



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**Frames for United Nations Climate Change Conference 2015 Comparison of Elite Dawn and Popular Jang Newspapers Evidence from Pakistan**

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PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
<b>Received:</b> January 15, 2019	The present article explores the role of two leading dailies of Pakistan. Dawn and Jang are analyzed related to coverage of Paris Conference or Conference of Parties 2015 (COP21). The method utilized for the study is quantitative content analysis. Framing theory is being utilized. It is found that there is limited coverage of the global event of COP21 (N=35) in one month. Dawn newspaper has triple coverage when compared with Jang, however, Dawn newspaper has relied on the foreign news agencies and the voices of foreign political system are heard which means that the daily does not adequately domesticate the event in national context. Jang has emphasized on the national political system. It is recommended that Pakistani journalists in Dawn newspaper must domesticate the event by bringing it back to Pakistan. Jang should emphasize on the global event and linking it to national political system rather than giving political protocol to the national governments
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**Introduction**

It is observed in Lahore that the winters are getting shorter and drier with less rain-fall, and the summers are longer and warmer. People are seen praying for blissful rains five times a day during December, January, May and June. Variations are also observed for the late or early monsoon. These are the effects of climate change and the term climate change refers to any change in climate over time whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity (IPCC, 2014). Pakistan Press Foundation, an independent media documentation and training center, in their environmental journalism section mention Metrological Department

of Pakistan report about the rise in temperature to 0.4 degrees Celsius per decade in the agricultural plains of Punjab and Sindh, which will ultimately increase water requirement for crops ("Temperature likely to increase at 0.4C per decade in Punjab, Sindh," 2017). In this global world of interconnectedness, the environmental risks are felt at the local, national and transnational levels. These risks resulting from the climate change are drifting to the agenda in journalism and academic discourse, and the climate change has received significant attention by the forms of communications like mass and the social media. It is perceived that, national or Pakistani media still use domestic logic in the presentation of news in case of popular press. However, there are convincing arguments for transgressing the national outlook which has dominated the discourses of both academia and media with the cosmopolitan vision (Beck, 2009). The climate change is one such risk which is being discussed in United Nations platforms, parliaments and the governmental reports.

The global warming was predicted to reach and maintain a level of at least three standard deviations above the climatology of the 1950s; and the regions where an unambiguous warming were predicted to appear earliest were low latitude oceans, China and interior areas in Asia, and ocean areas near Antarctica and the north pole (Hansen, 1988). According to the updates of Goddard Institute for Space Studies for the global temperature analysis, 2018 is found to be the fourth warmest year and the four warmest years are from 2015 to 2018.

The industrial revolution brought with it the prospects and the consequences. Among these consequences is the industry. These industries have resulted in increasing the quantity of carbon in the atmosphere of the earth. These carbon emissions by human made industries are one of the alarming reasons for the warming of planet. The carbon dioxide emission from the burning of fossil fuels is usually considered the major factor of climate change (Lin & Ahmad, 2017). China and United States alone are responsible for more than 40% of the world's carbon dioxide emissions but China creates almost double the emissions of second-placed United States, which in turn responsible for more than twice the level of third-place India

Sovereignty of market represents a fatal threat given the danger of catastrophic climate change...American companies had called on President George W. Bush to make an environmental convention ... (and)... the managers had pleaded for an improved climate policy based on state regulation on a global scale...in Europe and California, the state and environmental movements were forming an alliance against the motor industry which was painful for the motor industry, especially for the German...In both Germany and in California the neoliberal alliance between state and capital is open to challenge (Beck, 2009, p.3).

American president Donald Trump has said he would cancel the Paris Agreement and rescind the climate action plan which underpins United States action for the reduction in carbon dioxide emissions (Bailey, 2016).

