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Cold War on a Hot Issue: Framing Climate Change in Russian and Swedish Media

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Abstract

Environmental journalism is crucial to the global understanding of the impact that climate change and other environmental disasters have on billions of people globally. Public and policymakers' understanding of climate change is strongly influenced by the media. The purpose of the thesis is to provide an analysis of how UN Conferences of Parties, COP28 in Dubai in 2023, were covered in Russian and Swedish print newspapers. The focus of the study was on the nationalization of a global political climate event. One Swedish newspaper and two Russian newspapers were selected for the study, with a corpus of 36 articles. The main research question of the thesis is *To what extent is climate change as transnational issue nationalized in news coverage by the selected newspapers?* The main research question is unpacked with help of two secondary research questions. To answer the research questions, qualitative framing analysis was conducted. For each country, one major and one minor (or secondary) climate-related news frames were found: Conflict frame and Fear (Sweden); Conflict frame and Failure of the green agenda (Russia). The conclusion is that the three newspapers use the same storytelling techniques of protagonist vs antagonist to localize global climate-related news. The dominant frame of conflict serves two different purposes depending on the country. The thesis argues that the framing process is mediated by political, ideological, and societal factors. In the case of a political climate-related event (COP28), the findings demonstrate the high level of politicization of the climate agenda. The results also show the high level of contradictions between Western (Sweden) and Eastern (Russia) countries in terms of climate policy, mitigation, and adaptation. The analysis of two different media coverages of one climate-related event partly demonstrates an analogy with Cold War rhetoric of the mid-20th century.

Keywords: COP28; climate change; environmental journalism; media framing; Russian media; Swedish media.

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1. Introduction

Who speaks for the climate? The climate has no subjectivity; it cannot speak in its defense in the international arena. However, climate change and policy decisions on this issue are becoming increasingly important and affecting the lives of millions of people around the world. Amid growing concern about rising global temperatures, the media are beginning to play a role in broadcasting voices on the side of climate. The news media have a significant impact on shaping public opinions on various topics, including climate change. The increasing public concern about climate change is paralleled by a rising demand for media focusing on environmental issues. It is recognized that public understanding of climate change and media coverage are interconnected (Boykoff & Roberts, 2007). As the climate crisis is a global problem by its nature, it demands collective action from all countries and societies, where the media play a key role in this process.

The complexity of climate change provides wide freedom for journalists, politicians, and interest groups to shape perceptions about climate change according to their interests and beliefs by using narratives and constructing meanings. The type of information delivered to audiences and the manner in which it is delivered depends on journalists and newsrooms. However, studies examining the work of journalists have concluded that news selections are often influenced by interactions among various actors in politics, science, industry, and civil society on one side, and journalists on the other (Strömbäck & Nord, 2006). Newsrooms not only base their selection of news on the interests of influential actors but also on the interests of their audiences, aiming to engage as many people as possible in the climate agenda.

My starting point is that in the international arena, media outlets from many nations cover the same event in diverse ways (Entman, 1993). National news outlets often interpret global news in a manner that serves the local agenda and audience. This leads to the assumption that media coverage of climate change differs significantly between different countries. In this study, I aim to explore the extent to which media coverage of climate change differs between Russia and Sweden, as well as identifying similarities and differences in the nationalization process of global climate news. I will focus on the climate narrative conveyed by journalists in the two countries and examine the additional influences or opinion makers such as politicians, industrialists, and others that shape media coverage of climate change.

To a large extent, previous studies were based on quantitative analyses of climate frames in the media. This study contributes to the limited literature on the nationalization of global climate news in Russian and Swedish contexts. The research project will provide an understanding of how global environmental issues – particularly climate change – can vary in different countries. In my research, I aim to investigate the phenomenon of domestication (nationalization) of global news in environmental reporting. The focus will be on how daily print newspapers in Russia and Sweden cover the Climate Conference of the Parties (COP28). A practical goal of the study is to gain a better understanding of domestication strategies in climate journalism.

1.1. Research Aims and Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study draws on Goffman's (1974) framework theory and frame analysis, which examines how people interpret information based on cognitive frameworks. In my research, I used the framework theory in media studies laid out primarily by Entman (1993). This study focuses on how the media frames global climate change. In this thesis I want to discover how different news outlets cover the same event, what frames they create to localize international news, and who else can affect news coverage and in what way. I will examine the creation of environmentally oriented news through a case study focusing on the climate agenda in two countries with different media landscapes and political systems, in particular, how Swedish and Russian news media outlets navigate discourses of climate change.

