(Fox News). This shows the outlet's level of skepticism on climate change and is truly disconcerting. It also proves the research by Yang (2023, p. 5) and Hameleers (2018, p. 500) which state that *Fox News* generally shows skepticism towards progressive policies on climate change. The media outlet also gave a voice to lobbyists and justified fossil fuel usage. Similarly linked to the findings of Esparcia and Gómez (2021, p. 4) which found that Republican-aligned outlets labeled climate initiatives as “eco-fascism”, *Fox News* was found to use similar framing, such as “extreme climate alarmism” or even “radical green agenda”. These *denial* or *skepticism* frames play a role in shaping the perception of their audience and reducing the importance of the original message of fighting climate change. This also plays a role in fueling echo chambers and reinforcing ideologies on climate change (Weaver, 2007, p. 145). *Fox News'* statements reflect the conservative modes of hypocrisy discourse identified by Gunster et al. (2018, p. 2) on individual lifestyle outrage and institutional cynicism. By asserting that "climate change should govern all of our lives," (*Fox News*). *Fox News* emphasizes personal freedom and portrays climate advocates as demanding excessive personal sacrifices, generating resentment. The claim that reducing meat consumption will lead to higher food prices and limited consumer choice exemplifies institutional cynicism, casting doubt on the practicality and fairness of climate solutions. These strategies aim to undermine the urgency of climate action by highlighting perceived hypocrisies and fostering skepticism. This, in turn, pushed

public opinion away from issues of climate change.

The data also showed that *The Daily Mail* had the highest *allegations resistance* among media outlets, scoring 11. *Allegation resistance* was a sub-category of the *conflict* frame and is about the frequency with which a media outlet allows individuals who are being criticized to respond or share their perspective and “fight back”. This frame itself is a sub-category of the *denial* sub-category frame as it gives reasoning to anti-environmental behavior and greenwashing. It can be visualized with this exact quotation: “Jaber said: “I am quite surprised with the constant and repeated attempts to undermine the work of the COP28 presidency.”” (*Daily Mail*). This frequency indicates that *The Daily Mail* is either more thorough than other sources in providing a platform for those being criticized to respond to the allegations or that it also supports the individuals under criticism. Since COP28 was under scrutiny for placing a head executive of an important oil company as president of the summit, many news media criticized this. It was also important to mention that this president had said that there was “no science” behind the phase out of fossil fuel and the president of COP28 was resisting these allegations, using *The Daily Mail* for instance. *The Daily Mail* was also found to defend the interest of their own national players, stating, “You can expect most ministers flying to COP to fly commercially, the PM’s plan will use sustainable aviation fuel...and obviously we are using carbon offsetting” (*Daily Mail*). This was in the context of justifying the use of a private plane to fly the PM to COP28, which received back clash from the public. This showcases another instance of nationalism, as it protects the public image of certain national players.

By examining frames during the data analysis, the frame of *political agenda* was also present 9 times for the *Fox News* media outlet and was the most present frame. This frame was found inductively within the data and placed under the overarching frame *attribution of responsibility* as it gave a more loaded demand for accountability in regards to political affiliations and direct administration blame. This outlet openly criticizes a specific administration, in this case, the Biden administration, in regards to advancements in climate change policies. It openly mentions the “Biden White House” and its “wrong-headed leadership” (*Fox News*). Yang (2023, p. 5) mentions that *Fox News* generally has a critical stance toward the Biden administration’s environmental policies and frames them in a negative light. This type of framing contributes to polarization and partisan divide which creates more engagement and the viewer can come to consume more information from outlets that share their viewpoints, as mentioned by Weaver (2007, p. 145) while discussing

reinforcement of ideologies due to echo chambers. Funk and Kennedy (2016, p. 25) also mention that these topics are polarized as they become symbols for larger ideological battles. Overall, this creates a climate of divided public opinion, which amplifies the conservative aspect of this news outlet (Hameleers, 2018, p. 492). *The Daily Mail* was the second news outlet to use the *political agenda* frame (3) after *Fox News*. *The Daily Mail* used their article to openly criticize members of the Labor Party and said “No wonder Sir Keir is known as Sir Flip Flop” (*Daily Mail*). This party is considered a center-left party whereas *The Daily Mail* is considered to be strongly associated with conservative views, often reflecting traditional or right-wing perspectives (AllSides, 2017, p. 1). This showcases once again the use of a crisis to fight other broader political battles (Funk & Kennedy, 2016, p. 25). But the right-wing media outlets were not the only ones to use the climate crisis to openly criticize a political party. *CNN* which is considered to be a center-left liberal and democratic-leaning audience according to Hameleers (2018, p. 492) was also found to use the *political agenda* frame (3). It openly criticized the Republican Party for its blocking of funds or policies on climate change; “they’re seeking to avoid the funds being called loss and damage because of fears about how that would be received by Republicans in Congress” (*CNN*). However, unlike the other outlets, it also criticized the Biden administration and described their funding decision as “embarrassing” for planned funds specialized for smaller countries more affected by climate change. This shows that this media outlet does provide balanced coverage by openly criticizing both the Republican and Democratic parties and confirming the research of Hameleers (2018, p. 492).

In terms of national perception frame, the outlet with the most mention of the subcategory *national relations* frame within the main frame *relation* and the subcategory *Players: national* frame from the main frame *Players* was *The Daily Mail*. This outlet, which had a total of 60 mentions of these frames, emphasized that this outlet has a more nationalist viewpoint, which reflect its editorial policy to appeal to national interest. National players such “As head of state, King Charles was in the front row” (*Daily Mail*), were mentioned to discuss how the media outlet’s country of origin is represented at the summit. In terms of *national relations* frame, the following can illustrate it: “The UK should be playing a leading role at COP28 and driving our planet forward to a cleaner future.” (*Daily Mail*). This in a way shows a strong country presence but its depiction in the media shows nationalistic traits. According to the research by Wang & Downey (2023, p. 2), these national frames focus primarily on how climate change affects local weather patterns, agriculture, the economy, and

policies. They also demonstrate how particular national players impact the discussion on certain topics and represent the country of origin abroad. It presents strong government accountability in a more localized area. These frames enhance public understanding and engagement due to their relevance to the readers' everyday lives. However, these frames might underplay the global nature of climate change and its need for interconnectedness and lead to a more isolationist and nationalistic viewpoint. Since *The Daily Mail* is seen as a right-leaning conservative media outlet, Wang & Downey's (2023, p. 2) arguments were correct when speaking about how conservative media employ the *national* frame more extensively than left-leaning media.

