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## “Come Hell or High Water”

A Comparative Analysis of Policy Frames surrounding  
Adaptation Strategies of Climate-affected Pacific Island  
Countries

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# Abstract

While mildly disruptive to the developed world, climate change represents an existential threat to the Pacific Island Countries. Indigenous communities have been consistently recognized as especially vulnerable due to their low adaptive capacity and cultural reliance on the environment. Many critical and post-colonial theorists argue that this is due to environmental colonialism. The purpose of this research was to explore how different institutional settings understood Pacific climate change adaptation. A Critical Frame Analysis of the UNDP's Pacific Adaptation to Climate Change Programme and the Pacific Forum Leaders' Pacific Islands Framework for Action on Climate Change revealed significant differences in how Pacific-based and global institutions view climate change adaptation. Analyzed through Critical Social Constructivism, the main findings were that the two documents were similar in framing focus, but, when the PACC preserved the status-quo, the PIFACC made small, but important strides in promoting climate justice through paths to alternative development structures.

Keywords: Climate Change Adaptation, Pacific Island Countries, Indigenous Communities, Environmental Colonialism, Climate Justice

Word Count: 9829

# Relevant Acronyms

PACC	Pacific Adaptation to Climate Change
PIC(T)s	Pacific Island Countries (and Territories)
PIFACC	Pacific Islands Framework for Action on Climate Change
SPREP	Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

# Table of Contents

<b>1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>04</b>
1.1 Background.....	04
1.2 Literature Review.....	05
1.3 Significance and Research Questions.....	06
1.4 Delimitations.....	07
1.5 Outline of the Paper.....	08
<b>2 Theoretical Framework.....</b>	<b>09</b>
2.1 Critical Social Constructivism and Climate Change Adaptation.....	09
2.1.1 Environmental Colonialism.....	10
2.1.2 Climate Justice.....	10
<b>3 Research Design.....</b>	<b>12</b>
3.1 Policy Frame Coding.....	12
3.2 Empirical Material.....	14
3.4 Ethical Considerations and Reflections.....	15
<b>4 Analysis.....</b>	<b>17</b>
4.1 Critical Frame Analysis of the PACC Programme.....	17
4.1.1 Mainstreaming Climate Change Adaptation into Sustainable Development.....	18
4.1.2 Strengthening Social and Ecological Systems.....	20
4.1.3 Acquiring Best Practice Methods which are Transferable and Replicable.....	21
4.2 Critical Frame Analysis of the PIFACC.....	23
4.2.1 Building Capacity through Education, Awareness and Training.....	23
4.2.2 Mobilizing Actors to Address Climate Change in the Pacific.....	25
4.2.3 Establishing PICs as Global Sustainable Development Drivers.....	27
4.3 Comparative Analysis.....	29
<b>5 Conclusions and Areas for Further Research.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>6 References.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>7 Appendices.....</b>	<b>37</b>
7.1 Appendix A – Policy Frame Codebook.....	37
7.2 Appendix B – Frame Summary Table.....	41

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

As established in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), “Climate change is ... change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods”. (United Nations, 1992:7) Since the framework was signed more than 20 years ago, climate change has come to represent one of the most significant international policy challenges facing the development sector. It represents a new type of policy challenge that requires a combination of ecological, technological and sociological knowledge to address effectively (Mendelsohn, 2011:11). International climate change forums bring together the world's leading experts to create sustainable adaptation strategies. Focused on best-practice methods, climate change adaptation in the developing world has therefore manifested as an arguably unprecedented amount of global governance (Biermann, 2011:1).

Climate change in the Pacific Island context represents a very real threat to “economic, social and environmental well-being” that disproportionately affects the marginalized (Figueroa, 2011:1). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created the Pacific Adaptation to Climate Change (PACC) Programme in 2009 to assist the Pacific Island Countries (PICs) achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The PACC Programme website states that it works within 14 PICs to demonstrate best-practice adaptation in three key climate-sensitive areas: coastal zone management, food security and food production, and water resources management. The PACC Programme claims to be aligned with the Pacific Islands Framework for Action on Climate Change (PIFACC). However, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), the facilitator of PIFACC, only operates as one of several smaller implementing partners

(United Nations Development Programme, 2016). This leads to questions regarding the depth of participatory involvement that the UNDP is trying to engender in the climate change policy arena, a field still dominated by wealthy, Western discourses.

The PIFACC was created by the Pacific Forum Leaders in 2005 to identify sectors for improvement and align international funding sources with Pacific priorities. Its ultimate vision was “Pacific island people, their livelihoods and the environment resilient to the risks and impacts of climate change” (SPREP, 2011:10). SPREP was given the responsibility to coordinate regional activities as well as monitor and evaluate the framework. However, some critical actors have argued that such top-down adaptation strategies are inappropriate to the Pacific context as they supplant traditional knowledge with technical knowledge and diminish the “human face” of climate change. Therefore, there is a pressing need to analyze adaptation as it relates to historical socio-political processes. This means recognizing environmental colonialism and modern climate justice frameworks as informing Pacific climate change adaptation (Figueroa, 2011:16).

## 1.2 Literature Review

When analyzing the existing research on the “human face” of Pacific climate change adaptation, the field is dominated by a discourse on climate migration and displacement. Within this discourse, there is a significant amount of disagreement regarding who should be considered climate displaced, what rights they should be entitled to and by whom these rights should be provided. At this time, there is insufficient existing research and consensus upon which to further explore international policy frames regarding climate change displacement. However, climate change displacement could also be understood as a last-resort adaptation strategy. Consequently, one additional category of underexplored research is the perceptions of climate change by those most affected, namely several Pacific indigenous communities. This category highlights how local adaptation programs, tied to socio-political and historical contexts, play a significant role in the ability of Pacific Islanders to maintain access to their human rights as climate-affected peoples.

Previous research also suggests that indigenous communities are uniquely vulnerable to the effects of climate change due to their low adaptive capacity. This view has been widely accepted by many climate change actors including the United Nations Environment Programme.

At the Convention on Biological Diversity in 2007, it was said that “Indigenous and local communities are among the first to face the direct adverse consequences of climate change, due to their dependence upon and close relationship with the environment and its resources” (United Nations, 2007:1). However, climate change adaptation research by critical and post-colonial theorists has argued that this is an incomplete view of vulnerability in the Pacific context. Therefore, they emphasize the need to situate Pacific climate change adaptation within its history of colonial rule. This focuses on how low adaptive capacity can be understood as the “legacy from environmental colonialism”. It is suggested that this is a result of “historical under- representation in environmental decision making and the gross historical distributive inequities in consumption and production.” (Figueroa, 2011:5)

Other critical theorists have instead focused on the need for reparations by developed countries for engaging in historical and modern environmental colonialism. This has contributed to the increased presence of “climate justice” movements and other moral or ethical frames within the climate change discourse brought forward by the Global South (Kantha, 2011:13). These frames consider social and environmental issues to be inseparable and co-causally related (Figueroa, 2011:1). For example, this would imply that the responsibility for climate change adaptation should fall on the developed countries due to their historical misuse and misappropriation of resources. As a result, climate change has been increasingly subjected to extreme politicization in the global policy arena, aggravating existing North/South antagonisms within international policymaking bodies like the United Nations (Kantha, 2011:13). Therefore, it becomes necessary to analyze policy documents to determine whether or not these socio-political relationships and important historical contexts are being appropriately recognized and incorporated into climate change adaptation initiatives.