The focus of my research is not to reveal what climate frames are used by the media – this question has already been well examined. I write more about typical media climate frames on climate change in the literature review. The literature review shows that a set of key frames is common for many media outlets from different countries. Instead, I am methodologically concentrating on a particular phenomenon: nationalization or domestication of climate news. It is worth noting that as climate change is a global process, it means that the climate agenda, to a large extent, is international. My goal is to understand in what ways journalists from Russia and Sweden convey global issues to the local audience, what frames, patterns and meanings they use. In my case, domestication plays a visible methodological role since I study two extremely different countries. In addition, the frames from previous research largely do not describe the emotions that the reader should experience. In my case, emotion-based frames, as one of the factors of nationalization of global climate news, play a key role.

To explore this issue, I will use a comparative analysis of the framing of the global climate agenda. Building on the theoretical and methodological framework of frame analysis, the thesis highlights three leading print newspapers from Russia (two items) and Sweden (one item) as influential media in agenda-setting in these countries. I compare two very different cases (Russian and Swedish newspapers) from media landscapes as well as political and cultural variables to define media frames on climate change. I write more about media and political differences further in this section. The result should be sets of news frames that have similarities and differences. The aims of this thesis are threefold: (1) to explore how the representation of climate messages is shaped by two different media landscapes; (2) to understand what types of storytelling techniques use the journalists from both countries; (3) to establish differences between climate news coverage in Russian and Swedish printed newspapers and how climate news is localized in the newspapers.

In the research project, after conducting a literature review, I am putting forward several assumptions to test. First, I assume that each country's newspaper would most likely use sources from within that country. Next, I predict that national officials will be a dominant group of speakers to localize global climate news. The last assumption is that international cooperation on the climate crisis will vary in Swedish media (positive frame) and in Russian media (negative frame).

1.2. Research Questions

My research project focuses on the investigation and comparison of news climate coverage in print newspapers from Russia and Sweden. According to Vu and colleagues (2019), researchers often compare news coverage of climate change between developed nations. I aim to study news coverage of climate change from two extremely different countries (from political, media landscape, and environmental perspectives). Thus, news domestication is one of the central parts of my research. Domestication or nationalization of news plays a significant role in news frame creation, which is often predicated on a nationalistic framework. The news tends to prioritize discussing issues that have national or local significance (Djerf-Pierre, et al., 2016). The domestication process primarily occurs because media audiences are mainly focused on their own nation's affairs (ibid.). More about news domestication will be discussed in the literature review section.

The main research question of the thesis is: *To what extent is climate change as transnational issue nationalized in news coverage by the selected newspapers?* The main question is unpacked with help of two secondary research questions:

- What frames do the selected newspapers create covering international climate conference COP28 to engage a local audience?
- What is the difference between way of nationalization of climate news in Russian and Swedish news outlets?

1.3. Rationale for the Study

The media play a significant role in delivering specific environmentally oriented messages from elites to the mass public (Clarke, 2015). This process works in the opposite direction, from society to the elite. People, including politicians, tend to underestimate climate risks because they are uncertain and detached from people's everyday lives (Rabinovich and Morton, 2012). Media frames about climate risks may motivate climate action in the public (Stecula & Merkley, 2019). It is worth noting that media frames underestimating climate risks may decrease environmental awareness and demotivate people to act. It can be assumed that frames that make people think of climate change as an ideological and political battleground lead to fluctuations in people's positions on climate issues and reduce their engagement in climate action (Walker, et al., 2018). That is why it is important to examine what kind of climate frames media creates to investigate who is trying to change public opinion and how.

Media coverage of climate change is important from a research point of view. In general, insufficient attention is paid to the topic of climate change in Russian scientific literature (Veselova, 2023). An initial search of articles about climate change in the media in both English and Russian shows a low number of articles on this topic. The articles largely relate to the overall environmental agenda. A limited sample of Russian newspapers also showed that climate change is an underestimated topic in the Russian media landscape. Additionally, media researchers pay more attention to developed countries (Vu, et al., 2019) in terms of media coverage about climate change. Despite the fact that Russia has one of the biggest carbon footprints in the world, there are few studies on climate coverage in Russian media. The last and very important reason to examine Russian newspapers is the absence of research on media

coverage of climate change after the full-scale military invasion of Ukraine. During the war, the Russian government cracked down on all independent media and military censorship reached its highest level since the Soviet period of Russian history.

The Swedish context of the research is particularly relevant because Sweden is considered environmentally conscious and is seen as implementing environmentally responsible policies (Doudaki & Carpentier, 2023). There is also a growing trend towards polarization in Swedish society on climate issues (Kunelius & Roosvall, 2021). Some advocate tougher climate policies (for example, Greta Thunberg), while others, on the contrary, express skepticism about rising global temperatures, like right-wing parties and media (Vowles & Hultman, 2021).