When looking at the data provided, the sub-category *international relations* from the main frame *relations* and the sub-category *players: international* from the main category *players* was heavily used by *CNN* totaling 53 frame unit. The key international players depicted were for instance, “Greta Thunberg” (*BBC*), who has been an important participant in the fight against climate change. The international relations frames depicted an international cooperation with this sentence: “Right now in Dubai, the world’s countries are negotiating what to do about fossil fuels” (*The Guardian*). This overall indicates that *CNN* has placed a great emphasis on covering international news and framing the COP28 summit as a global issue with global players. As Vu et al. (2019, p. 3) have pointed out, this frame highlights how countries generally interact on a global scale, which is relevant to COP28. Overall, this frame showcases global cohesion and underlines the clear interconnectedness of nations fighting for one global challenge. This finding confirms the research by Yang (2023, p. 5), which states that *CNN* often covers international cooperation explicitly because the most dominant international relations subcategory frame for *CNN* was *international relations success*, with 13 frame units found. This can be seen with the following quote: “COP28 agrees historic deal to shift away from fossil fuels” (*The Telegraph*). This is a positive frame, as it portrays climate change as a global issue that unifies countries and promotes multilateral agreements (Tiwari, 2023, p. 31).

The New York Times was also right under *CNN* in the use of the *international relations* sub-category frame and *players international* with 49 frame units found. This also indicates their openness to the world and their belief that climate change is indeed a global challenge that needs to be faced with multilateralism. The *BBC* then closely followed these news outlets, with 46 international frame units recorded. The *BBC* is generally seen as charged with ensuring fairness and neutrality and overall has a global reach. According to

Fletcher et al. (2019, p. 3), this news outlet caters to a wider range of viewers across the world and generally covers international subjects, which is confirmed by the findings in this very research. *Sky News*, however, was the media outlet with the least amount of *international relations and key players: international*. It had about 9 frame units in total, which indicated low interest in a global form of cohesion, even while talking about a summit that needs this form of international cooperation to succeed. *Sky News* was described as identifying with left-leaning liberal ideology. The fact that this news outlet had the least amount of international coverage evolves on the research by Cushion and Lewis (2009, p. 140), which pointed out that its international coverage had increased back in 2009, which seems to not be the case at this period.

The *international relations failure* frame was the most found in the media outlet *The Guardian*. This frame showcases a more negative perception of the summit, which has, as a goal, to promote global cohesion and multilateralism. If this multilateralism fails, then the summit follows this failure. This frame can be seen with quotes such as this one: “the last two COPS and the next COP on climate are in countries where freedom of speech and the right to protest are not upheld, so the UN has increasingly targeted activists.” (*The Guardian*). By addressing this issue, *The Guardian*, addresses the elephant in the room and denounces the irony of hosting a climate summit in a petrostate and in a place where basic human rights are not respected, as mentioned previously by Amr El Alfy et al. (2023, p. 15), Paiement et al. (2023, p. 158) and Human Rights Watch (2023, p. 1), which all described the extent to which the location of the summit is problematic. This choice of frame by this media outlet indicates the level of investigation and this can also be confirmed with the following frame.

The frame *morality* was not the most found frame but was still present 262 times, however, it is truly indicative of the actual COP28 summit that took place. Many controversies surrounded this COP as it was hosted in an oil-rich country by the CEO of ADNOC, an extremely large oil company from Abu Dhabi. *The Guardian* which is known for its investigative type of journalism, was the media outlet with the highest *morality* frame unit found (51) (Konow-Lund, 2019, p. 108). This frame can be depicted using the following quote: “Selfish, short sighted actors are once again sabotaging our collective fate in the name of profit.” (*The Guardian*). The subcategory *irony/hypocrisy* was the most found within the *morality* frame, which indicated a more critical and ironical approach to the description of the summit. *The Guardian's* extensive focus on this frame likely stems from its commitment to uncovering and critically examining issues related to ethics and integrity. *The Guardian*

highlights the perceived contradictions and ethical dilemmas inherent in hosting a climate summit in an oil-rich country led by an oil company executive. This form of coverage aims to bring attention to the paradoxes in global efforts to combat climate change. This frame overall emphasizes right or wrong, provides emotional engagement to the readers and forces them to question the actual ethics of the subject. This frame can help cultivate social norms, guiding a collective perception of what is acceptable and not acceptable, which can create social mobilization (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96).

The sub-category *winner vs loser* from the main frame *conflict* framed individuals or groups as winners or losers, simplifying complex issues into narratives of victory and defeat. An example of this frame is the following: “The West has been the real loser at COP28” (*The Teleraph*). This frame gives the sense of an ongoing battle between two main parties. It only appeared 11 times and 9 times in *The Washington Post*. Tryggvason (2020, p. 676) mentions that the use of this frame can influence an already-existing opinion and distort the audience's perceptions of reality. Generally, this frame is used as it simplifies complex issues and favors narratives that are easy to digest at the expense of depth and accuracy. The *winner vs loser* frame can also perpetuate stereotypes and impact credibility and is generally used in sports or political news coverage.

After investigating the main frames, the *highlight* frame, which had two sub-categories, notably *contextualization* and *dramatization* frame. These frames served as accentuators and highlighted various arguments and frames.