### 1.3 Significance and Research Questions

Overall, Pacific Islander groups have felt marginalized and excluded from the global discussion on climate change adaptation. Despite the world’s growing awareness of their situation, their prospects of agency and self-determination have become increasingly insecure as ever-expanding groups of western climate policy wonks argue over how best to coordinate and facilitate

the futures of the vulnerable. Top-down strategies frequently fail to acknowledge the relevant socio-political and historical factors which render indigenous communities especially vulnerable. In this context, recognizing the impact of environmental colonialism and promoting climate justice movements are important in securing a future for marginalized Pacific Islander populations. Therefore, they have felt a need to forge their own way through regionally-planned sustainable development initiatives. These practices build from their own contextually-grounded understandings of Pacific Islander priorities. Ultimately, the sentiment of overthrowing “best-practice” development in favor of locally constructed adaptation strategies has motivated this research. To this end, it was important to understand how a global institution frames climate change adaptation as compared to its framing by a Pacific-based institution while reflecting on important socio-political and historical contexts as brought forward by environmental colonialism and climate justice movements. Thus, this thesis has attempted to answer the following research questions:

*“How have the climate change adaptation efforts of Pacific Island Countries been comparatively understood and shaped by the UNDP and the Pacific Forum Leaders within their respective policy initiatives of the PACC Programme and the PIFACC?”*

*“To what extent have socio-political and historical contexts, as they relate to Pacific indigenous communities and discussions of environmental colonialism and climate justice, been incorporated into climate change adaptation policy?”*

## 1.4 Delimitations

Several delimitations have been made in this research paper to ensure the explicit relevance and reliability of the conclusions. Firstly, it was not within the scope of this research paper to analyze scientific material published on climate change adaptation efforts in the PICs. This thesis was predominantly interested in analyzing the “human face” of climate change, which scientific research frequently ignores. Additionally, the analytical tools utilized in this thesis were not



sufficiently capable of critically examining scientific methods to ensure the reliability of the findings. Furthermore, due to the language capabilities of the researcher, only research published in English has been identified for analysis. It is understood that many Pacific communities maintain their own, unique language customs which are part of their cultural identity (Figueroa, 2011:11-12). However, policy that is enacted on a regional or global basis is frequently conducted in English. Hence, it was considered unlikely that this had significant influence on the findings of the thesis. Lastly, while the ultimate desire was to obtain the most comprehensive and representative depiction of policy framing within these types of organizations, this thesis paper was subject to significant limitations. Therefore, it was necessary to limit the policy analysis to one organization and document each. The motivation for selection of the PACC Programme and the PIFACC will be addressed further in the methodology section. However, it should be noted that the analysis of alternative organizations and policies represents an excellent opportunity for future research which will be elaborated on following the conclusions of this study.

## 1.5 Outline of the Paper

This thesis has been divided into five main chapters. The first chapter has been dedicated to providing an overview of modern climate change adaptation in the Pacific context and the relevant policy initiatives. It has also established the significance of the research question by situating it within the larger critical discourse on climate change. The following chapter is dedicated to explaining the theoretical framework and several key concepts which underpin the thesis. The third chapter will introduce the Critical Frame Analysis methodology. It will also discuss the selection of empirical material and important reflections such as necessary delimitations and ethical concerns. The fourth chapter contains a critical frame analysis of the PACC Programme, the PIFACC and a final comparative discussion. The fifth and final chapter concludes with some reflections on the normative implications of the frame analysis and potential areas for further research. In the last two sections will be the references and appendices A and B.

# 2 Theoretical Framework

## 2.1 Critical Social Constructivism and Climate Change Adaptation

This thesis drew its theoretical understanding of climate change adaptation from a critical social constructivist interpretation of socio-environmental processes. Critical social constructivism relies on a view of the social world in which “meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events, or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead, through interactively based interpretive processes” (Snow 2004:384). Previous research suggests that this interpretation of social processes is highly relevant for analyzing modern indigenous communities whose experiences of cultural loss due to climate change are constructed by non-essentialist<sup>1</sup>, non-relativistic<sup>2</sup>, historical and self-identifying features (Figueroa, 2011:4). Unlike ordinary social constructivism, which assumes state identity to hold priority for all actors, critical social constructivism considers socio-political experiences as important determinants of identity at the individual or community level (Devine, 2008:465). This allows for in-depth critique of policy-making efforts from the vantage point of indigenous communities, using their experiences of environmental colonialism as key motivators in understanding how they would perceive climate change adaptation policy as it relates to climate justice.

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<sup>1</sup> Lacking set characteristics which define them

<sup>2</sup> Not inherently relative or comparative in nature

### 2.1.1 Environmental Colonialism

Environmental colonialism will be used to critically situate climate change adaptation policy within Pacific historical contexts. It describes the process in which natural resources owned by indigenous communities have been acquired by Western parties, often under the guise of mutual benefit. Historically, environmental colonialism has represented the intentional exploitation and appropriation of natural resources found in indigenous lands by colonial powers. In modern contexts, it refers to the transfer of natural resources to non-indigenous populations for the purpose of environmental protection. Current examples of this include the management of animal sanctuaries in Africa or the purchase of rainforest land for conservation in South America (Figueroa, 2011:3). Environmental colonialism continues to weaken the ability of indigenous communities to exercise territorial authority and participate in policy-making about the natural resources which they culturally depend upon (Figueroa, 2011:6). It is an especially important concept when analyzing adaptation because climate change could be understood as the latest instance of environmental colonialism. Figueroa discusses this aptly in an article on cultural loss by stating “Severe anthropogenic threats have confronted indigenous peoples over colonial histories and climate change is another anthropogenic threat caused largely by those former colonial powers.” (Figueroa, 2011:11)

### 2.1.2 Climate Justice

Climate justice will be used in this thesis to appropriately reflect critically on whether policy sufficiently challenges socio-political structures to render them more fair or equitable. Climate change can be understood as a process which was instigated and exacerbated by the misuse of natural resources by developed countries in order to obtain political and economic superiority. Consequently, climate justice, sometimes referred to as environmental justice, represents the ethical discourse upon which it is required that the developed countries atone for their historical sins (Figueroa, 2011:15-16). There has been significant discussion regarding how precisely to exact justice for climate-affected populations. Gardiner argues that existing policy within climate change has “fallen far short of taking justice seriously”. Furthermore, the future for climate justice appears bleak as “there is little that [those most vulnerable to climate change] could offer that the

other bargainers could not simply take from them in any case.” (Gardiner, 2011:6) This frames climate change in a political way, suggesting implicit power dynamics which render certain actors asymmetrically capable of obtaining justice for environmental misdeeds (Figueroa, 2011:5). As a result, climate justice is able to highlight the struggle of indigenous communities to maintain their environmental identity and heritage in the face of existential threats to their values, beliefs, behaviors, histories and languages. (Figueroa, 2011:2)

# 3 Research Design

This thesis utilized a Critical Frame Analysis methodology to comparatively analyze the policy frames surrounding Pacific climate-change adaptation initiatives within two institutional settings. Critical Frame Analysis provided an excellent analytical tool for this purpose as it “attempts to make the tacit elements of policy conflicts explicit by identifying the issue terrain; naming competing frames within the debate; and positing the dynamics of those frames in action – e.g., how reframing has occurred over time.” (Mah et al., 2014, p. 3). This thesis also drew on the approach developed by Bacchi, which analyzes what a problem is “represented to be” through analysis of the discursive effects (creating limitations of the discourse), subjectification effects (the kinds of political subjects produced by a discourse) and lived effects (the material consequences of a discourse) of policy (Bacchi, 2010:115). This was the most effective way to analyze policy initiatives at the international level as it focused on “both on the claim for resources and a symbolic contest about meaning” in a policy narrative (Rein & Schön, 1996: 93). It was also important to take into account “silences, multiplicity of intentions and latent inconsistencies” within and between frames to be able to draw meaningful conclusions about what is intentionally or unintentionally excluded in different policy environments (Molla & Cuthberg, 2015:239-240).

## 3.1 Policy Frame Coding

While Critical Frame Analysis was the core analytical methodology utilized in this thesis, given the quantity of empirical material, qualitative coding was necessary to simplify the identification of relevant policy frames. Consequently, Boydston et. al’s Policy Frame Codebook and accompanying coding methodology has been used to locate frame dimensions within global and Pacific-based policy. The Policy Frame Codebook includes fourteen categories of frame

dimensions which are intended to be applicable to any policy issue. As recommended by the creator, they have been specialized by the researcher to suit the analysis of climate change adaptation policy (See Appendix A) (Boydstun et al., 2013:4). While it is recognized that the specialization method is subjective, it is intended that each policy frame code be flexible enough to take on additional meanings when identified during the coding process. Rather than using computer-aided coding, the hand-coding method proposed by Boydstun et al. was used because it allowed “coders [to] select specific passages (paragraphs, sentences, phrases) that evoke particular frames” (Boydstun et al., 2013:6). The identified dimensions were then organized into a table to compare the frequency and diversity of the policy frame dimensions (see Appendix B) both within and between documents. This created the basis for analyzing the explicit policy frames found in the PACC Programme and the PIFACC.