There are several studies that examine media coverage on climate change-related topics in Sweden and other developed countries, for example in Australia (Djerf-Pierre, et al., 2016) or in Canada (Keskitalo, et al., 2016). However, there are few studies comparing Sweden and developing countries. There is limited information on how climate news is covered by Russian and Swedish media. A significant part of the existing research does not focus on the process of domestication of international climate news but focuses on media frames in general. In this dissertation, I will discuss how environmental journalism is shaped by the unique media settings in Russia and Sweden. Through a qualitative framework analysis of news coverage in both countries, I aim to contribute to the understanding of how the media cover international climate summits at the national level, thereby increasing knowledge of climate agenda-setting in two extreme media cases. I will investigate how three newspapers in Russia and Sweden discuss climate change within political, economic, and scientific spheres.

1.4. Political, Economic and Media Contexts

To be more precise in this study project, it is necessary to define the political system and media landscape of each country since media and political systems have a significant impact on news selection (Stroud, 2011). The political system of a country can affect news selection in various ways: the form of government (Herman & Chomsky, 2008), media ownership (McChesney, 2015), political polarization, and political culture (Graber, 2012).

The modern Russian political system is labeled in various terms: electoral authoritarianism (Golosov, 2011), informational autocracy (Guriev & Treisman, 2020), or hybrid regime (Colton & Hale, 2009). It can be said that these definitions reflect the interaction of democratic and

authoritarian elements in Russian political society. However, the most important thing to understand is that unlike Sweden, which is a stable parliamentary democracy (Lindvall, et al., 2020), authoritarianism has been established in Russia, which is reflected, among other things, in the media industry, including environmental journalism. After the full-scale attack on Ukraine and Western sanctions, Russia has become more "repressive, intrusive, secretive, and isolated from the West" (Gould-Davies, 2023), negatively affecting freedom of speech.

Moreover, it is important to mention not only political dynamics in Russia but also the economic structure because historically, Russia's climate change policy has been influenced by the prioritization of economic development (Poberezhskaya, 2015). The Russian economy is carbon-intensive due to dependence on fossil fuel exports and its northern location (ibid.). The fossil fuel industry's percentage of Russia's GDP varies between around 10 and 25 percent, and more than 60% of Russia's export value came from fossil fuels in 2018 (Gerasimchuk & Oharenko, 2019). Russia ranks fifth among the largest greenhouse gas emitters in the world (Friedrich, et al., 2023). Speaking of climate change, electricity production plays an important role. In Russia, more than 60 percent of the country's electricity production comes from fossil fuels, with roughly 43 percent sourced from natural gas (Ember, 2023). Electricity from nuclear plants accounts for approximately 20 percent (ibid.), making Russia one of the biggest lobbyists for nuclear energy as a green alternative.

In contrast, Sweden is based on a multiparty parliamentary system and is considered a stable democracy (Lindvall, et al., 2020). According to Freedom House (2023), the country holds free elections, has a strong multi-party system, and civil liberties and political rights are legally guaranteed. In contrast to Russia, industry accounts for about 17 percent of the Swedish economy, with almost the same share in wholesale and retail trade, transport, accommodation, and food services (European Union). Public administration, defense, education, human health, and social work activities account for 21 percent of Sweden's economy (ibid.). Speaking of electricity production, more than 90 percent of all electricity comes from hydropower, nuclear power, and wind (Ritchie, et al., 2022). Oil is the source for less than two percent of all electricity production (ibid.), making the sector almost entirely green. All these factors allow the country not to be heavily dependent on mining resources, which is reflected in a more progressive environmental policy. Sweden is often considered a leader in the development of environmental policy-making and "in its attempts to create a sustainable society" (Hysing, 2014, p. 263). It is worth noting that since the parliamentary elections and the rise to power of the right-wing ruling bloc, nuclear energy is increasingly seen as a "green" alternative to fossil fuels.

In November 2023, the government presented a plan for the development of the country's electricity sector, which envisions the introduction of 2,500 megawatts of nuclear power by 2035 (Regeringen och Regeringskansliet, 2023).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Comparison of Two Media Systems

To compare different media systems, there are a variety of approaches. Hallin and Mancini (2004) suggest four major dimensions: (1) the development of media markets; (2) political parallelism; (3) the development of journalistic professionalism; and (4) the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system.

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), the growth of mass circulation press is one of the most striking differences between media systems. In Sweden, significant political progress for the media was made by the liberal *Aftonbladet*, founded in 1830 (Oscarsson, 2003). The emergence of newspapers such as *Dagens Nyheter* (1864) and *Stockholms-Tidningen* (1889) contributed significantly to the development of mass circulation press in Sweden (ibid.). The total circulation of the newspaper press grew throughout the 20th century. However, since the 1990s, there has been an annual decline of between one and two percent, with the greatest decline noted for evening papers, but the provincial press has remained quite constant (Hadenius & Weibull, 1999, p. 138). Today in Sweden, there are about 150 printed newspapers with a total circulation in the millions. In 2022 the biggest media owner group Bonnier Local News had the highest circulation among local newspapers in Sweden – 436.7 million copies (Statista, 2024).