As a matter of fact, since the 1950s, many of the observed changes in the climate of the earth are unprecedented over decades to millennia because the atmosphere and ocean have warmed, the amount of snow and ice have diminished, and sea level has risen (Pachauri & Meyer, 2014). The threats which were predicted two decades ago have now turned into reality making climate change a catastrophe which needs an immediate climate action by reducing carbon dioxide emissions (Volkmer & Sharif, 2018). In the Long-Term Climate Risk Index (CRI), the ten countries are mostly affected from 1998 to 2017 with the annual averages and among them Pakistan stands eighth (Eckstein, Hutfils, & Winges, 2018). Although, Pakistan contributes only 0.8% of global carbon emission, but still the Government of Pakistan is committed to respond to climate change, both by adaptation methods as well as by reducing green house gases emissions (Lin & Ahmad, 2017). The federal cabinet of Pakistan had approved Pakistan Climate Change Act 2016 ("Pakistan Climate Change Act", 2016). Pakistan's participation from COP21 to COP25 had showed its commitment to implement Paris agreement.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change have the goal to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure efficient food production and to maintain sustainable economic development. The industrialized countries are expected to do the most at their home grounds and by providing assistance to the less developed countries and those countries who are mostly affected by global warming. Conference of the Parties is the decision-making body of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change which includes all countries that are Parties to the Convention for the implementation of institutional and administrative arrangements. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is the body of United Nations for assessing the climate change science and this institution provides policy makers with scientific assessments on climate change with the adaptation and mitigation options. The annually held climate summits like Conference of Parties are organized to show governmental solidarity for mitigating the effects of climate change by emphasizing on taking necessary climate action.

The climate summits are the occasions when journalists in mass media can bring climate change in spot light by framing. The role of journalists is vital for the climate change communication in Pakistan. They can link the global discourses of climate change to the local discourses of mass media to bring them on the agenda of public. The coverage of global climate event and bringing it all back to Pakistan is the responsibility of traditional dailies. Pakistani English language dailies are urban, elitist, have liberal ideology, and are professionally oriented. These have influence on opinion makers, politicians and the business community. Urdu language newspapers are read by students in the educational institutes which are also available on tea shops and market stalls. Urdu newspapers reflect the popular discourse because these are widely read by the Urdu speaking population in Pakistan because of their taste for sensational content and banner headlines. The

newspapers in both languages contribute by producing news near annual climate summits.

### **Literature Review**

Ali (2014) analyzed the gender representation in the visual coverage of the 2010 floods in Pakistan in Dawn and The News International and revealed that both newspapers took reductionist approach while confining the representation of women to gender, and gender specific roles showing women as helpless victims, arousing sentiments of sympathy among readers and donars, inspiring them to give immediate moral and material help to the affected people. Eide & Ytterstad (2011) analyzed two mainstream Norwegian newspapers' coverage of transnational media event of Bali Climate Summit 2007, based on textual analysis and framing theory, perspectives of hegemony and good sense. Eide and Ytterstad (2011) found how critical scrutiny of Norway's role as a major oil polluter emerges in the press in opposition to the hero framing. Olausson (2009) studied the construction of global climate change in three Swedish newspapers and discussed the media's attribution of responsibility for collective action along an axis ranging from local to national to transnational. Further it highlighted the media's reluctance to display any kind of scientific uncertainty that would undermine the demand for collective action. The results by Olausson underlined the media's responsiveness to the political setting in which they operate and the growing relevance of the transnational political realm of Europe for the construction of news frames on global climate change in European national media. It is argued to revisit the concept of domestication using context-sensitive analytical approaches to capture its discursive constitution (Olausson, 2014).

There is the ample evidence that Pakistanis are not familiar with the term climate change which is the lowest percentage among seven Climate Asia Countries (Zaheer & Colom, 2013). Pakistani media's role should be to give sufficient information about the changing climate and its impacts because communication is the key to demonstrate to people about the environmental issues and climate change in particular with its contexts because they can have drastic impacts over their lives in the present and near future and for that they need to be better equipped to face challenges. Media in Pakistan have potential to support people for controlling the impacts of climate change by providing awareness, motivation, self-belief and necessary practical skills for taking action rather than fatalism by framing climate change so that it feels relevant to people's lives and their own experiences. Ali (2010) suggested that climate change needs proper handling and risk management efforts for short and long term with regular media campaigns about climate change impacts and awareness. This is only possible when local level issues are linked to the broader scientific debate of climate change, the political will to resolve these issues and the active participation of people regardless of gender. In this way the role of professionally oriented mass media of classical newspapers is very important to bring the climate change on the agenda of the people who are on the responsible positions and by including the voices of the common individuals.