The *contextualization* highlight frame was mainly used by *The New York Times* and helped with giving additional information on the topic of climate change. This highlight provides background and situates the story, informing the audience about the relevance of such a topic and helping organize the idea of the storyline, which is a key principle in journalism (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103). The media outlet therefore should incorporate as much of this highlight frame as possible to give as much background information on the subject without jeopardizing the main story.

Fox News, was found to be the media outlet with the most *dramatization* (13) in its coverage. As mentioned previously, *dramatization* is not a frame but is used to highlight other frames. In this case, the multiple instances of *dramatization* were used to highlight *denial* frames or *political agenda* frames. It can be seen with this quote: “Federal climate crusader will gleefully spend the hard-earned money of the American people” (*Fox News*). This high score indicates that *Fox News* uses *dramatization* more extensively than any other

analyzed media outlet. This approach is evident in *Fox News's* treatment of climate issues. The network often downplays or denies the severity of climate change, which aligns with its high *dramatization* score. In contrast, Democratic-leaning media outlets focus more on the ramifications of climate change and the urgent need for action. According to Esparcia and Gómez (2021), framing strategies such as personalization and dramatization are employed to either highlight or discredit the issue of climate change, as earlier discussed by Boykoff and Boykoff (2007, p. 1191).

4.1.3 Distribution in Framing

The distribution of frames was also analyzed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 95) and was defined as the prevalence and frequency of various frames found in the news outlets.

Overall frames were spread homogeneously through media outlets and countries, as seen with the Sankey Chart (Appendix C). *Fox News* was found to be the media, with the most distribution of frames across its articles, however, this does not mean that it is positive because many media frames found in this outlet have an overall negative impact on the audience's perception and are generally against the positive advancement of climate change policies, and openly criticize administrations in power. These negative frames were *denial*, *dramatization*, *allegation resistance*, *lobby defense*, and *political agenda*. The frame of *regulation* was the most found frame among all frames for *Fox News* displaying a more important narrative on the actual advancements or failures of regulations during COP28, however, compared to all the other media outlets, *Fox News* was the last to use the *regulation* frame, showing a lack of depiction of the progress to achieve help towards climate initiatives.

The second media outlet with the most distribution of frames was *The New York Times*, which didn't have any negative frames like *denial of science*, *dramatization*, *allegation resistance*, *lobby defense*, and *political agenda* and had a majority of the *attribution of responsibility* frame, which addresses accountability and accuses governments or individuals for the lack of action towards climate change and climate regulations.

These findings on the homogeneous spread of frames across media outlets go against the study of Hameleers (2018, p. 492) which states that *CNN* generally has the most distributed coverage. *CNN* was ranked fourth in terms of the distribution of frames and homogeneity. The least distributed and homogeneous news media outlet was *USA Today*, which covered principally the *environmental consequence* frame, discussing the impact of

fossil fuels, disasters, and the rising in the earth's temperature.

4.1.4 More Insights Media Specific

Based on the data analysis, *USA Today* is the media outlet that utilizes the *human interest* frame the most, with a total of 39 instances. The second was *The Washington Post*, with 36 frame units. This indicates that *USA Today* and *The Washington Post* often focus on personal stories and emotional aspects of news, which can foster a deeper connection with readers by highlighting the human impact of events and issues. The study by Feldman et al. (2015, p. 493), analyzed climate change coverage in *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*. Both media outlets frequently utilized *environmental* frames and were less likely to use *conflict* frames, resulting in balanced coverage that fostered concern and engagement among readers. This approach aligns with *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*'s tendency to use *human interest* frames, further enhancing reader engagement by making the issues more relatable and emotionally relatable. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 107) humanizing stories create a sense of community. This frame was found to put great emphasis on appealing to emotion and being effective in attracting attention to vulnerable groups facing climate change challenges. Using this frame makes the topic more understandable and immediate. However, based on the previous findings from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 104), the extensive use of *human interest* frame and the lack of *attribution of responsibility* frames indicate that the outlet is generally a more sensationalist one that leverages human interest stories to create emotional reactions. It was interesting to point out that *USA Today*'s most used subcategory within the *human interest* frame was *disaster*, with 16 frame units. In addition to this, the category of frame *conflict* with its sub-category *urgency* (19) was also the frame most found in *USA Today*'s articles. This overall confirms an existing strategy to emotionally engage readers and emphasizes the critical nature of issues and likely a call to action in a sensationalist perspective. It also serves as a way to highlight the time-sensitive nature of climate change.

On the occasion of COP28, many controversies occurred, which gave room for media outlets to openly criticize the summit, the host, policies, previous COP actions, and much more (Amr El Alfy et al., 2023, p. 15). *The Guardian* had the highest count for using the *criticism*, frame which was a part of the main frame *conflict*, out of all the media outlets with 24 instances. *The Guardian* is known for its investigative journalism and its commitment to uncovering stories of significant public interest (Konow-Lund, 2019, p. 108). This dedication

to in-depth reporting naturally involves a critical perspective, as investigative journalism often seeks to hold powerful entities accountable and expose wrongdoing. Additionally, *The Guardian's* left-leaning liberal stance might contribute to a more critical view of certain issues, particularly those involving corporate power, government actions, and social justice concerns (Hameleers, 2018, p. 497). This critical approach aligns with their broader mission to inform the public and stimulate debate on pressing issues.

The New York Times was found to be the media outlet that most often utilizes the *other subject* frame, which is placed as under the *human interest* frame, with a total of 13 occurrences. This frame concerns moments in media coverage when attention is diverted from the main subject to less significant or unrelated issues, such as the war in Ukraine or Gaza. Utilizing the *other subject* frame may serve as a tactical choice to shift focus, alter the storytelling perspective, or bring fresh perspectives to the narrative. In *The New York Times*, this method could show their journalistic tactic of presenting different viewpoints or tackling intricate stories by emphasizing multiple aspects, potentially causing the audience to lose sight of the main topic. However, none of the research findings could explain such a use of frames.