In Russia, by the end of the 1860s, the tendency to create their own press had become commonplace in almost all regions of the Russian Empire (Blokhin, 2019). During this period, there was an increase in the circulation of newspapers and magazines and an expansion of the audience. Since the beginning of the 20th century, mass media has been developing, the advertising market is growing, and the number of readers is increasing (Novikov, 2020). Unlike Sweden, party newspapers in the Russian Empire were not widely distributed due to censorship (ibid.). After the Bolshevik Party came to power, only the Communist Party could legally operate in the USSR. By the end of 1920, all private publications were closed. Despite the increase in the circulation of newspapers and magazines since the 1960s until the Soviet collapse, the press remained under the complete ideological and economic control of the Communist Party (Vartanova, 2014). In the 2000s, due to the country's economic stabilization, new mass media legislation, and no restrictions on the share of foreign capital in Russian media, the market for periodical presses in Russia grew rapidly (ibid.). The last decade has seen an

acceleration in the transition of media projects to digital formats. In 2019, 42,861 print publications were officially registered in Russia, which is 40% lower than in 2009 (Blokhin, 2019).

The next dimension is political parallelism, which means "differences among media systems lie in the fact that media in some countries have distinct political orientations" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 27). Hallin and Mancini (2004) divide political parallelism into two groups: external and internal pluralism. The first one means that the whole media system is characterized by the existence of various media outlets or organizations "reflecting the points of view of different groups or tendencies in society" (*ibid.*, p. 29). Internal pluralism is characterized by balance and neutrality within each individual media outlet or organization. In Sweden, historically, the mass press achieves balance and neutrality through press-party parallelism (Allern, 2017), which means a connection between newspapers and political parties and the ideologies they cover. In contrast, during a long period of censorship and a one-party system, the party press in Russia and the USSR could not develop. The state controlled and continues to control the ideological orientation of the mass media (Freedom House, 2024). Today, Russia's media landscape is characterized by the established political orientation of the entire media system. In contrast, Sweden has a developed system for self-regulation and state policy regarding "the public service media, impartial and neutral programming in broadcast media, programming for children, and media subsidies for companies with weak market positions or operations in areas with low media presence" (Nord & Van Krogh, 2021, p. 354).

To compare media systems, Hallin and Mancini (2004) suggest taking into account the development of journalistic professionalism. According to the researchers, journalistic professionalism is characterized by three dimensions: Autonomy, Distinct professional norms, and Public service orientation. For journalists, autonomy implies independence and freedom of expression. Journalism needs to be able to function independently of both internal and external influences, which is an ideal-typical value contributing to democracy (Deuze, 2005). Hallin and Mancini (2004, p. 35) spotlight that journalism has never achieved a comparable degree of autonomy – "control of the work process in journalism is to a significant extent collegial, in the sense that authority over journalists is exercised primarily by fellow journalists". Distinct professional norms can mean protection of confidential sources or separation between advertising and editorial content (*ibid.*). Public service here is interpreted as "collecting and disseminating information in the public's best interest, thereby performing the watchdog

function" (Filimonov, 2021, p. 65). Mechanisms of journalistic self-regulation can be an example of the development of an ethic of public service (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

In Sweden, most journalists believe in independent, collaborative, and objective journalism that provides the public with facts and information (Nygren, 2012) to promote democracy. It is common for Swedish news outlets to have news policy documents that "play a significant role and are often referred to when journalists discuss the diversity of voices" (Nord & Van Krogh, 2021, p. 362). Swedish journalists have space to discuss how to frame the topic and which primary sources to use, and they also have the opportunity to negotiate with newsrooms about how to develop the news story (ibid.). However, surveys of Swedish journalists illustrate that they consider the editorial policy of media companies as an obstacle in their work (Nygren & Degtereva, 2012). Additionally, the commercialization of the media sector significantly affects the values of the profession – Swedish journalists say that "their influence is diminishing, in favor of the owners, the advertisers, and the audience" (ibid., p. 733).

Speaking of Russian journalism, a national survey from 1992-1993 shows that only in the early 1990s, after the Soviet collapse, did journalists (70 percent) feel sufficiently autonomous in their work (Nygren & Degtereva, 2012). In the subsequent years, Russian journalists "have gradually been subordinated to the authorities, owners, and other structures" (ibid., p. 734). Back in 2002, during the era of relative freedom of the press in Russia, 40 percent of Russian journalists answered that they could use their ideas, while 67 percent of Swedish journalists shared the same thoughts (ibid.). In the 2000s and 2010s in Russia, the trend shifted towards strengthening the position of state-owned media or those loyal to the government (Lehtisaari, 2015). The difference between Russian and Swedish journalists is visible in their views on involvement in society. Previous surveys demonstrate that it is more important to "set the political agenda" for Russian journalists, whereas it is more important "to let the audience express their views" for Swedish journalists (Nygren & Degtereva, 2012, p. 735). Additionally, compared to Sweden, Russian journalists feel much stronger political and economic pressure, while journalists from Sweden have greater independence (ibid.).