However, these documents can also contain implicit policy frames. Implicit frame dimensions can take on socio-political meanings when interpreted by a target group. Therefore, all identified frame dimensions have been further analyzed through the use of tone identification. The tone categories recommended by Boydstun et al. are “positive”, “negative” and “neutral” and have been adopted for the purpose of this research. It was recommended by Boydstun to draw partitions between tones based on how the target group of a policy would feel about a policy framing (Boydstun et al., 2013:6). Therefore, in this paper, positive framing encompassed any aspect of the policy frame which is appreciated by the target group, either by benefiting the target group or highlighting positive components of the policy initiatives. Neutral framing referred to policy frames which are ambiguous as to the result on the target group or do not make explicit attempts to connect the activity with the target group. Finally, negative framing covered aspects of the policy frames which would cause distress to the target group, either by presenting the frame in a non-sympathetic way or by advocating for policy solutions which are undesirable to the target group.

An important aspect of frame analysis is that it relies on the interpretive nature of the policy discourse where there is no one objective way of understanding politically salient issues (Devine, 2008:464). Given that the researcher lacks experience with the Pacific Island context, it would be challenging to wholly replicate the experiences and understandings of climate change from the perspective of a Pacific Islander. Therefore, the perspective taken in the frame identification and toning process was based on how a non-nationally defined person who is negatively affected by

climate change would interpret the policy framing. This person would take into account the socio-environmental impacts of climate change on indigenous communities but may not understand the full extent to which harm would result from any individual policy activity. As a result, analysis of the same documents by another researcher could result in supporting or contradictory framings. Therefore, effort has been made to maintain as much transparency in the coding, toning and analysis process as possible. This has ensured that the analytical decisions should be clear and evident to the reader while also leaving the opportunity to draw alternative conclusions and to inspire further research.

## 3.2 Empirical Material

The intended purpose of this thesis was to explore how the climate-change adaptation efforts of Pacific Islanders have been framed by policy initiatives within both global and Pacific-based institutions in relation to their socio-political and historical contexts. However, due to the limitations of this thesis, one organization and policy that represented each group were used to focus the research question. Therefore, the UNDP and Pacific Forum Leaders were selected as they represent the dominant policy-makers in these two institutional settings. One climate change adaptation policy was then chosen from each of the institutions and used as the main source of empirical material for conducting the critical frame analysis. Thus, the PACC Programme was selected for the UNDP and the PIFACC was selected for the Pacific Forum Leaders.

The UNDP's PACC Programme was analyzed in order to determine how global organizations frame Pacific adaptation efforts. The PACC Programme was selected as it is considered the "first major climate change adaptation initiative in the Pacific region" (UNDP, 2016). The "PIMS 2162 PACIFIC ADAPTATION TO CLIMATE CHANGE (PACC)" document published by UNDP in 2009 was used as it represents the most current version of the project framework sourced from the United Nations. It provided the greater portion of the empirical material for analysis and was beneficial in analyzing patterns both within and between global frames of climate change adaptation in the Pacific.

Consequently, the published framework document of the PIFACC written by the Pacific Forum Leaders was analyzed to determine how Pacific-based organizations frame adaptation efforts. The PIFACC represents an excellent example of Pacific-based policymaking due to its role as the first regional climate change adaptation framework in the PICs. The PIFACC was also selected due to its role as a facilitating document for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). It was important to use a document with connection to the United Nations so that the aforementioned understanding of climate change would remain constant throughout the analysis. The most up-to-date version of the framework document (the second edition, published in 2011) was used to determine framings of Pacific climate change adaptation efforts. Just as with the first group, this material was intended to support the analysis of patterns both within and between major frames. Following this, a comparative analysis took place by comparing the policy frames identified in the PACC Programme and the PIFACC and making note of any similarities or differences in framing strategy used within the two framework documents.

While the overall purpose of this thesis was to identify policy frames from within the PACC Programme and PIFACC, it was important to situate the policies in a firm understanding of their cultural relevance. Previous research on “environmental colonialism” and “climate justice” have therefore been used to theoretically ground the findings of the analysis. This allowed for appropriate consideration of the role of Pacific socio-political and historical contexts in climate change adaptation policy-making. When necessary, purposive sampling has also been used to incorporate further research to clarify concepts originally identified from the framework documents (Bryman, 2012:118). Care has been taken to locate supplementary research with similar conceptual understandings, so as to not distort or reinterpret the original intentions of the policy documents.

### 3.3 Ethical Considerations and Reflections

Ethical considerations have been written about as a separate methodological component as it was important to reflect on them throughout the research design and analysis process. Social



science research can very seldom be understood to operate objectively due to how power relations inform gatekeeping in academic research, historical contexts define modern societal understandings and constructed values and identities have the potential to give way to biases and unintended misinterpretation when information is processed through the minds of researchers (Scheyvens, 2003:141-142). As a result, all decisions have been transparently motivated during the thesis.

It was also necessary to reflect on the positionality of the researcher as originating from the United States, a country with a notable history of politically contentious involvement in the PICs as well as strained participation in climate change policy issues. A common criticism brought towards studies of this nature is the propensity of Western researchers to mythologize or romanticize indigenous cultures in an often misguided attempt to correct for historical wrongdoings. This has the potential to delegitimize research findings (Figueroa, 2011:4). Consequently, effort has been made to reflect on how Pacific Islanders and their climate change adaptation strategies have been portrayed and how this potentially informs the presentation of the research and its findings. While acknowledging that it is likely impossible to be entirely objective, the research aims to present reliable conclusions. Therefore, a heavy emphasis has been placed on taking supplementary evidence from a variety of sources and remaining open-minded, albeit critical, of all acquired information.

# 4 Analysis

## 4.1 Critical Frame Analysis of the PACC Programme

The PACC Programme was created by the UNDP to “enhance the capacity of the participating countries to adapt to climate change” (UNDP, 2009). The program was implemented through fourteen country initiatives in three key climate-sensitive sectors: coastal zone management, food security and water resources management. The PACC was predominantly framed through the use of “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” (30%), “Capacity and Resources” (24%), and “Economic” frame dimensions (15%). Comparatively, “Constitutionality and Jurisprudence” and “Law and Order, Crime and Justice” frame dimensions were not identified in the framework document. The document was heavily positive (48%) in tone then roughly equally split between neutral (25%) and negative tones (27%)<sup>3</sup>. These frame dimensions formed “discussions” about development discourses which appeared within the PACC Programme. Ultimately, three frames problematizing Pacific climate change adaptation were identified from the discussions in the PACC Programme. These were “Mainstreaming Climate Change Adaptation into Sustainable Development”, “Strengthening Social and Ecological Systems” and “Acquiring Best Practice Methods which are Transferable and Replicable”. The three frames together constructed Pacific climate change adaptation as a sustainable development strategy that initially requires the UNDP but will ultimately transform PICs and their governments into legitimate actors that are more capable of effective cooperation with all international development partners.

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix B for a table showing what frame dimensions and tones were identified in the PACC Programme

#### 4.1.1 Mainstreaming Climate Change Adaptation into Sustainable Development

The first frame which was identified in the PACC Programme project document problematized climate change adaptation as it relates to ongoing development efforts in the PICs. This frame was predominantly discussed within the “Capacity and Resources” frame dimension, the “Economics” frame dimension and the “Political” frame dimension. The “Capacity and Resources” frame dimensions encompassed discussions of what capacity the PICs would need to address climate change as well as the resources it would require. The “Economics” frame dimensions included the economic resources needed to adapt to climate change and how they would be obtained. Finally, the “Political” frame dimensions incorporated the political implications of climate change on the PICs. It also contained contextual debate of how the political structures in the PICs will affect climate change adaptation. Some additional frame dimensions including “Public Opinion” and “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” provides important insights into the implicit motivations and shortcomings of the PACC Programme.