Considering that this research focused on 10 different media outlets, many of them were at risk of being mentioned as they were not pointed out for specific characteristics. *The Telegraph* is situated alongside leading news sources like *BBC News*, *CNN*, *The Daily Mail*, *Fox News*, *New York Times*, *Sky News*, *The Guardian*, *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*. When it comes to covering different subjects, *The Telegraph* maintains a balanced approach, not heavily focusing on any one area or falling far behind in any particular topic. It covers a broad variety of topics, including environmental concerns, as well as criticisms and player portrayals. Although *The Telegraph* may not excel in any specific category like *The Guardian* or *Fox News*, it remains consistently present in all areas, highlighting its reputation as a comprehensive news source that covers a wide range of topics. This places *The Telegraph* as a fairly typical yet trustworthy source within the varied media environment. An examination of the data reveals various signs that suggest *The Telegraph* has a right-leaning bias, as mentioned by AllSides (2017, p. 1). In the *criticism* frame, *The Telegraph* has a score of 0, indicating a tendency to engage less in general criticism while *The Guardian* has a score of 24. *The Telegraph* scored a 7 in the "*Dramatization*" frame, showing moderate dramatization, which is lower than *Fox News* (13) and *The Daily Mail* (12). In general, these signals indicate that *The Telegraph* leans more towards right-wing viewpoints, especially in

its lower involvement in criticism compared to left-leaning outlets such as *The Guardian*.

4.1.5 Country-Specific Frames

This specific section dives into the analysis of media framing and compares the frames between the UK and the US media. However, the goal of this general research is not to compare these two countries' online news media, but rather to get a general overview of these online news media and the frames used (Appendix D).

In the analysis of media framing in the US and UK, the most prominent frames in the US news media revolve around *attribution of responsibility*, *regulation*, and *environmental consequences*. The most recurrent frame is *attribution of responsibility*, appearing 211 times, with subcategories of *denouncing* (100) and *anti-lobbying* (75). The second most frequent frame is *regulation*, noted 206 times, with subcategories of *regulation success* (76) and *regulation failure* (45). *Environmental consequences* are also a significant frame, appearing 170 times, with a focus on *fossil fuel impacts* (93) and the *degree of environmental impact* (54). In the US media, the emphasis on *attribution of responsibility* highlights a critical stance towards entities blamed for various issues, with significant attention on denouncing wrongdoings and combating lobbying efforts. This reflects a tendency to hold specific actors accountable and call for transparent, ethical practices. The frequent references to *regulation*, both successful and failed, suggest a preoccupation with policy effectiveness and enforcement, signaling the media's interest in the practical impacts of regulatory measures. *Environmental consequences* as a frame indicate a growing concern for ecological impacts, particularly those related to fossil fuels, and the frequent mention of the 1.5C cap, which every country is fighting to never go above. The use of this frame can mean an increasing awareness and concern for ecological impact and an urgent need for action.

Conversely, UK media predominantly frames discussions around *regulation*, mentioned 250 times, with subcategories highlighting *regulation failures* (51) and *slow regulation* (30). The frame of *attribution of responsibility* follows close with 233 mentions, focusing on *denouncing* (104) and *anti-lobbying* (65). The third significant frame is *morality*, appearing 155 times, emphasizing *irony/hypocrisy* (92) and *wrongdoings* (37). The UK media's focus on regulation suggests a critical perspective on the efficacy and speed of regulatory actions, reflecting concerns over governmental and institutional performance. It can also highlight a concern for the implementation of regulations due to the last major decisions such as Brexit, which reshaped the country's regulatory landscape. This might have

led to heightened scrutiny over how new regulations are formulated and, therefore can affect how the media portrays certain issues and how they are seen by the public.

The emphasis on *attribution of responsibility* parallels that of the USA, showcasing a shared interest in accountability, and this might be a product of their ranking in terms of media freedom, which gives access to this type of framing (RSF, 2023, p. 1). However, the inclusion of *morality* as a prominent frame indicates a distinct focus on moral judgments and the ethical implications of actions and policies. This underscores the UK media's concern with the moral dimensions of news stories and showcases the difference in terms of press freedom being ranked 26th compared to the 45th for the US (RSF, 2023, p. 1).

This section delves into media framing analysis in the UK and US, though the primary aim is not a detailed comparison but rather an overarching view of online news media and their framing techniques. In the US, the dominant frame is *attribution of responsibility*, appearing 211 times, emphasizing denouncing wrongdoings and combating lobbying efforts. In the UK, the main frame is *regulation*, mentioned 250 times, highlighting regulatory failures and slow implementation. While these findings offer initial insights, they remain surface-level in terms of comparison, and the goal is to provide a general overview rather than an in-depth comparative analysis.

5. Conclusion

The previous chapter has provided insights into the framing of 50 COP28 articles from five UK and five US online news media. These news media have recovered from the period before, during, and a month after the summit had occurred. The outlets selected were respectively the ones with the most viewership per country of origin. These media outlets were *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *Sky News*, *The BBC*, *The Daily Mail*, *CNN*, *Fox News*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*. This chapter aims to answer the main research question at hand the implication will then be stated, followed by the limitations and the future research with the final word.

5.1 Answer to the main question

News media have the responsibility to provide accurate information to their audience and should act like an objective watchdog (Overholser & Jamieson, 2005, p. 169). However, news media outlets are subject to polarization, especially in times of crisis (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). Climate change is a crisis and a challenge for many countries around the world and requires global multilateralism to fight against it. This was the very reason why the discussion of COP28 was crucial as it is a key event to determine if humanity is on the right path. Through the examination of news media and their coverage of this event, readers will be able to understand certain discourses and frames playing a role in the discussion of the event. But these frames also play a role in shaping their opinions and guiding their ideologies (Scheufele, 1999, p. 114). The authors mentioned in this research all point out the fact that COP28 and climate change are topics of strong concern and are most likely polarized in terms of media coverage as they are symbols for larger opinion clashes (Funk & Kennedy, 2016, p. 25). This research was especially relevant in terms of the countries involved and how influential their media were from a worldwide perspective (Fletcher et al., 2019; Wu, 2000).