The last variable in the comparative analysis of different media systems is the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system. As mentioned earlier, in general, the Swedish media system is characterized by independence from the government, while the current media system of Russia is under total state control, which is reflected in various press freedom indices (Reporters without Borders, 2023). Studies on the Russian media landscape show that not only

national mass media but also regional media are controlled by local authorities (Litvinenko & Nigmatullina, 2020). Despite the fact that censorship is prohibited by the country's Constitution, in reality, the state is the only entity that formulates media strategy in Russia (Lehtisaari, 2015). For many years, Sweden has been moving towards a legal system that "favored the right of citizens to participate in political life and valued the free flow of information as essential to this end" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 147).

To sum up, there is a dominance of the state in the Russian media, which is a tradition inherited from the Soviet Union. Media control is carried out in several ways: through ownership, indirectly via state corporations, and through informal affiliations of the media owners with state institutions (Lankina, Watanabe, Netesova, 2020). According to the World Press Freedom Index (Reporters without Borders, 2023) provided by Reporters without Borders, Russia ranks 164 out of 180. In the current situation of actual military censorship, introduced after the Russian army invaded Ukraine in February 2022, almost all independent outlets operate from abroad. Only those outlets that adhere to unwritten rules can operate on the territory of the country. It is crucial to understand whether military censorship affects climate communication within Russian mass media. For the sampling of Russian media outlets, I selected only those that operate within the territory of Russia.

In terms of the media landscape, Hallin and Mancini (2004, p. 169) consider the Swedish media system close to the BBC "in the sense that it has a relatively high degree of autonomy from political influence". Sweden was the first country in the world to establish the principles of publicity and press freedom (ibid.). Researchers note that historically, political partisanship in Sweden is central, and newspapers have been tied to parties and unions (ibid.). Different newspapers represented various political perspectives and societal interests, keeping things varied and reflective of different viewpoints. The Swedish media system has traditionally been a mixture of "classical liberal notions of the press as an independent and monitoring 'fourth estate'" (Nord & Van Krogh, 2021, p. 353). In the World Press Freedom Index (Reporters without Borders, 2023) provided by Reporters without Borders, Sweden ranks 4 out of 180.

2.2. Environmental Journalism

The environment cannot speak for itself; that is why there should be actors who will do it. Journalists can be these actors. Environmental journalism plays a crucial role in societal communication on complex environmental issues, shaping public understanding towards

environmental concerns. It also enhances public environmental awareness (Skanavis & Sakellari, 2008), which is crucial in light of growing environmental issues globally, especially climate change. Environmental reporting, as a part of investigative journalism, plays an important role in the struggle for the right to a favorable environment, which is a basic human right. It is also noteworthy that environmental reporting is often a part of local media coverage (Tong, 2017) since environmental issues are more local than global.

The evolution of environmental journalism has been influenced by the changing societal context. Neuzil (2020) argues that environmental journalism, as we know it today, originated in the West in the early 20th century with the growing interest in environmental issues. In 1927, in the United States, journalists founded an organization for writers and editors – the Outdoor Writers Association of America (OWAA). In 1934 in the USA, science writers began preparations to create the National Association of Science Writers (NASW). Environmental reporting became widespread in the 1960s and 1970s due to growing public interest in environmental issues (Boykoff, 2009). In 1962, Rachel Carson published her book *Silent Spring*, discovering environmental harm caused by using pesticides. The book gained widespread popularity and became a cult favorite among environmental journalists and experts alike.

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing amount of media attention on climate change (Boykoff, 2009) due to the growing interest in the topic of sustainable development and climate change, particularly among politicians, businesses, and NGOs. Twenty years after the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm (1972), the Earth Summit was held in Rio in 1992. This event became a key moment for the environmental agenda (Reis, 1999) up to the present day. The conference adopted Agenda 21, a program for the implementation of the concept of global sustainable development in the 21st century. Countries signed a confederation called The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the basis for signing the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. Since then, the number of studies on the impact of environmental issues on media coverage has increased, and climate scientists have also been widely quoted in the media (Boykoff, 2009).