The first discussion within this frame was how climate change would be mainstreamed into development policy. This was motivated by a desire to increase regional capacity to address increasingly variable climate conditions (UNDP, 2009:1). The “Capacity and Resources” frame dimensions observed were heavily split in tone (See Appendix B). This is likely explained by the difference in framing strategy before and after the implementation of the PACC Programme. While the PACC Programme’s ability to increase regional capacity was framed positively, negative frame dimensions were identified in the discussion of existing capacity in the PICs. Throughout the project document, pre-existing adaptation efforts in the Pacific were discussed as being insufficient, inadequate and not effectively addressing the risks posed by climate change. Notable characteristics include being “overly ambitious”, “lacking in systemic support” and “having inappropriate institutional incentives”. Furthermore, the lack of national capacity was considered a consequence of poor political and economic competency. Pacific policymakers were frequently described as lacking in the necessary expertise, unable to make long-term decisions, and unwilling to commit the necessary resources. “Economic” frame dimensions were also frequently negative. This reflected that the economic ramifications of climate change were often poorly understood and the national capacity to conduct risk assessment or cost/benefit analysis was commonly lacking entirely (UNDP, 2009:12-13).

Altogether, this suggested that without the PACC Programme, the PICs would not likely be able to effectively manage expected climate threats. This was likely not directly intended to criticize the PICs, but rather to motivate the need for the project within the internal structures of the UN. However, this framing represents several potential challenges for the PICs moving forward. A core concern is whether empowerment of local populations and a more holistic understanding of sustainable development processes would be fostered within this project. Mainstreaming is a commonly debated topic as integrating new subjects into existing policy directives risks excluding the specific situational environment. This would be more appropriately facilitated through dedicated policy initiatives (Palmary & Nunez, 2009:72). Additionally, the project document mentioned the need to incorporate climate change into community-level decision-making structures. However, it could be argued that the PACC Programme made only superficial attempts to include local communities holistically in the adaptation process (Palmary & Nunez, 2009:71-72; UNDP, 2009:8). Despite that the PACC Programme suggested the need for a “bottom-up” method, the only identification of the “Public Opinion” frame dimension was in the UNDP’s organizational priorities. (UNDP, 2009:25). As the priority to secure “political traction” at a local level for “pro-active adaptation responses” was aimed at the entire UNDP, it was arguably insufficiently connected to the specific context of the PACC Programme.

Additionally, despite a significant use of the “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimension in several sections, none established a dialogue on climate change with local populations. This is significant when it becomes necessary to increase local understanding of the risks of climate change (Ayers et al., 2014:303). Correspondingly, traditional knowledge was mentioned consistently as a component of a successful adaptation strategy. However, it was also mentioned that traditional methods of reducing vulnerability were considered to be inadequate and in need of both diversification and enhancement (UNDP, 2009:84). The transfer of knowledge from indigenous communities to the UNDP without appropriate respect being given to its source could be considered a form of knowledge appropriation. Knowledge appropriation was a heavily damaging aspect of colonial oppression and, in this context, would embody environmental colonialism (Figuroa, 2011:9). Ultimately, it seemed that the priority of the PACC Programme was encouraging PICs to adopt “new and creative governance processes”. This supported mainstreaming “best-practice” adaptation strategies into existing development activities rather

than fully integrating local communities and their knowledge and customs (UNDP, 2009:12). As a result, this frame is considered to not have appropriately reflected on the socio-political and historical contexts of Pacific climate change adaptation.

#### 4.1.2 Strengthening Social and Ecological Systems

The second frame in the PACC Programme document discussed how the UNDP motivated strengthening social and ecological systems in the PICs. The most relevant frame dimensions were “Quality of Life”, “Capacity and Resources” and “Policy Prescription and Evaluation”. “Quality of Life” frame dimensions encompassed what impacts climate change adaptation will have on the lives of Pacific Islanders and reflected the motivations of the UNDP. “Capacity and Resources” frame dimensions reflected on the positive aspects of what the projects will contribute to the region in terms of visible progress. Finally, the “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions discussed how adaptation will be implemented on-the-ground.

The first discussion in this frame was about how the project was situated within the UNDP’s overall framework. As noted before, the pre-existing capacity of the PICs was considered to be rather low and thus limiting the region’s adaptive capabilities. The “Capacity and Resources” framing was also seen in the situational analysis of the PACC. The situational analysis covered the “threats”, “root causes” and “barriers” for the project. As one might expect given the headings, within this analysis, the Pacific Island context was framed exclusively in a negative way. The discussion attributes the region’s struggle to adapt to climate change to a combination of active and passive factors. Explicitly listed were several geographical factors (geographically isolated, lack of land size, limited natural resources, coastal population proportion) as well as numerous social (unsustainable land practices, squatting, communal ownership systems, limited legal structure, population growth/lack of population control) and political factors (limited access to human resources, poor record of economic development, weakness in management, challenges of sovereignty at dealing with cross-country threats). Consequently, these negative “Quality of Life” frame dimensions frequently argued that intervention by the UNDP was necessary to prevent worsening conditions. (UNDP, 2009:8-14). This set the tone for the rest of the project document, contributing to the “victimizing” subjectification and discursive effects of the climate change adaptation discourse (Bacchi, 2010:115).

A second discussion focused on how PICs could promote long-term development by combining the identified “Capacity and Resources” and “Policy prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions. The framing became positive in tone when the outcomes of the PACC Programme were incorporated into the projections. Across all three key sectors, a main intended outcome was that a set of guidelines should be created, which other organizations can follow in implementing their own adaptation projects (UNDP, 2009: 91). The implemented demonstration measures were discussed as expecting to visibly “reduce vulnerability” and “enhance resilience” of PICs (UNDP, 2009:90). The impacts on individuals and communities were also discussed in a positive way, as the PACC will contribute to producing “climate-resilient sustainable livelihoods” (UNDP, 2009:23). However positively framed, this does not explicitly discuss how traditional livelihoods will be preserved or adapted in the face of climate change. The framing of “climate-resilient livelihoods” could instead be “new and creative” like the aforementioned governance processes (UNDP, 2009:12). Thus, again prioritizing best-practice development strategies over historical aspects and socio-political contexts like the lingering effects of environmental colonialism.

#### 4.1.3 Acquiring Best Practice Methods which are Transferable and Replicable

The final frame identified from the PACC Programme discussed how knowledge and capacity obtained from this project will be utilized in future projects. This frame was predominantly constructed from “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” and “External Regulation and Reputation” frame dimensions. “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions focused on the role of the UNDP as an agenda-setter and knowledge-aggregator. The “External Regulation and Reputation” frame dimensions discussed the role that the PACC Programme has in informing the future of climate change adaptation policy through the demonstration of successful adaptation projects in the Pacific. “Capacity and Resources” and “Political” frame dimensions will be used to a minor extent to situate global power dynamics as they exist within climate change adaptation.

The first discussion brought forward within this frame is how the UNDP enables regional cooperation and knowledge-sharing through the PACC Programme. This also answers the question

of how this information was intended to be used upon the completion of the PACC Programme. While the initiatives were national in focus, the impact was consistently motivated as being highly regional in character. Transferability was a core focus of the project, as the document clearly states “While the specific actions will reflect the cultural and geographical circumstances in the Pacific region, the approach is expected to be applicable in similar situations elsewhere.” (UNDP, 2009:27) Beyond this, the projects were characterized as having significant potential for “up-scaling” in the future (UNDP, 2009:24). While this already contains some problematic implications as to the externally motivated positionality of the UNDP in the implementation of this project, a potentially more troubling note was that the PACC Programme was “designed to lay the framework for effective and efficient future investment on climate change adaptation in the Pacific.” (UNDP, 2009:1) The word “efficient” is of particular interest, as what is considered holistic, is not always considered to be “efficient” as exemplified by the “time-consuming” nature of traditional conflict resolution practices (UNDP, 2009:11). The PACC Programme frames the increased potential for PICs to attract the investment of multilateral banks for climate change adaptation efforts positively. However, this would suggest that, rather than making the PICs fully self-sufficient, the UNDP has an interest in attracting further international involvement to the region (UNDP, 2009:24). This has not always been positively received by PICs, notably Tuvalu responded to an international funding opportunity in 2011 by dismissing the offer as “thirty pieces of silver to sell our future.” (Kartha, 2011:12)

A secondary discussion within this frame evaluates the implications of the UNDP taking this regional perspective on climate change adaptation. The extent to which accumulated knowledge can be regionally shared was negatively framed pre-PACC as “the opportunities for regional pooling of knowledge and experience have only been taken up in a limited way”. Post-PACC, the framing was positive as “the project will also foster regional collaboration on adaptation” (UNDP, 2009:14, 24). The document also engages in “Political” framing such as promoting “South-South” cooperation as a knowledge-sharing strategy, highlighting the existing North/South divides in development discourses (UNDP, 2009:28). However, the PACC’s attempt to frame the national initiatives as a transferable and replicable regional strategy and by claiming that it intends to form a “foundation for a strategic approach to adaptation at the Pacific regional level” are problematic. This is because the PACC Programme is simultaneously trying to align with and supplant existing regional framework documents addressing climate change such as the

PIFACC (UNDP, 2009:27). Ultimately, this would suggest a lack of appreciation, or at least awareness, for the specific political context of climate change adaptation in the Pacific which it claims to incorporate.