Available literature had already hinted at what kind of frames would generally be found in the coverage of such an event. However, none of them were going to guarantee that the findings would be identical to the ones in this research. The two main dominant frames identified in the analysis were *regulation* and *responsibility*, with the *regulation* frame appearing 456 times and the *responsibility* frame 444 times across the 50 articles from the

UK and US. The literature by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) accurately supported the findings, additionally, the research by Wang & Downey (2023) and Yang (2023) was consistent with the findings. Conversely, Hameleers (2018) provided accurate information in some instances but differing information in others after examining the findings. Similarly, Cushion and Lewis's (2009) findings did not align with the current data but these findings and others will be presented in more detail.

The QCA guided by the framing analysis using the main frameworks by Entman (1993, p. 52), Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1278), and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96), have provided various findings into news framing of environmental subjects, the UK and US online media and COP28. After examining the main frames found using the QDA program *Atlas.ti*, the main question at hand can be answered: "*How do online news media outlets from the United States and the United Kingdom frame the 28th conference of the parties (COP28)?*".

The analysis of fifty online news articles from the UK and the US has revealed that the dominant frames of *regulation* and *responsibility* are prevalent across both countries' media landscapes. The *regulation* frame, appearing 456 times, underscores the critical focus on policy implementation and its effectiveness in addressing climate change, particularly in the context of COP28. This frame's prominence is consistent with literature by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 96), which highlights the prevalence of *regulation* and *responsibility* frames in serious media outlets. The *responsibility* frame, with 444 mentions, emphasized denouncing, anti-lobbying, the role of developed countries in aiding developing countries, and the role of other COPs in making policies actionable. This finding corroborates the findings by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Yang (2023) on the critical stance of media outlets towards specific actors and policies.

The findings also indicate a balanced use of frames across different media outlets. The study revealed deviations from existing literature, such as the balanced frame distribution in *Fox News*, which contradicts Hameleer's (2018, p. 492) assertion that *CNN* typically offers the most balanced coverage.

However, *Fox News* may have had a balanced coverage but the data indicated a high use of the *denial* frame, aligning with the literature by Stoll-Kleemann and Schmidt (2016, p. 1261) and Yang (2023, p. 5), which points to the outlet's skepticism towards progressive climate policies. These findings similarly align with research by Gunster et al. (2018, p. 2) and Weaver (2007, p. 145) as these frames undermine the urgency of climate action by promoting

skepticism and emphasizing personal freedom, thus shaping audience perceptions and reinforcing conservative ideologies. The analysis shows that *Fox News* and *The Daily Mail* prominently use *political agenda* frames, often criticizing specific administrations, which aligns with Yang (2023, p. 5) and Hameleers (2018, p. 492). These findings confirm that these outlets employ political framing to engage their audiences and influence public opinion, reinforcing existing research on the role of media in shaping political narratives and partisan divides. It also corroborated with the research by Funk and Kennedy (2016, p. 25) in proving that subjects about crises are subjects used to fight other ideological battles, in this case, criticize the administration or government in power.

The analysis also reveals that *CNN* and *The New York Times* prominently uses *international* frames, emphasizing global cooperation, aligning with Vu et al. (2019, p. 3) and Yang (2023, p. 5). This confirms that these outlets often frame climate change as a global challenge. Conversely, *The Daily Mail's* focus on *national* frames aligns with Wang & Downey's (2023, p. 2) findings on conservative media's nationalistic focus. However, *Sky News's* minimal use of *international* frames diverges from Cushion and Lewis's (2009, p. 140) observation of increased international coverage, indicating a shift in editorial priorities.

The Guardian prominently uses *criticism* and *morality* frames, particularly highlighting *irony* and *hypocrisy* in climate policies, which aligns with Konow-Lund (2019, p. 108) on investigative journalism. This approach emphasizes moral scrutiny and accountability, confirming that *The Guardian's* in-depth reporting effectively challenges powerful entities and promotes ethical considerations in public discourse.

The frequent use of the *human interest* frame by *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*, which focuses on personal stories and emotional aspects of climate change, aligns with the findings of Feldman et al. (2015). This confirms that these outlets effectively engage readers by making climate issues relatable and emotionally impactful, supporting the literature on their use of human interest to humanize and contextualize environmental topics

In general, the study highlights the diverse methods used to frame news about climate change and more particularly COP28 in various media platforms and nations. Although dominant frames are commonly used across the board, particular news sources have their distinct framing styles that align with their editorial viewpoints and audience demographics. The continual utilization of the *regulation* and *responsibility* perspectives emphasizes the media's duty to evaluate policy efficacy and ensure individuals are held responsible, crucial for promoting informed discussions on climate change. These results enhance our

comprehension of how the media shapes discussions on worldwide environmental crises and propose directions for additional studies on how media portrayal of climate concerns is changing.

5.2 Implications

This research strongly enhances the current literature on media framing, specifically backing up the results of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). By affirming the dominance of key perspectives like *regulation* and *responsibility*, the study strengthens the trustworthiness and accuracy of these theoretical frameworks. The constant recognition of these frames in different media sources emphasizes their crucial role in influencing news stories, thus enhancing the theoretical comprehension of news media strategies. It also helps confirm the accuracy and depth of the studies by Feldman et al. (2015), Funk and Kennedy (2016), Gunster et al. (2018), Konow-Lund (2019), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Stoll-Kleemann and Schmidt (2016), Vu et al. (2019), Wang & Downey (2023), Weaver (2007), and Yang (2023). Furthermore, this research delves further than prior studies by identifying more frames using inductive analysis. These newly identified frames were not previously mentioned in the literature, broadening the scope of media framing theory and enhancing comprehension of how media shapes narratives on climate change. This input is vital for the continuous progress of media studies, as it enhances the existing knowledge with more complexity and subtlety.