Now we can observe how environmental reporting is becoming increasingly embedded in the news agenda, and magazines specializing in the environmental agenda are emerging. However, the situation with environmental journalism in the 2010s is not changing much for the better, remaining fragmented. Lyytimäki (2020) notes that in Nordic countries, environmental topics are still covered by journalists occasionally. In the Balkan region, environmental journalism is still

underestimated and can often be seen as an unpaid job (Bolevich, 2020). In Russia, environmental journalism, to a large extent, has become a part of local reporting, while national mass media is quite "cold" to environmental issues (Davydova, 2020). It is worth noting that environmental reporting is a dangerous beat outside the USA, the EU, and other countries with developed democracies (Simon, 2009). Environmental journalists face harassment, violent attacks, and murder. According to UNESCO, in the past 15 years, at least 749 reporters news media covering environmental concerns have been attacked – a 42% increase between 2019-2023 compared to the previous five-year period (UNESCO, 2024).

2.3. Biased Environmental Reporting

The environment is not merely a scientific object but also a "collective phenomenon in the form of a social problem that is defined and constructed socially" (Bonfadelli, 2010, p. 259). The history of the development of environmental reporting shows that it arises because of not political activity but civic one. Speaking of environmental communication, and environmental journalism in particular, it can be said that it is a complex phenomenon combining economic, political, cultural, technical, and scientific perspectives. Thus, environmental communication cannot be considered simply as risk communication or scientific communication, to which media researchers often equate environmental communication (Giannoulis, et al., 2010).

Media environmental communications take place in a broader political context, and this, in turn, affects the continuous media coverage and discussion (Boykoff, 2009). This applies to both the regulatory framework and institutional pressures, as well as individual decision-making about "what becomes news; these interactions are dynamic and contested spaces of meaning-making and maintenance" (ibid., p. 435). Boykoff (2009) highlights that environmental reporting constructs meanings through "intertwined socio-political and biophysical processes" (p. 438). As a result, all of this leads to the problem of bias in environmental journalism.

The goal of environmental reporters is to stimulate citizenship and public life or to improve the democratic movement. Skanavis and Sakellari (2008) point out that the spreading of environmental journalism can lead to the rise of environmental awareness of the audience. According to them, an efficient journalist presents not only facts about the environment but also various solution possibilities. Environmental journalists can even "promote citizens' participation" and support "the public in becoming active in environmental decision-making" (Skanavis, & Sakellari, 2008, p. 236).

Almost from the very beginning of environmental journalism, reporters began to be criticized. They were accused of a lack of objectivity. Fahy (2018) notes the first conceptual problem environmental journalism faced was "the dichotomy between objective and advocacy journalism" (p. 856). According to him, the social movement of environmentalism had a great influence on eco-journalists. Many of them felt for the environmental cause and wanted to support its objectives through their writing (ibid.). The problem of objectivity in environmental journalism has become one of the most discussed topics among professionals and scholars. This happened because the topic moved from merely the scientific realm to political, social, and economic ones (Fahy, 2018).

The media do not just pick and explain issues; they also provide evaluations of politics and make judgments about politicians (Bonfadelli, 2010). This often happens in conflict situations, when the different parties involved see things in opposite ways. Carvalho (2007) studied the environmental agenda in British media and concluded that the media are biased when it comes to environmental issues. Various aspects of Earth science are interconnected with ideology in all journalistic genres, from news reports to public opinion articles (ibid.). The selection of speakers and experts is also interlinked with ideology because it depends on reproducing certain values (ibid.). Finally, implications for individual or governmental action "that are drawn from scientific claims result from views of the status quo and contribute to consolidating or challenging it" (Carvalho, p. 237). It can be concluded that environmental journalists rely on personal worldviews and signals inside the social system (Giannoulis, et al., 2010).

The community of environmental journalists in the United States has tried to solve this problem by creating the Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ) in 1989. Fahy (2018) claims that they failed to establish criteria for objective coverage; instead, the community defined objectivity as independence from private interests. Environmental journalists know about the problem – two out of five US-based journalists agreed that the reports of environmental journalists, in general, were too biased in favor of environmental protection (Simon, et al., 2011). Some environmental reporters themselves admit that sometimes they should advocate for the environment (ibid.).

2.4. Climate Journalism

I see climate journalism as a specific part of the broader term of climate communication. Climate reporting has adapted some aspects of climate communication with the passage of time. Below I

will briefly look at what climate communication is and then move on to climate journalism. Scholarly interest in climate communication was formed a little later than environmental communication in the 1990s (Sjölander, 2021). Scholars note that media coverage of climate change increases during weather-related natural events or global discussions such as COPs and other events where politicians and scientists raise climate questions. Thus, it can be said that climate communication through media depends on the news agenda to a large extent. Now, this topic has become more common in the media thanks to the annual Conference of the Parties (COP), the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) climate reports, and scientific voices discussing the new temperature record.