## 4.2 Critical Frame Analysis of the PIFACC

The PIFACC was endorsed by the Pacific Forum Leaders in 2005 to establish a foundation for Pacific Island people to “build their capacity to be resilient to the risks and impacts of climate change”. Through the six themes presented in the document, the ultimate goal is to strengthen effective, long-term climate change action in the region (SPREP, 2011:7). The PIFACC was predominantly framed through the use of “Capacity and Resources” (31%), “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” (28%) and “External Regulation and Reputation” (14%) frame dimensions. “Morality”, “Constitutionality and Jurisprudence” and “Law and Order, Crime and Justice” frame dimensions were not identified in the PIFACC. The document was heavily split between positive (47%) and neutral (50%) tones. Negative tones were almost never used, representing only 2% of all identified frames.<sup>4</sup> These frame dimensions and tones formed “discussions” about development discourses which appeared within the PIFACC. Ultimately, three frames problematizing Pacific climate change adaptation were constructed from the discussions located in the PIFACC: “Building Capacity through Education, Awareness and Training”, “Mobilizing Actors to Address Climate Change in the Pacific” and “Establishing PICs as Global Sustainable Development Drivers”. These three frames in combination constructed Pacific adaptation as a development strategy in need of significant assistance but capable of transforming PICs and their local communities into relevant political actors in the international climate change sector.

### 4.2.1 Building Capacity through Education, Awareness and Training

The first frame identified in the PIFACC focused on how the PICs understand climate change adaptation as a regional challenge that ultimately threatens their capacity for development.

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B for a table showing what frame dimensions and tones were identified in the PIFACC



Therefore, adaptation efforts in the Pacific as advocated by the PIFACC should be understood as one component of a larger, holistic and sustainable development strategy. Throughout the PIFACC, there was an explicit goal of improving the capacity of PICs to implement climate change adaptation initiatives, specifically through education, awareness and training across all levels of policymaking (SPREP, 2011:44). The main frame dimensions which contributed to the construction of this frame were “Capacity and Resources”, “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” and “Political”. “Capacity and Resources” frame dimensions evoked discussions of the existing limitations to capacity and identified sectors for improvement. The “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions contributed the specific methods and means for strengthening the capacity of relevant climate change stakeholders. “Political” frame dimensions within this frame discussed the importance of an in-depth understanding of the effects of climate change for decision-making at the local, national and regional level. “Public Opinion” and “Cultural Identity” frame codes will be used to integrate the need for increased capacity within the socio-political and historical understandings of climate change emphasized in the Pacific context.

The first discussion which this frame shaped focuses on how the PIFACC promotes education, awareness and training as key contributing factors to sustainable adaptation policymaking. Sections of the document that highlighted “Capacity and Resource” framing, were frequently neutrally toned and focused on an objective lack of existing capacity to monitor and assess climate risks in the PICs. In order to achieve risk reduction, the collection of technical observations were emphasized as the critical “awareness” component of addressing climate change (SPREP, 2011:18). However, “awareness” of climate change can also take other forms which this framing fails to sufficiently recognize. The emphasis on non-traditional “awareness” tools highlights how climate change, as compared to other sustainable development policy issues, is frequently framed exclusively in a scientific way. This makes it difficult or undesirable to incorporate local, frequently non-technical, understandings of adaptation into development policy (Gardiner, 2011:12). The PIFACC reflected this in assuming that Pacific Islander communities would need to adopt the new “affordable” and “user-friendly” technology to create enough awareness to effectively contribute to climate change adaptation (SPREP, 2011:19). Ultimately, education and training were recommended as the enabling measures to secure an “optimal” level of participation and local ownership over these development projects (SPREP, 2011:21). Notably, a definition of an “optimal” level was not included and rather left up to interpretation.

A second discussion was constructed from analysis of the sections which featured “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions. This discussion questioned the implications of using education as the main method of enhancing local capacity to engage in climate change adaptation. It was identified that this framing does not adequately recognize the socio-political underpinnings of terms like “education”. Optimistically, education could take a bottom-up form, engaging students and their respective communities in discussions on their perceptions and experiences of climate change. Consequently, this could then be incorporated into development strategy. For example, in the establishment of a “traditional knowledge narrative database” (SPREP, 2011:33). Unfortunately, the outcomes which reflect this education directive appeared to be heavily “top-down” in nature. The two expected “national outputs” within this section were to localize the education process by publishing relevant information in local languages and mainstream climate change adaptation into school programs (SPREP, 2011:44). Both of these enhance the capability of local populations as secondary (non-agenda setting) development actors but fail to adequately seek their input or traditional knowledge. Knowledge in this context was, therefore, understood as a gatekeeper of development rather than as a productive exchange for both parties. This implied that by providing access to knowledge, effective responses to climate change can be made. If knowledge can be understood as produced and its transfer can be considered a reflection of power dynamics in a given context, then it becomes obvious that inadequately localized education methods have the potential to further disenfranchise indigenous populations (Ayers et. al, 2014:303). Given their especially low adaptive capacity, it is expected that this would cause increased marginalization in the face of climate change (Figueroa, 2011:5).

#### 4.2.2 Mobilizing Actors to Address Climate Change in the Pacific

The second frame that was identified within the PIFACC as contributing to the regional understanding of climate change adaptation efforts in the Pacific was the importance of multilateral engagement in addressing climate change. This frame brought forward the argument that, in order to successfully address climate change, there needs to be an increased focus on partnership across different policy-making levels. The frame dimensions that contributed to the construction of this frame included “Economic”, “External Regulation and Reputation” and “Political”. “Economic”

frame dimensions focused on sources of funding and investment at all levels of policymaking. The “External Regulation and Reputation” frame dimensions highlighted the importance of effective communication with international partners. Finally, “Political” framing identified institutions that will be particularly influential in facilitating climate change adaptation. “Public Opinion” and “Fairness and Equality” frame dimensions will also be used to highlight the problematic implications of this regional understanding of climate change and contextualize them in the particular socio-political and historical environment of the PICs.

The first partnership discussion involved what will be referred to as “outward partnerships”, which focuses on partnerships that extend out from the state-level to the regional and international level. These partnerships were heavily motivated through “Economic” and “Political” frames as they frequently discussed elements such as comparative advantage, funding access and international advocacy. Outward partnerships between government agencies and private organizations were a crucial component of the PIFACC adaptation strategy as one of the key challenges identified was “securing a sustainable financial base” (SPREP, 2011:25). This prompted the question of what does a “sustainable financial base” represent in this context. Sections which were identified by “Economic” frame dimensions focused on the creation of forums which enable advocacy for increased regional adaptation financing and support the involvement of private enterprises in climate change adaptation activities (SPREP, 2011:26).

Within this frame, politically-oriented dimensions were split between “equitable amounts of climate funding” and “optimized climate funding” approaches. The PIFACC advocated approximately equally for both strategies using neutral tones. (SPREP, 2011:26, 34). However, this fails to signify the political implications of their differences. By invoking the “Fairness and Equality” frame dimension and focusing on equitable amount of climate funding, weaker states which are less capable of securing their own financing would have greater access to development resources. However, as some states will be less able to produce outcomes this could potentially result in reduced overall adaptive capacity. The positive result of optimized climate funding is that states that are the most capable of producing adaptive capacity will be focused on, thus some national and regional progress would be supported. However, states which lack the capacity to use funding in efficient ways will be left behind. This would have the potential to exacerbate inequalities in the region which could contribute to discouraging international cooperation in the long-term (Kantha, 2011:14)

The second partnership discussion focused on “inward partnerships”, which are partnerships that extend down from the state-level to the community-level. The importance of inward partnerships highlighted in the PIFACC was the ability to foster legitimacy of climate change adaptation within local Pacific Islander communities. The PIFACC uses a combination of positive “Public Opinion” and “Political” frames to motivate increased inclusion of stakeholders at the local level in the climate change adaptation process. Some provided examples of relevant actors in these partnerships included local communities and civil society, private entities and government agencies (SPREP, 2011:25). Inward partnerships are useful as they facilitate legitimacy of national and regional initiatives by linking outcomes on-the-ground to policy objectives formulated at the national level. While the private sector and government agencies have already been discussed in the outward partnership framing, they also play an important role in distributing the effects of development throughout society. However, the state needs to be especially conscientious of how it incorporates local communities into climate change adaptation. If not appropriately integrated into the Pacific socio-political context, adaptive capacity will not be strengthened at the local level and thus creates the potential to weaken national resilience to climate change (Figueroa, 2011:5).