## **One Summit and Two Different Newspapers**

The Dawn and the Jang are two of the national dailies of Pakistan. The former newspaper is elite English language whereas the latter is the popular Urdu language. But these are also mainstream newspapers and are observed to be read by the educationists and by students of mass communication and environmental studies. The Conference of Parties (COP) organized by United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and this is an annually meeting for a political will to resolve the issue of global warming in which the report of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is also being shared. The study in hand selects the event of Conference of Parties (COP21) because newspapers significantly cover the event.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The current study utilizes the concept of framing as the theoretical framework for the current study. The frame in context of communication studies means words, symbols, phrases, or images that highlight a subset of potentially relevant considerations toward any object (Druckman, 2001). In fact, to frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993). The extent of coverage, prominence in the different sections of newspapers on the front or inside pages, the factual and opinioned genres, nature of news sources, individual voices and the preference given to gender role while covering the actors are choices which are being made by the journalists. These factors constitute the coverage for climate change. The domestication theory is also being used and is linked to the framing theory for enriching the analysis. Domestication means bringing it all back with the dominant national framework (Eide & Ytterstad, 2011). The domestication can also be discursive like it can focus on domestic or national events, it may interconnect the domestic and the foreign and it can also be only global without any domestic epicenter (Olausson, 2014). The aforementioned factors of climate change coverage are planned to assessed to explain these discursive modes of domestication.

## Research Questions

RQ1 What is the extent of climate change coverage in the Pakistani dailies of Dawn and Jang near COP21?

RQ2 How is the prominence being given to climate change in the different sections of these dailies of Dawn and Jang near COP21?

RQ3 Which genres are being emphasized by the dailies of Dawn and Jang near COP21 while covering climate change?

RQ4 What is the nature of news sources in the dailies of Dawn and Jang near COP21 while covering climate change?

RQ5 Which voices are being covered by the dailies of Dawn and Jang near COP21?

RQ6 Which gender among the male and female is being emphasized by the dailies of Dawn and Jang near COP21 for the coverage of climate change?

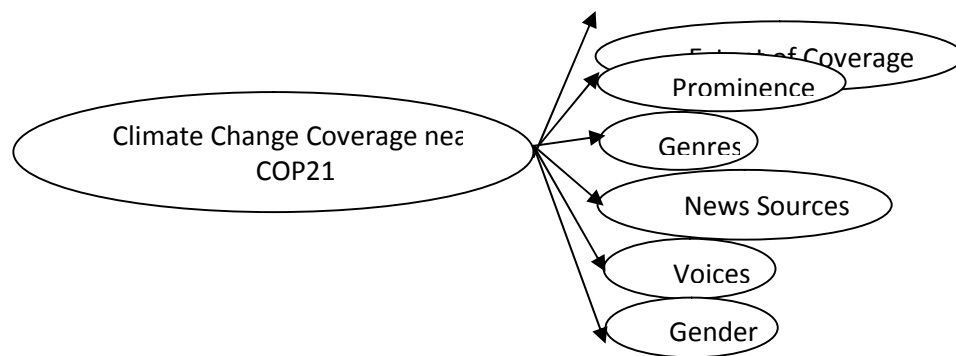


Figure 1. Climate Change Coverage near COP21

## Material and Methods

The population for the study is two mainstream newspapers of Pakistan. The reason for selecting newspapers in two languages is that to compare the elitist and popular coverage in these dailies. The event selected for the study is the United Nations Climate Change Conference which was held in the city of France called Paris. The duration of that conference was 11 days from 30 November to 10 December, 2015. A Paris agreement was negotiated with the consensus of 196 representatives for the reduction of Climate Change. Time Frame for the Study is taken from 20<sup>th</sup> November to 22<sup>nd</sup> December 2015 which is 33 days in total. The rationale for taking some days before and after the event is that the newspapers do publish some curtain raisers and follow ups of the events. The data is analyzed quantitatively. Descriptive statistics are utilized for the quantitative part. To

interpret the results in the latter discussion, the qualitative approach discursive domestication (Olausson, 2014) is being utilized to sum up the results.