This research provides important information about how the media influences how the public views climate change. The research demonstrates media bias and how it affects public discussions, aiding society in comprehending how various media sources can impact views on climate change subjects. Having this knowledge is essential for readers, as it allows them to assess the news they consume critically and identify the hidden biases that could affect their perceptions. Moreover, the research highlights the geopolitical aspects of media reporting, demonstrating how both national and international perspectives can impact the way the public perceives global matters. This awareness can result in citizens who are better prepared to navigate the intricate relationship between media stories and geopolitical facts. In general, the impact of this study goes beyond just academic circles. It provides tangible advantages for raising public awareness and involvement in climate change concerns at a critical moment where policies and international cooperation can still change the course of humankind.

5.3 Limitations

As for every study, there are several limitations that the reader needs to consider. Firstly, the restriction to Western media outlets such as those in the UK and the US offered valuable insights but limited to some extent, the ability to apply the findings to other geopolitical contexts. Furthermore, the research could be enhanced by conducting a thorough comparison involving non-Western key news outlets to provide a more comprehensive international viewpoint.

Nonetheless, focusing on one COP event for analysis, although it provides detailed information, limits the study from capturing overarching themes across various conferences, however, it allows the reader to grasp an overview of one precise event. While a wide variety of news sources and 50 articles were considered, increasing the sample size and diversity of sources may strengthen the reliability of the findings. The inductive method, which aims to create a theory from data directly, might overlook predetermined theoretical structures that could offer further insights, however, the use of a mixed method reduced this limitation. Moreover, the study's focus on examining media coverage before, during, and after the event longitudinally may lead to an insufficient understanding of media narratives. The lack of intercoder reliability measures like Cohen's Kappa leads to some doubts about the consistency and dependability of the coding process.

Ultimately, examining the ideological range of the media (left-leaning, center, and right-leaning) instead of just looking at the most popular sources could offer a more detailed insight and a better idea of how political biases influence media reporting. These limitations are important to acknowledge, however, addressing them would have broadened the scope of the research, compromising its focus and precision. Despite their recognition, they do not affect the validity or reliability of the study, as they were excluded to maintain the study's original purpose.

5.4 Future Research

Future studies could build on this research by exploring a COP event through sources other than traditional news outlets, such as analyzing sentiments on social media platforms. This could offer a wider and possibly more prompt view of public opinion and discussion. Moreover, to overcome the limitations of the present study, upcoming research could involve a wider variety of media sources from non-Western nations, providing a broader and more thorough insight into media representation. Examining and contrasting highly divided media

platforms, especially in their coverage of COP or climate-related occurrences, may uncover the impact of partisan agendas on journalistic storytelling. Moreover, upcoming research could analyze media attention for two separate COP events to observe changes and patterns over time. Ultimately, examining media coverage both before and after a COP event could provide a valuable understanding of how media narratives change concerning the results and effects of these important international conferences.

5.5 Final Words

This research aimed at investigating the news coverage of a summit at the heart of many controversies. It wanted, as a main purpose, to truly understand the frames implicit or explicit meanings with fifty articles from ten famous and influential media outlets from two global powers. The true influence of such media outlets is impressive, as they can shape public opinion and influence policy-making. As the topic of climate change is “hot” in a literal sense, the role of the research was to understand if these media outlets were doing everything possible to report objectively on a summit that had the potential to change humankind. The researcher also wanted to know if these media outlets would use the summit as a pretext to discredit political figures, governments, administrations, and decisions for the sake of their own interests. Some have proven the point of previous research and have shown once again their true colors. Luckily after investigating the data, COP28 was still considered a better and more successful COP than the previous ones but will the institutions and governments truly act and put in place what was agreed at this summit?

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Appendix

Appendix A:

Framing Matrix After Coding Pilot:

Main framing categories are established in unison with the literature on Framing. The subcategories were determined from the data and previous research as well.

Main Category	Sub-Category	Definition	Illustrative Quote
Conflict (C)	Conflict	How the issue is introduced in the article. Puts in the context and identifies clash of interests, and values among individuals or groups.	“Hosting a climate conference in a petrostate was already controversial.”
	Urgency	Puts in the context and identifies the level of immediacy assigned to a particular issue.	“Feels as if humanity’s shared lifeboat is sinking. There are only hours left to act.”
	Winer vs Loser	Frames individuals or groups as winners or losers, simplifying complex issues into narratives of victory and defeat. This frame is common in political or sports reporting.	“The West has been the real loser at COP28.”
	Denial	Refusal to acknowledge or accept the reality of environmental issues or reducing its importance	“They think climate change should govern all of our lives.”
	Part of Denial: Allegation Resistance	Efforts employed or expressed to counter accusations	“Jaber said: ‘I am quite surprised with the constant and repeated attempts to undermine the work of the Cop28 presidency.’”
	Part of Denial: Lobby Defense	Narrative discussing the influence and defense of the Oil Lobby activities.	World-scale problems like climate change need world-scale companies — like ExxonMobil — to help solve them,” Exxon spokeswoman Erin Szeligowski said in an email. “Put us to work.”