#### 4.2.3 Establishing PICs as Global Sustainable Development Drivers

The final frame identified in the PIFACC framework highlights the effort by the PICs to reshape their perception from being passive victims of climate change to being sustainable development innovators with a vested interest in global adaptation efforts. This shift was identified primarily through the “External Regulation and Reputation” and “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions. “External Regulation and Reputation” framing discussed how international roles and responsibilities shape domestic policy making whereas “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” framing stressed the way in which the domestic climate change adaptation efforts advocated by the PIFACC are promoted abroad. When combined with the context provided by “Political” framing, it connected the PIFACC with its normative implications and rendered it capable of analyzing and challenging existing power relations within climate change and international development.

The first discussion within this frame questioned the predominantly regional character of the framework and in what ways it is likely to differ from earlier, more nationally-focused climate change adaptation efforts. The PIFACC was heavily split between a national and regional focus which highlights the understanding of climate change as an international policy problem by SPREP and the Pacific Forum Leaders. This was discussed frequently in the intended outcomes of the project with objectives including establishing “active networks between Pacific climate change practitioners” and strengthening “existing and emerging international partnerships for the Pacific islands” (SPREP, 2011:46). The PIFACC also aimed to construct the PICs as an especially capable region for development, arguing for increased transparency and documentation at all levels of policy implementation (SPREP, 2011:51). However, “Political” frame dimensions identified in the text have indicated that the regional character of the PIFACC has the potential to drown out individual interests of member states if mismanaged. This was addressed in the claim that “this Framework is intended to inform the decisions and actions of national, regional and international partners, and promote links with, but in no way supersede, more specific regional and national policies” (SPREP, 2011:3). As, historically, the PICs have been subjected to environmental colonialism, sovereignty has been framed as consistent national priority (Figueroa, 2011:15). Therefore, the balance of maintaining a united front against climate change and the agency of member-states will be important in enabling sustainable adaptation in the PICs.

The second discussion advanced within this frame uses a combination of “Political” frame dimensions with “External Regulation and Reputation” frame dimensions to analyze how the PICs have taken a more active role in global climate change adaptation and its consequent political implications. The PIFACC frames climate change as a long-term policy issue which necessitates a holistic adaptation approach (SPREP, 2011:21). While the PIFACC sets the foundation for significant transformation, the PICs clearly recognize the limitations to adaptation which exist in the region. This requires that some of the responsibility for adaptation fall outside of the PICs current sphere of influence. The PICs rarely use comparison as a motivation for action, but they claimed “[Pacific] contributions to the total global emission of greenhouse gases are insignificant compared to the rest of the international community. Nonetheless, PICTs will contribute to the global effort to reduce emissions.” This implied that they are upholding their end of a shared responsibility to contribute to climate change adaptation (SPREP, 2011:23). Invoking a neutral use of the “Fairness and Equality” framing of climate change briefly connects the PIFACC to a wider

discourse on climate justice. It will be interesting to see how this type of framing will be used to motivate international development moving forward. This is especially relevant to climate change as there is uncertainty as to whether moral arguments will be successful in persuading developed countries which are historically slow in reacting to issues like climate change.

### 4.3 Comparative Analysis

The significance of the frames identified in each document cannot be fully understood through stand-alone analysis but rather must be discussed comparatively. Upon comparison of the two framework documents, some noteworthy similarities and differences which should be discussed. The PIFACC and the PACC Programme exhibited comparable levels of identifiable frames at 376 and 366 (See appendix B). In both documents, the combination of the largest two frame categories, “Capacity and Resources” and “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” framing, represent more than 50% of the identified frame dimensions. “Law and Order, Crime and Justice” and “Constitutionality and Jurisprudence” frame dimensions were omitted entirely from both documents despite attempts to make them more applicable to climate change adaptation. An exemplary difference in framing strategy between the two documents included the exclusive use of “Morality” framing in the PACC. Additionally, “Economic”, “Cultural Identity” and “Quality of Life” framing were more frequently used in the PACC Programme whereas the PIFACC made greater use of “External Regulation and Reputation” framing. Other framing categories including “Fairness and Equality”, “Public Opinion”, “Health and Safety” and “Security and Defense” were mostly contextual in nature and represented less than 5% of their respective documents. Tone usage in the PIFACC was predominantly neutral in character (50%), but very closely followed by positive intonation (47%) and almost negligible use of negative intonation (3%). Comparatively, the PACC Programme was framed mostly in a positive way (48%) and heavily split between neutral (25%) and negative intonation types (27%).<sup>5</sup> These frames and tones ultimately contributed to three main comparisons between the PIFACC and the PACC: outlook on climate change adaptation, proposed methods for adaptation and the ultimate objective of the policy.

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix B for a table showing all frame dimensions and tones that were identified in both the PACC Programme and PIFACC

It is important to acknowledge that despite that climate change has been a recognized issue for several decades, adaptation planning has just recently reached the forefront of international policy priorities. This was exemplified by the PACC Programme being the first of its kind (UNDP, 2009:5). The outward focus of both framework documents emphasizes maintaining communication with agenda-setters and stressing climate change as an important policy issue (SPREP, 2011:34; UNDP, 2009:63). Both the PIFACC and PACC Programme understood that climate change can only be effectively addressed through sustainable adaptation and development initiatives in vulnerable areas. These activities should contribute locally to the adaptation effort through increased capacity and resilience (SPREP, 2011:46; UNDP, 2009:26). Naturally, this could take decades to reach effective completion. However, “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” frame dimensions in both documents highlighted the need for a long-term perspective on climate change and created objectives which are capable of being up-scaled or transferred as they are eventually completed (SPREP, 2011:9; UNDP, 2009:25).

Beyond similarities in outlook, the PIFACC and PACC also exhibited similarities in proposed adaptation strategy. Both frameworks emphasized the immediate need for “on-the-ground” adaptation initiatives in the PICs. This is potentially due to the pressure on the region to develop while simultaneously adapting to an increasingly variable environment. Thus, this priority would be reflected in both the regional policy of the PIFACC as well as the national consultation process of the PACC Programme (SPREP, 2011:1; UNDP, 2009:28). Both national governments and external development actors want to see returns on their investments through progress that is sustainable, but most importantly, marketable (UNDP, 2009:5; SPREP, 2011:47). This can have the unfortunate consequence of marginalizing the indigenous populations. Engaging with local communities is often an expensive and time-consuming activity which does not always create information “products” which investors and policymakers ultimately consider to be useful in the project implementation process (UNDP, 2009:11). Therefore, it is frequently put aside in favor of more expedient development strategies (UNDP, 2009:1). However, this neglects to understand the important role that community engagement has in producing legitimacy and accountability within development projects. Without these factors, development activities are unlikely to be sustainable in the long-term when political willpower and expected returns on investment have decreased (Kantha, 2011:14).

The major difference between the two framework documents centered on agenda-setting and the main objectives that the PACC and PIFACC prioritized. The PIFACC proposed that PICs have the potential to become powerful agents of climate change adaptation through participation in high-level meetings and conferences (SPREP, 2011:51). This proposes a fundamental change to existing dynamics within international development institutions by increasing the power of the communities most affected by a policy issue (Figueroa, 2011:6). Comparatively, the PACC Programme exemplifies the UNDP's larger implicit motivation of maintaining the status-quo in regards to socio-political structures. This is evidenced by how the UNDP consistently criticizes existing capacity and expertise in the region and uses negative framing to motivate the need for international involvement (UNDP, 2009:8-14). While the UNDP and Pacific Forum Leaders share the desire to increase investment in the region, in the PACC Programme, economic development is not framed as a path forward and out of dependent power relationships but rather a method of surviving climate change. This ahistorical understanding serves to perpetuate existing power imbalances where the West will intervene when it is convenient or absolutely necessary (Kantha, 2011:13). However, they will feel no moral obligation to do so when it is not. Ultimately, adaptation as proposed by the PIFACC tries to resemble empowerment and agency in the PICs but falls short in utilizing moral frames whereas the PACC Programme only resembles the continuation of environmental colonialism and power dynamics of the past; dynamics which PICs have been eager to put behind them (Figueroa, 2011:1).