## Results and Discussion

**Table 2**  
**Prominence in Newspapers of Dawn and Jang (N=35)**

Newspaper	Extent of Coverage		Prominence								Front Page Connection
			Section of Newspaper								
	f	%	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	
Dawn	25	71	5	12	5	-	-	2	-	1	2
Jang	10	29	4	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	1

\*a=domestic/politics\*b=foreign

news\*c=business/economics\*d=culture/showbiz/fashion\*e=science/technology

\*f=editorial page/op-ed\*g= Sunday magazine\*h=children edition

In order to determine the primary focus of the articles the key terms like Paris Conference, COP21, United Nations Climate Change Conference and UNFCC were scanned through. Total number of articles in both selected newspapers which had the primary focus were 35 out of which 25 were found in English language Dawn newspaper whereas 10 were found in the Urdu language daily Jang. Dawn (71%) gave higher coverage but Jang (29%) gave less coverage. Both newspapers gave prominence to the conference on domestic/politics and the foreign news but Dawn in comparison to Jang gave more prominence in international pages and also in Business and economics pages whereas Jang did not use the business and economics pages. The editorial and op-ed pages gave less coverage which is a point of consideration because this section is specifically is to create public opinion and reflects the policy of the newspaper. One article was mentioned on front page in Jang and two articles in Dawn had first page connection.

**Table 2**  
**Genre Analysis**

Newspaper	Genre										
	a*	b*	c*	d*	e*	f*	g*	h*	i*	j*	k*
Dawn	11	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
Jang	8	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Total	35										

\*a=straight news\*b=reportage(sense of being there) or feature\*c=interviews\*d=portraits or profiles\*e=background pieces\*f=net graph with text, fact boxes etc\*g=lead editorial\*h=editorial note\*i=column/comment by staff journalist/op-ed write up\*j=letter to editor/sms\*k=editorial cartoon\*editorial cartoon is handled separately as a genre

It is obvious above that two genres are preferred by Dawn which are straight news and reportage but Jang focused only on straight news. One editorial

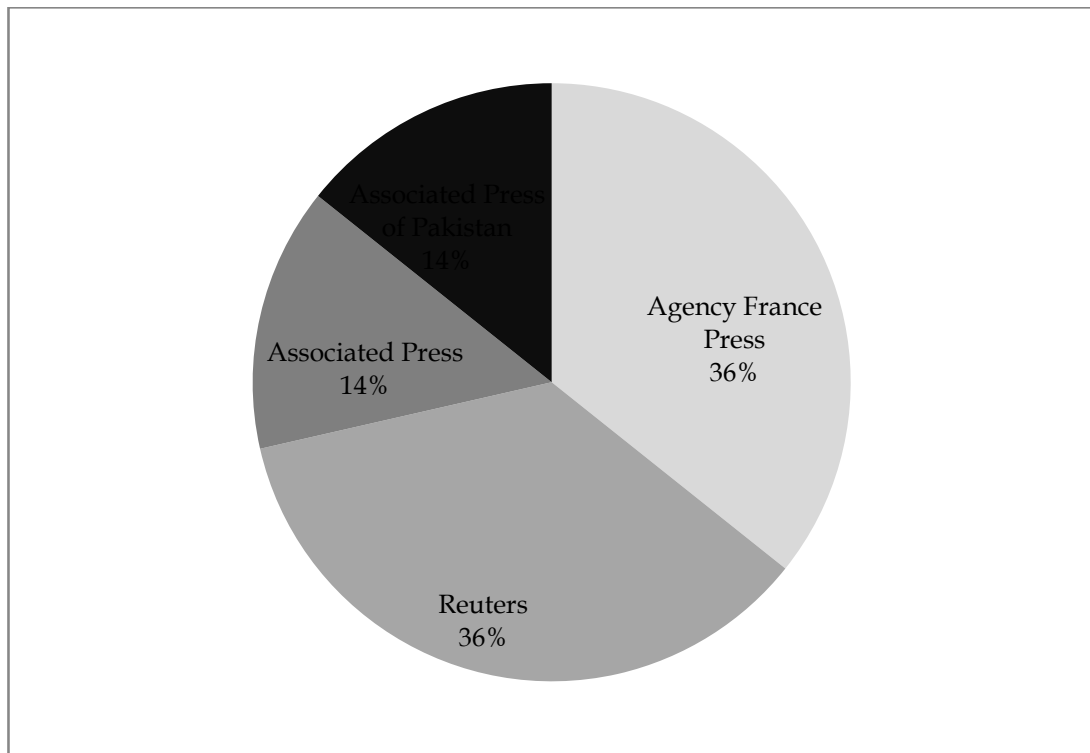
and column each are in both dailies. There was only one cartoon on Op-Ed page in daily Dawn which points out the lack of attention to climate change by the ruling political party of Pakistan named Muslim League Nawaz Group.