The complexity of climate change sometimes makes it difficult to describe. Boykoff (2011, p. 97) highlights that climate communication is "derived through complex and non-linear relationships between various stakeholders, including scientists, policy actors, and the public". Therefore, we need to consider climate change from different angles: scientific, political, economic, cultural, etc. There are two views on how climate communication works. Some researchers consider climate change as a part of science, and for this reason, they see climate communication as science communication. For them, there is a single channel of science communication: from experts to the public who lack knowledge (Trench, 2008). In turn, it can be called a one-way form of communication, in which "communication of information took place from one group of participants, generally from experts to the public or policymakers to explore their understanding, acceptance, beliefs, attitudes, and actions about climate change" (Ceyhan & Saribas, 2022, p. 11). Boykoff (2011, p. 76) calls this paradigm the "positivist view" and sees the media "as a link in a chain of one-way communications, where science is used to inform policy decisions".

However, other scholars argue that the factors contributing to media representations of climate change are multifaceted and complex (Boykoff, 2011). They suggest an interaction paradigm in which senders and recipients are regarded as co-authors or co-creators of meaning (Ballantyne, 2016). They emphasize the complex and not-so-simple connections between scientists, policymakers, and the public, often mediated by journalists' news stories (Boykoff, 2011). This paradigm focuses not on scientists passing information to non-specialists but on actively engaging the public in the process of understanding. Ceyhan and Saribas (2022, p. 6) describe this approach as the "dialogue model" or "public engagement" model in which "interrelationships and interactions among experts, government, society, industry, and other stakeholders are emphasized during which the public shares knowledge, values, perspectives, and interests". This

concept recognizes that complex socio-political and economic factors based on power dynamics are the source of media depictions (Boykoff, 2011).

In my thesis, I adhere to the second approach as politics, social, and cultural norms play a significant role in climate communication. The literature review of previous studies of media coverage of climate change in different countries shows that climate communication, to a large extent, involves two-way communication and that media affects interactions between science, policy, and the public. Boykoff (2011, p. 79) highlights that “media representations of climate change are influenced by power dynamics”. The dynamics of power can be expressed through several aspects. Vu and colleagues (2019) identify four aspects that affect media coverage of climate change such as domestic politics, international politics, economic aspects, and social progress.

Domestic politics debates about the connection between national policymaking and climate change on a domestic level. Bomberg and Super (2009) give an example when the news media report on new climate policies or how elections, national security, or policy discussions are impacted by climate change. As a global issue, climate change needs joint efforts from all countries, so the international aspect deals with climate mitigation, national commitments to international agreements on greenhouse gas reduction, and others (Vu et al., 2019). Speaking of economic impact, media focus on how much solutions to mitigate will cost for governments (ibid.).

Nisbet and Scheufele (2009, p. 1774) define social progress within the framework of environmental solutions as a "process that is in harmony with nature, existing for thousands of years". Vu and colleagues (2019) write that in recent years, the media have begun to use the concept of social progress more often in covering climate issues. In addition, it is worth noting that social values and cultural norms have a great impact on how the global climate issue is portrayed on a national level. Demeritt (2006) writes that knowledge about the physical world is interpreted in the context of specific social values and cultural norms. The study of climate media coverage in India confirms that climate science is portrayed "through a set of culturally specific frames, which have a major influence on public perception" (Billett, 2010, p. 2).

2.5. Journalistic Norms in Climate Reporting

Power dynamics can be expressed in terms of journalistic norms and values. Boykoff (2011) notes that large-scale social, political, and economic factors affect individual journalistic decisions, such as the insufficient number of journalists covering the topic of climate change in one newsroom. All these factors intersect with journalistic norms and values that can influence climate media coverage. Boykoff (2011) identifies five journalist norms and values that affect news selection, the content of climate stories, and the shaping of narratives. These are personalization, dramatization, novelty, authority order bias, and balance. Journalistic norms play a crucial role as they help to "translate and make meaningful the often complex and abstruse issues in climate science and policy for consumer-citizens" (ibid., p. 119). In my research, all five journalistic norms play an important role as they all affect the creation of frames that engage the local audience

According to Boykoff (2011), personalization in media climate coverage means that the central part of reporting is individuals and their experiences related to climate change. Bennett (2002, p. 45) defines personalization as "the tendency to downplay the big social, economic, or political picture in favor of the human trials, tragedies, and triumphs that sit at the surface of events". Dramatization is the process of highlighting the dramatic elements of stories about climate change in order to draw in and engage viewers (Boykoff, 2011). Boykoff (2011, p. 104) highlights some disadvantages of this approach since "stories focus on the immediate and spectacular, often then displacing subtle, enduring, and more chronic issues in the public arena". Personalization and dramatization are key elements of climate news nationalization. These norms can be represented in the media through local people, such as farmers or climate refugees. When we speak about novelty, it means that journalists focus on new and novel factors of climate change stories, "potentially leading to the neglect of long-standing or recurring issues in favor of more attention-grabbing topics" (ibid., p. 154). Authority-order bias is about the situation when journalists tend to give the floor primarily or solely to officials (Bennett, 2002).