# 5 Conclusions and Areas for Further Research

This thesis aimed to explore the research questions of “How have the climate-change adaptation efforts of Pacific Island Countries been comparatively understood and shaped by the UNDP and the Pacific Forum Leaders within their respective policy initiatives of the PACC Programme and the PIFACC?” and “To what extent have socio-political and historical contexts, as they relate to Pacific indigenous communities and discussions of environmental colonialism and climate justice, been incorporated into climate change adaptation policy?”. A critical frame analysis was conducted within these climate change adaptation policies in order to answer these questions. The PIFACC represented a regionally-localized, collective strategy to address climate change at the international level and promote on-ground adaptation initiatives in the PICs. The UNDP created the PACC Programme to contribute to the creation of best-practice knowledge which would be transferrable to future projects through the implementation of fourteen country initiatives across three key development-sectors. The main findings of the thesis were that the two documents were quite similar in framing focus, but, when the PACC preserved the status-quo, the PIFACC made small, but important strides in promoting paths to alternative development structures.

The core implication of the analytical findings presented in this thesis is that climate change adaptation in the PICs has been framed in both documents as a policy issue that combines the scientific aspects of climate change with the human aspects of sustainable development. While providing an excellent opportunity for new development strategies, it also has its own unique set of challenges. These challenges include incorporating traditional knowledge into technical sectors, encouraging Western actors themselves to be active in climate change adaptation, and securing equitable access to funding. These must be addressed in order for adaptation initiatives to be effective in the long-term. The PIFACC and PACC are important as they symbolize the first attempts to use a combination of technical and social knowledge to enhance resilience of

indigenous communities in the face of climate change. Using predominantly “Capacity and Resource” and “Policy Prescription and Evaluation” framing, the objectives of the framework documents were clearly motivated through scientific understandings of capacity, for example to monitor and evaluate risk. This led to the neglect of important socio-political factors such as community integration and empowerment.

While briefly touched upon in the PIFACC, it is clear that the shared social responsibility for climate change adaptation has not been adequately addressed in multilateral policy documents. Important historical aspects such as the role of environmental colonialism in restricting the adaptive capacity of indigenous communities have been excluded from the situational analysis. Furthermore, the few frames which evoke normative discussions are not appropriately situated in the Pacific context of climate justice. In the face of increasingly unpredictable environmental conditions in the PICs, political willpower needs to more effectively channel the moral impetus for developed countries to take an active role in facilitating sustainable adaptation. Otherwise, it will be difficult to overcome existing adversity and uncertainty in the region.

As climate change adaptation is likely to remain an important policy issue for the foreseeable future, it represents an excellent opportunity for further research. One option would be to analyze whether multilateral organizations have been able to maintain the human face of climate change in implementing their on-the-ground projects as these two policy frameworks are nearing their intended completion dates. Alternatively, it would be beneficial to conduct further frame analysis on other climate change adaptation policy documents as frame analysis is a highly subjective methodology and there is significant potential for the identification of alternative frames. Finally, it would also be possible to compare the PACC or PIFACC to other framework documents within regional or international development institutions to determine how representative these policies are of policies of their category. Regardless of the specific approach taken, research which challenges existing policy strategies has an important role in promoting accountability and transparency in multilateral institutions. This will be necessary if enhancement of local livelihoods of indigenous communities is to be prioritized. When socio-political and historical contexts are fully integrated into sustainable development initiatives, then truly sustainable climate change adaptation can take place in the PICs.

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# 7 Appendices

## 7.1 Appendix A - Policy Frame Codebook

Appendix A describes in further detail the Policy Frame Codebook method created by Boydston et al.. The “Codebook Frame Dimensions” represent different aspects of an issue which can be framed in a policy. The “Frame Dimension Definition” is a brief definition of the kinds of content which are represented by this frame. The “Specialized Definition” is how the researcher has modified the definition to more specifically apply to climate, as advocated by Boydston et al. (changes are found bracketed in bold). The “In-Text Examples” represent examples found by the researcher in the PACC Programme and PIFACC which apply to the designated “Codebook Frame Dimension”

<u>Codebook Frame Dimension</u>	<u>Frame Dimension Definition</u>	<u>Specialized Definition</u>	<u>In-Text Examples</u>
<b>Economic</b>	The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of the issue (to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole).	The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of [ <b>climate change</b> ] (to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole). [ <b>Also includes discussions of funding</b> ]	<b>PACC:</b> “The World Bank (2000) estimated that by 2050, Tarawa atoll in Kiribati could face an annual capital cost of US\$6.6-12.4 million due to salt-water inundation.” <b>PIFACC:</b> “enhance ... access financing for the implementation of concrete adaptation and mitigation”
<b>Capacity and Resources</b>	The lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals.	The lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out [ <b>climate change adaptation</b> ].	<b>PACC:</b> “Improving capacity in Pacific islands' governments to mainstream climate change adaptation into government policies and plans” <b>PIFACC:</b> “The vulnerability of PICTs is primarily influenced by the high sensitivity of the Pacific’s natural, economic and social systems to the anticipated impacts of climate change, and the generally low capacity of all these systems to adapt.”

<b>Morality</b>	Any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action) — that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility.	Any perspective—or <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> objective or action (including proposed action) — that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility.	<b>PACC:</b> “where the international community has an important role in the integration of initiatives into an effective broader programmatic framework that ensures the lives and livelihoods of Pacific communities are protected against the global threat of climate change.” <b>PIFACC:</b> N/A
<b>Fairness and Equality</b>	Equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.	Equality or inequality <b>[within climate change adaptation]</b> with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.	<b>PACC:</b> “UN agencies will collaborate to support governments to mainstream environmental sustainability and sustainable energy into regional and national policies, planning frameworks and programmes, including on conservation, sustainable use and equitable sharing of benefits of natural resources, and sustainable energy.” <b>PIFACC:</b> “PICTs must be open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to ensure effective management of climate change resources.”
<b>Constitutionality and Jurisprudence</b>	The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amendments, or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.	The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via <b>[national policy-making]</b> , <b>[legal sources of authority]</b> and other <b>[documents]</b> , or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.	<b>PACC:</b> N/A <b>PIFACC:</b> N/A
<b>Policy Prescription and Evaluation</b>	Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.	Particular <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.	<b>PACC:</b> “Targeted capacity building and technical support initiatives will be implemented for key local stakeholders who will play a pivotal role in the success of the project” <b>PIFACC:</b> “Enhanced Pacific advocacy for further international reduction in greenhouse gases and to secure equitable levels of resources for adaptation”
<b>Law and Order, Crime and Justice</b>	Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications.	Specific <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> policies in practice and their	<b>PACC:</b> N/A <b>PIFACC:</b> N/A

	Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment. Increases or reductions in crime	enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment. Increases or reductions in crime	
<b>Security and Defense</b>	Security, threats to security, and protection of one’s person, family, in-group, nation, etc. Generally an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat.	Security, threats to security, and protection of one’s person, family, in-group, nation, etc. [ <b>which stem from climate change.</b> ] Generally an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, nation	<b>PACC:</b> “The potential magnitude of the problem threatens the very existence of some Pacific island states” <b>PIFACC:</b> “the long-term effects of climate change may threaten the very existence of some of them”
<b>Health and Safety</b>	Healthcare access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects, prevention of or perpetuation of gun violence, infrastructure and building safety	Healthcare access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects, prevention of or perpetuation of gun violence, infrastructure and building safety [ <b>as they relate to climate change adaptation</b> ]	<b>PACC:</b> “These events result in significant loss of life” <b>PIFACC:</b> “Enhanced access to <b>safe</b> , secure, clean, efficient, and affordable energy supplies”
<b>Quality of Life</b>	The effects of a policy on individuals’ wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.	The effects of [ <b>climate change adaptation</b> ] on individuals’ wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.	<b>PACC:</b> “In summary, climate change poses many risks for PICs in terms of land resources and coastal structures, water supply and food security.” <b>PIFACC:</b> “Pacific island people, their livelihoods and the environment resilient to the risks and impacts of climate change”
<b>Cultural Identity</b>	The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to a specific policy issue	The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to [ <b>climate change adaptation</b> ]	<b>PACC:</b> “One of the difficulties with communal ownership of land is the role of landowners in development activities, particularly if there are no clear legal arrangements recognized by all Parties.” <b>PIFACC:</b> “Culturally appropriate and tailored education Programmes”
<b>Public Opinion</b>	References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or getting ahead of public opinion or polls	References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or getting ahead of public opinion or polls [ <b>as they relate to climate change adaptation</b> ]	<b>PACC:</b> “securing ...[public] traction to implement proactive adaptation responses” <b>PIFACC:</b> “Number and confidence of key [public] users in-country”



<b>Political</b>	Any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bi-partisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one’s base, mentions of political maneuvering. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party	Any political considerations surrounding <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> . Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political <b>[at any policy level]</b> , such as <b>[political opposition]</b> , lobbyist involvement, <b>[multi-stakeholder]</b> efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one’s <b>[constituency]</b> , mentions of political maneuvering. Explicit statements that <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> is good or bad for a particular political <b>[group]</b> <b>[Governance Mechanisms]</b>	<b>PACC:</b> “Governance systems in SIDS are currently experiencing considerable stress as the economic requirements for integration are outstripping the capacity of SIDS to make the necessary political adjustments.” <b>PIFACC:</b> “Strengthened national and regional climate change governance mechanisms”
<b>External Regulation and Reputation</b>	The United States’ external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. This includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of policy outcomes or desired policy outcomes.	The <b>[PICs]</b> external relations with <b>[other nations]</b> ; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. This includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> outcomes or desired <b>[climate change adaptation]</b> outcomes.	<b>PACC:</b> “The project will also foster regional collaboration on adaptation” <b>PIFACC:</b> “It provides a strategic platform ... for the development and strengthening of partnerships for implementation of ... regional and international initiatives”

Source: Boydston et al. (2013)

## 7.2 Appendix B: Frame Summary Table

Appendix B is a quantitative representation of the identified “Codebook Frame Dimensions” in the PACC and PIFACC.

The first column identifies the frame dimension. (**Example:** “Economic”)

Three relevant statistical parameters have been identified:

**“Frame count”** - The number of times a frame dimension appears in the policy document ordered by tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative) i.e. The economic frame dimension of the PACC Programme was composed of 23 positive , 14 neutral and 19 negative statements

**“% Frame of Total Document”** - The percentage of the total document which a frame dimension represents i.e. 15% of the PACC Programme was identified as containing economic frame dimensions

**“% Tone of Frame Dim.”** - The percentage of a frame dimension which can be considered positive, neutral or negative i.e. 41% of the economic frame dimension in the PACC Programme was positive, 25% was neutral and 34% was negative

The comparison section shows the mathematical difference between the PIFACC and the PACC.

**Example:** in the PIFACC, there were the same number of positive economic frame dimensions, 5 more neutral frame dimensions and 18 fewer negative frame dimensions than in the PACC Programme. (Line 1)

The economic frame dimension represented 4% less of the total document as compared to the PACC Programme. (Line 2)

Positive economic frame dimensions in the PIFACC represented 12% more of the total number of economic frame dimensions as compared to those in the PACC Programme. Neutral economic frame dimensions in the PIFACC represented 19% more of the total number of economic frame dimensions as compared to those in the PACC Programme. Negative economic frame dimensions in the PIFACC represented 31% less of the total number of economic frame dimensions as compared to those in the PACC Programme. (Line 3)

This quantitative analysis was not intended to directly inform the construction of frames. That was facilitated by the qualitative analysis. However, this table provides a general summary of the frequency and diversity of frame dimensions and tones identified in the PACC Programme and the PIFACC. This assisted in the identification of trends in framing which ultimately informed the frame construction process.

<u>Codebook Frame Dimension</u>	<u>Statistical Parameter</u>	<u>Qualifying Statements in PACC</u> (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	<u>Qualifying Statements in PIFACC</u> (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	<u>COMPARISON</u>
<b>Economic</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(23, 14, 19) (15%) (41%, 25%, 34%)	(23, 19, 1) (11%) (53%, 44%, 3%)	<b>(0, +5, -18)</b> <b>(-4%)</b> <b>(+12%, +19%, -31%)</b>
<b>Capacity and Resources</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(50, 5, 32) (24%) (57%, 6%, 37%)	(58, 54, 4) (31%) (50%, 47%, 3%)	<b>(+8, +49, -28)</b> <b>(+7%)</b> <b>(-7%, +41%, -34%)</b>
<b>Morality</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(2, 0, 0) (<1%) (100%, 0%, 0%)	(0, 0, 0) (0%) (N/A)	<b>(-2, 0, 0)</b> <b>(~0%)</b> <b>(N/A)</b>
<b>Fairness and Equality</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(1, 0, 0) (<1%) (100%, 0%, 0%)	(6, 1, 0) (2%) (86%, 14%, 0%)	<b>(+5, +1, 0)</b> <b>(+2%)</b> <b>(-14%, +14%, 0%)</b>
<b>Constitutionality and Jurisprudence</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(0, 0, 0) (0%) (N/A)	(0, 0, 0) (0%) (N/A)	<b>(0, 0, 0)</b>
<b>Policy Prescription and Evaluation</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(47, 60, 2) (30%) (43%, 55%, 2%)	(26, 81, 0) (28%) (24%, 76%, 0%)	<b>(-21, +21, 0)</b> <b>(-2%)</b> <b>(-19%, +21%, -2%)</b>
<b>Law and Order, Crime and Justice</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(0, 0, 0) (0%) (N/A)	(0, 0, 0) (0%) (N/A)	<b>(0, 0, 0)</b>
<b>Security and Defense</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(0, 1, 5) (2%) (0%, 17%, 83%)	(0, 0, 1) (<1%) (0%, 0%, 100%)	<b>(0, +1, -4)</b> <b>(~-2%)</b> <b>(0%, -17%, +17%)</b>
<b>Health and Safety</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(0, 0, 3) (<1%) (0%, 0%, 100%)	(2, 0, 1) (<1%) (67%, 0%, 33%)	<b>(+2, 0, -2)</b> <b>(~0%)</b> <b>(+67%, 0% -67%)</b>
<b>Quality of Life</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(12, 1, 24) (10%) (32%, 3%, 65%)	(6, 3, 0) (2%) (67%, 33%, 0%)	<b>(-6, +2, -24)</b> <b>(-8%)</b> <b>(+35%, +30% -65%)</b>
<b>Cultural Identity</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(9, 4, 4) (5%) (52%, 24%, 24%)	(7, 6, 0) (3%) (54%, 46%, 0%)	<b>(-2, +2, -4)</b> <b>(-2%)</b> <b>(+2% +22%, -24%)</b>

<b>Public Opinion</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(0, 0, 1) (<1%) (0%, 0%, 100%)	(5, 3, 0) (2%) (63%, 37%, 0%)	(+5, +3, -1) (+2%) (+63%, +37%, -100%)
<b>Political</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(9, 4, 10) (6%) (39%, 17%, 44%)	(14, 4, 0) (5%) (78%, 22%, 0%)	(+5, 0, -10) (-1%) (+39%, +5%, -44%)
<b>External Regulation and Reputation</b>	Frame Count % Frame of Total Doc. % Tone of Frame Dim.	(21, 2, 1) (7%) (88%, 8%, 4%)	(31, 18, 2) (14%) (61%, 35%, 4%)	(+10, +16, +1) (+7%) (-27%, +27%, 0%)
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>Frame Count</b> <b>% Tone of Frame Dim.</b>	<b>(174, 91, 101)</b> <b>(48%, 25%, 27%)</b>	<b>(178, 189, 9)</b> <b>(47%, 50%, 3%)</b>	<b>(+4, +98, -92)</b> <b>(-1%, +25%, -25%)</b>