**Table 3**  
**Nature of News Sources (N=35)**

Newspaper	News Source					National	International
	a*	b*	c*	d*	e*		
Dawn	14	3	6	2	5	8	17
Jang	-	-	5	-	-	6	4

\*a=news agency\*b=syndicated\*c=staff/home desk\*d=reporter in Paris\*e=climate beat reporter

Dawn mostly used the services of news agencies. It was found out that Jang did not properly mention the source of the news. Jang did mention the staff/home desk sources. Dawn also utilized the services in the shape of the syndicated articles, climate beat reporter and reporter in Paris. Dawn relied on more number of internal sources with proper mentioning where as Jang relied more on National sources.



**Figure2. News Agencies used by Dawn (N=35, n=14)**

Figure 2 demonstrates that the international news agencies of Agency France Press (AFP), Reuters and Associated Press were the prominent news

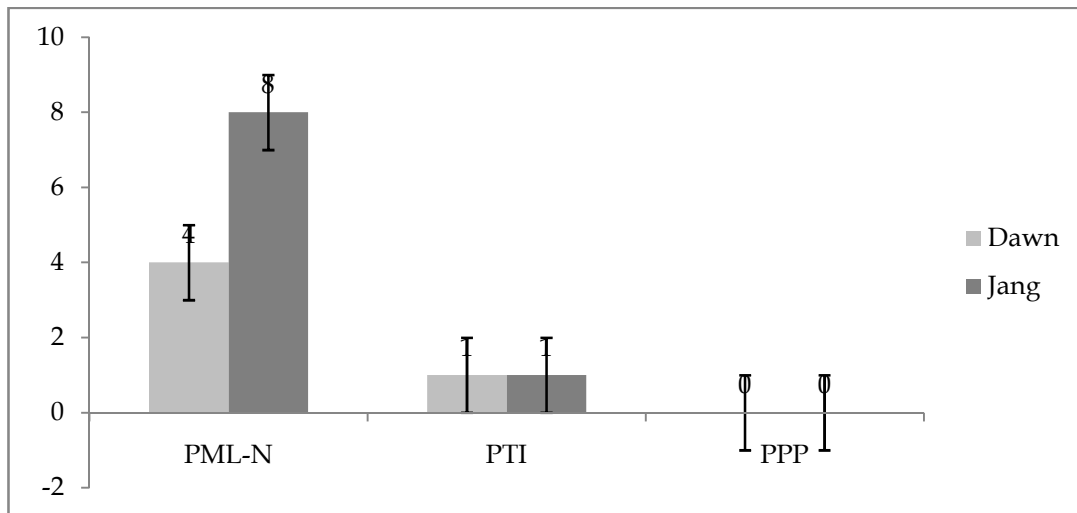


agencies used by Dawn and the national news agency o Associated Press of Pakistan is less mentioned in the selected news stories.

**Table 4**  
**Voices and Gender Emphasis (N=35)**

Actors	Dawn		Jang	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
National Political Party	6	1	3	-
Foreign Political System	13	1	2	-
Transnational Political System	3	5	-	-
Domestic Civil Society	3	2	2	1
Foreign Civil Society	1	-	-	-
Domestic Business/Economic	-	-	-	-
Foreign Business/Economic	1	1	1	-
Domestic Scientists/Social	-	1	-	-
Foreign Scientists/ Experts	-	1	-	-
Domestic Media	2	3	7	-
Journalist				
Foreign Media	1	1	-	-
Journalist				

Dawn newspaper has considerably more voices in reporting when compared with Jang. Dawn has emphasized on the domestic sources but in the limited voices which are being covered in Jang, the overall focus is on the domestic sources. Overall male gender is preferred more than females while covering these climate change news. There is highest representation of males when Dawn covered the foreign political system, higher is for national political system and high is for domestic civil society but when it comes to female representation then highest coverage is in transnational political system. Jang as compare to Dawn gave less representation to women and it is only in domestic civil society that a female has been cited. Only male journalists were given representation and whose number is highest. Only male candidates are given representation when national and foreign political systems, domestic civil society and economic actors are covered. Incomplete news sources are cited in Jang newspaper, however, Dawn newspaper has relied on the international news agencies with emphasis on Agency France Press.