Environmental consequences (ENC)	Environment Fossil fuel	Discusses natural resources such as coal, oil and natural gas and its impact on the world.	“Oil - like gas and coal - is a fossil fuel. These are the main causes of climate change because they release planet-warming greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide when burned for energy.”
	Environment Degree	Discusses the climate degree temperatures related to environmental factors.	“Limiting Global Warming to 1.5C.”
	Environment Disasters	Discusses Catastrophic events generally due to human impact.	“Disastrous events included flash flooding in Africa and Wildfires in Europe and North America.”
Economic consequences (EC)	Economic Budget	Discusses the overarching real-world effects of economic decisions related to budget allocation.	“The UAE Pledged to create a 30 Billion climate finance fund and put 250 million into it by the end of the decade.”
	Economic Infrastructure	Discusses the overarching real-world effects of economic decisions related to the building of infrastructures.	“Infrastructure that connects power to people isn’t being scaled up enough.”
	Economic Policies	Discusses the overarching real-world effects of economic decisions related to economic policy implementation.	“Hope for COP28 is an agreement that NDCs should be broadened to cover the emissions from all economic activity.”
International relations (IR) part of the Relations frame (R)	Failure International Relations	Shows how countries fail to interact on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate through treaties, conferences, and initiatives. It portrays a failed geopolitical dynamic of leadership and commitment.	“However, the deal doesn’t compel countries to take action, and no timescale is specified.”

	Success International Relations	Shows how countries successfully interact on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate through treaties, conferences, and initiatives. It portrays a successful geopolitical dynamic of leadership and commitment.	“Countries have at last shifted the focus on the polluting fossil fuels driving the climate crisis.”
	Normal international Relations	Shows how countries interact on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate through treaties, conferences, and initiatives. It portrays a geopolitical dynamic of leadership and commitment.	“Around 200 nations were represented in the talks.”
National relations (NR) part of the Relations frame (R)	Failure national Relations	Shows how a specific country (the one from the media outlet analyzed) fails to interact on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate through localized solutions.	“Nations pledge millions to new climate damage fund at COP28, US criticized for its small contribution.”
	Success National Relations	Shows how a specific country (the one from the media outlet analyzed) successfully interacts on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate through localized solutions.	“Graham Stuart, the UK’s climate minister, thanked Sultan Al-Jaber, the UAE COP28 president, referring to the longstanding climate target to limit global warming to 1.5C.”
	Normal International Relations	Shows how a specific country (the one from the media outlet analyzed) interacts on a global scale to manage and mitigate the impacts of climate through localized solutions.	“Downing Street defended the decision after critics warned the move 'sent all the wrong signals' about the UK's commitments to tackling climate change.”

Morality (M)	Irony/ Hypocrisy	Presents issues through the lens of moral values and ethics, and discusses actions that are contrary to what is expressed often with a humorous tone.	“Imagine for a moment that you are an alien visiting the Earth. You discover the planet faces a potential catastrophe caused by the actions of the people living there.”
	Fake Promises	Presents issues through the lens of moral values and ethics, and discusses commitments made without the intention of fulfilling them.	“UAE planned to use its role as COP28 host to strike new oil and gas deals.”
	Wrong Doing	Presents issues through the lens of moral values and ethics, and discusses actions that are morally, legally wrong.	“Increasing alarm over the severity and frequency of such acts. Governments now feel they can act without suffering consequences.”
Regulation (R)	Regulation Failure	The unsuccessful implementation of a regulation results in unintended consequences.	“This proces has failed us.”
	Regulation Success	Effective implementation of a regulation, resulting in the desired or positive outcomes.	“COP28 agrees historic deal to shift away from Fossil Fuel.”
	Slow Regulation	Delayed regulation implementation and slow impact on the intended outcomes.	“The Target is particularly hard to achieve because the world has left it so late.”
Attribution of Responsibility (AR)	Denouncing	Emphasizing right or wrong, accountability, and societal norms. It aims to prompt social mobilization by publicly condemning. .	“King Charles gave the opening address, warning that humans were carrying out a "vast, frightening experiment" on the planet.”
	Anti Lobbying	Discusses and criticizes lobbying activities against the advancement of climate	“Campaigners who compiled these new figures say that links to the oil, coal

		policies.	and gas industries at COP28 go far beyond the presidency.”
	Other COP	Discusses and criticizes the role of past and future COP summits in achieving or failing to achieve climate policies	“For many years, the Cop process has been inputting the same actions and expecting different results.”
	Developed and developing	Discusses and criticizes the role of developed countries in aiding or failing to understand the struggle of developing countries in the climate change process.	“Will richer countries pay for climate change?”
Human Interest (HI)	Human Stories	Discusses personal stories or experiences, emotions and the human aspect with events related to climate change.	“I find myself thinking of a six-year-old boy called Desmond I met in Turkana county, Kenya, who died from severe acute malnutrition on the same day. His death was the result of a climate-induced drought that has left millions of people on the brink of starvation in the Horn of Africa.”
	Disasters	Discusses catastrophic stories or experiences, emotions, and the human aspect of events related to climate change.	“Teresa Anderson, from ActionAid International, described his comments as "completely divorced from the reality of hundreds of millions of people on the frontline of climate catastrophe.”
	Hope	Discusses a hopeful message with desired outcomes with events related to the climate.	“This outcome must signal the beginning of the end for the fossil fuel era.”

	Small Players	Discusses the vision, stories, and demands of small nations or groups affected by climate change and climate policies.	“Some governments, such as those from small-island nations, are leading the push.”
Contextualization (C) part of the Highlight frame (H)	Contextualization	Discusses the background information and context to help understand the event to the reader.	“The summit took place in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). It was scheduled to last from 30 November to 12 December 2023.”
Dramatization (D) part of the Highlight frame (H)	Dramatization	Presenting a narrative in a way that emphasizes emotional or sensational aspects.	“woke bankers at COP28 seek to squash financing for coal projects.”