**Figure 3. National Political Party Focus (N=35)**

The figure displays that both the dailies have emphasized on Pakistan Muslim League and opposition is given less coverage.

The current study has contributed to framing theory (Entman, 1993) and the domestication theory (Eide & Ytterstad, 2011; Olausson, 2014). To frame is to select some aspect of perceived reality to make it more salient (Entman, 1993). It is evident that both newspapers have selected the news differently. Dawn newspaper has selected triple news articles in comparison to Jang. Dawn has selected the foreign news sources and the foreign political system. Jang has selected the national political system. Both newspapers have emphasized on the selection of patriarch frames. The alternative political parties are deselected by both dailies. Domestication means bring it all back from global coverage to dominant national framework (Eide & Ytterstad, 2011). Dawn newspaper does bring climate change at home, however, Jang newspaper does not. The discursive modes of domestication are observed in both dailies. The approach of Olausson (2014) here is interesting to note which enlighten about the discursive domestication processes. Olausson (2014) had deconstructed news discourses of domestication by studying the reporting on climate change in Indian, Swedish and US newspapers by identifying three discursive modes of domestication; introverted which disconnects the domestic from the global, extroverted which interconnects the domestic and global and counter domestication or a de-territorialized mode of reporting that lacks any domestic epicenter. This introverted domestication is being observed in daily Jang in which emphasis is only on domestic news sources, domestic actors like politicians and the domestic national political system which are disconnected from the global discourse of Climate Change Conference (COP21) held in Paris, France. Both counter domestication and the extroverted levels of domestication are also observed in case of Dawn newspaper with an emphasis on counter domestication. In the first place, in context of Dawn newspaper, the emphasis on foreign news agency of Agency France Press (AFP), Reuters and Associated Press of America

(APP) and the emphasis on the foreign political system show the disconnection of the global event of Climate Change Conference (COP21) held in Paris from the domestic news sources and actors. Little connections of extroverted domestication are also visible in which policy action is also being discussed in case of Dawn newspaper.

### **Conclusion**

It is found that Dawn newspaper in comparison to Jang newspaper gave more coverage to the issue of climate change. It is enough to conclude that climate change coverage in the daily of Jang newspaper is a male-dominated one, however, daily Dawn does tries to balance the coverage. This coverage is triple in the former said newspaper. The stories do lack the front page connection. Dawn has emphasized on the genre of reportage but Jang has only emphasized on straight news with small story size. There are fewer voices heard in Jang newspaper when compared with daily Dawn. Dawn has emphasized on the foreign news sources and the foreign political system by giving preference to male gender. The opposition voices are not heard in both dailies.

### **Implications**

It is a scientific fact that industrialized nations are the major contributors for the carbon emissions in the atmosphere but it is the moral responsibility of the all worldly nations and their mass media to show solidarity to accept the challenges of climate change. The current study has contributed in this direction by analyzing the coverage of Climate Change Conference (COP21) in the elite English language newspaper of Dawn and the popular Urdu language newspaper of Jang. It is recommended that Dawn newspaper should bring the global event back to Pakistan by connecting it to local issues which is not being adequately addressed. In the second place, Jang newspaper should emphasize on the global event of Climate Change Conference (COP21) rather than emphasizing on the current political figures or the political protocol. This is because the journalists in Urdu language dailies are not educated and find it difficult to report the global events. Third, it is enough to say that both newspapers have used patriarchal voices but Dawn newspaper does try for gender balance coverage with the liberal approach. The business pages of both newspapers lack the coverage which means that there is no emphasis on the corporate social responsibility. The coverage should also be done in these sections. It is also suggested that the opposition voice should be included in these dailies.

### **Limitations**

Although, current study has contributed to framing and domestication theories but there are few limitations. The current study has only emphasized on the articles which had included the words Climate Change Conference

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