Appendix B:

Framing Matrix with Newly Emerged Codes:

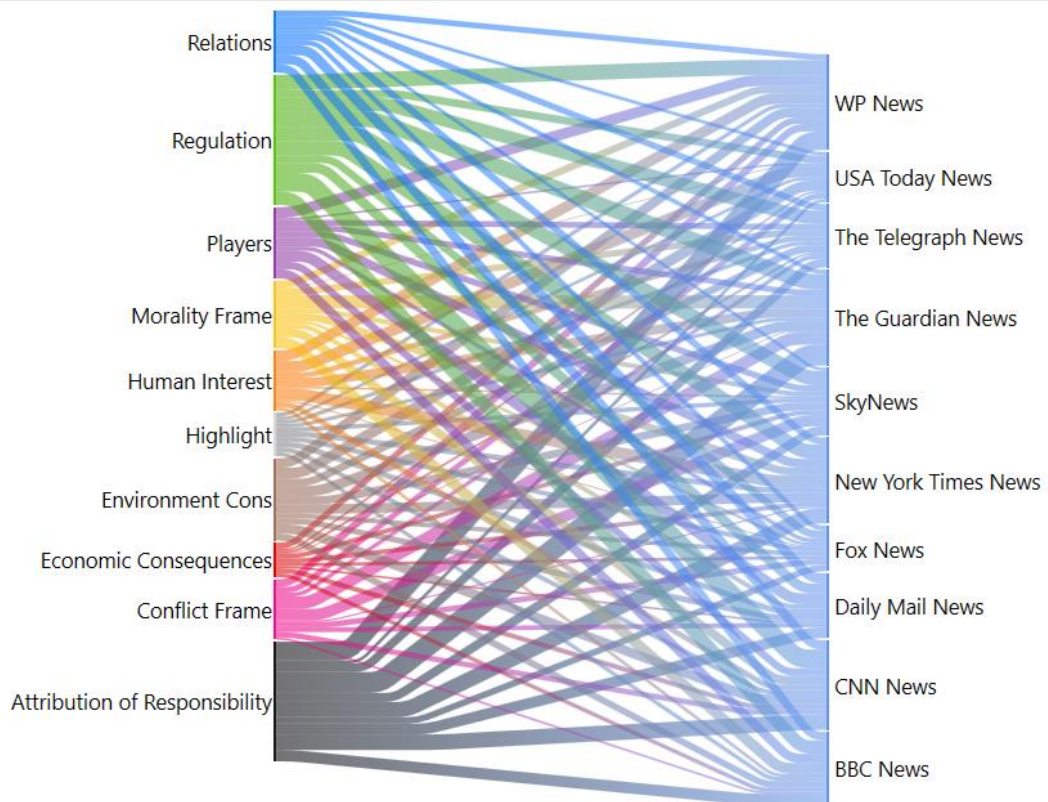
The following frames and their subcategories emerged from inductive analysis.

Main Category	Sub-Category	Definition	Example
Criticism part of Conflict (C)	Criticism	A general disapproval directed at policies, key players related to an environmental impact.	“Historic for the wrong reasons”
Players (P)	National players	Entities, organizations or individuals operating within a country who have influence on issues and regulation in this case, the nation of the news outlet.	“King Charles III and Rishi Sunak” (BBC)
	International Players	Entities, organizations or individuals operating within a other countries who have influence on issues and	Joe Biden and China’s Xi Jinping did not go

		regulation in this case, not the nation of the news outlet.	
Other Subjects (OS) part of Human Interest (HI)	Pandemic	Mention the outbreak of a disease most likely in this case Covid 19.	lingering resentment over unequal access to coronavirus vaccines and tensions between the United States and China.
	War	Mention the current armed conflicts in the international context such as Ukraine, Gaza or other international wars.	“wider issues, such as Russia and Ukraine or Israel and Gaza.”
	Refugees	Mention the current refugee crisis in the international context and their rights.	“Climate change talks can't keep ignoring refugees. What to do before COP29.”
Political Agenda part of Attribution of Responsibility (AR)	Administration Criticism	Narrative disapproval directed at the policies, actions or decisions of a governing administration.	The Biden White House embraces extreme climate alarmism
	Administration Praise	Positive narrative directed at the policies, actions or decisions of a governing administration.	EPA rules for methane emissions follow a two-year public comments period and builds off proposals the Biden administration put forward

Appendix C:

Sankey Chart: UK and US Online 10 total News Media, Ten Frames.



Appendix D:

Case Quantity Chart: Main Frames UK Online News Media:

	BBC News 📄 6 📄 179	Daily Mail N... 📄 5 📄 153	SkyNews 📄 5 📄 130	The Guardia... 📄 5 📄 196	The Telegra... 📄 5 📄 157	Totaux
● 📁 Attributio... 📄 463	44	42	35	81	33	235
● 📁 Conflict Fr... 📄 235	8	19	44	48	15	134
● 📁 Economic... 📄 133	15	8	18	3	8	52
● 📁 Environme... 📄 319	26	23	31	40	29	149
📁 Highlight 📄 168	15	22	17	14	15	83
● 📁 Human Int... 📄 233	12	1	7	36	20	76
● 📁 Morality Fr... 📄 262	42	18	19	51	25	155
● 📁 Players 📄 276	36	42	24	23	23	148
● 📁 Regulation 📄 505	52	38	56	60	52	258
● 📁 Relations 📄 242	32	39	12	17	24	124
Totaux	282	252	263	373	244	1414

Main Frames US Online News Media:

	CNN News 📄 5 📄 181	Fox News 📄 5 📄 122	New York Ti... 📄 5 📄 194	USA Today... 📄 5 📄 131	WP News 📄 5 📄 228	Totaux
● 📁 Attributio... 📄 463	60	25	59	12	72	228
● 📁 Conflict Fr... 📄 235	21	22	6	23	29	101
● 📁 Economic... 📄 133	19	13	18	7	24	81
● 📁 Environme... 📄 319	37	18	37	41	37	170
📁 Highlight 📄 168	18	19	21	12	15	85
● 📁 Human Int... 📄 233	21	5	46	44	41	157
● 📁 Morality Fr... 📄 262	34	11	30	4	28	107
● 📁 Players 📄 276	29	16	34	7	42	128
● 📁 Regulation 📄 505	73	29	56	30	59	247
● 📁 Relations 📄 242	36	19	27	13	23	118
Totaux	348	177	334	193	370	1422