The last journalistic norm is balance, which is common not only in climate reporting. Balance means the presentation of multiple views on one problem to be objective (Cunningham, 2003). Boykoff (2011, p. 120) highlights that the misapplication of balance over time "has affected the coverage of the human contribution to climate change". The big problem with balance in climate reporting is that the norm leads to the distortion of the scientific consensus of the IPCC (2023, p. 4) — that "human activities, principally through emissions of greenhouse gases, have unequivocally caused global warming". Scientific consensus means that almost 99% of climate scientists in their studies confirm that human activity is the main reason for climate change

(Lynas, et al., 2021). When the scientific consensus is represented as a debate, it leads to the audience being misled "on the state of the science and, in the case of climate change, possibly reduces support for climate action" (Stecula & Merkley, 2019, p. 4).

2.6. The Framing of Climate Change

The study of 37,670 articles on climate change from 45 countries revealed seven main climate media frames (Vu, et al., 2019): Economic impact; Domestic Politics/Regulatory impact, Scientific evidence, Social progress, Energy, International relations, and Natural impact. The above frames from the study conducted by Vu and colleagues are also reflected in other studies aimed at identifying climate frames in the media from different countries. In different studies, researchers name frames in different ways, although these frames describe the same phenomenon. Below I review four frequent frames that I came across in several studies while I was working on the literature review. In my thesis, I take these frameworks into account; however, I look at them through the lens of nationalization. The presence of these pure frames without a new angle does not allow me to clearly identify the mechanisms by which journalists and other actors try to convey narratives to local audiences. My research objectives were not to identify already existing frames in new empirical material. I write about this in more detail in the methodology and method part.

2.6.1. Economic Costs and Benefits

The literature review illustrates that the most popular frame in global media is Economic costs and benefits or Economic impact. Previous studies show the connection between the state economic situation and levels of environmental concern among society (Stecula & Merkley, 2019). Scholars have discovered that alterations in the economy have an impact on the degree of environmental concern (ibid.). There are also studies that show that higher employment and income levels are connected with concerns about climate change (Carmichael, et al., 2017). I investigate the economical impact frame through the lens of nationalization because these factors play a crucial role in media climate coverage since it involves the well-being of the population. Does the cost of adapting to climate change affect how climate news is presented in the media?

Researchers consider the "Economic impact" frame in terms of the costs and benefits of climate change (Stecula & Merkley, 2019). Speaking of costs, journalists and other actors show the economic consequences if no action is taken on climate adaptation or mitigation. On the other

hand, this frame can be seen as economic injustice to oil and gas countries that lose from the energy transition toward renewable energy sources. For example, this is true for some Russian newspapers where the "green transition" is portrayed as a way for Western countries to destroy the Russian economy (Poberezhskaya, 2015). Economic benefits mean that countries can gain benefits if they take steps to transition to a green economy: new jobs, public health, and more. Previous studies show that possible benefits from climate mitigation lead to greater support for climate action than pointing out the costs of inaction (Spence & Pidgeon, 2010).

2.6.2. (Un)certainty

This frame plays a very important role in the media since it is interconnected with the scientific evidence of climate change. (Un)certainty is a complex concept in science communication, particularly in climate change, which cannot be ignored, so some scientists and communication experts "recommend framing climate change as risk in the context of uncertainty" (Painter, 2013, p. 31). The frame comes from climate scientists who describe the effects of climate change and make forecasts; they use uncertainties. These uncertainties can be observed in the reports of the IPCC. For example, "in the near term, global warming is more likely than not to reach 1.5°C even under the very low GHG emission scenario" (IPCC, 2023, p. 12), or "in all regions, increases in extreme heat events have resulted in human mortality and morbidity (very high confidence)" (ibid., p. 6). This allows climate skeptics to express doubts about the existence of climate change since almost each statement goes with uncertainty. When it comes to media coverage of climate change in different mediums, uncertainty is portrayed ambivalently.

Abalo and Olausson (2023) write that in some national mass media, uncertainty is downplayed. This difference is visible, for example, in media coverage of Sweden (downplaying the importance of uncertainty) and the USA (large uncertainty) (Painter, et al., 2023). The situation is similar for Spanish media, which pays less attention to uncertainty in climate science than U.S. media (Bailey, et al., 2014). One of the reasons could be journalistic objectivity when it is important for reporters to show that there are some climate uncertainties. Another reason could be the political situation of the country in which the media operate. For example, Russian media tend to emphasize scientific uncertainty (Poberezhskaya, 2015), as it is beneficial for a country rich in natural resources. This situation with scientific uncertainty leads to two main consequences. First, climate risks are wrongly neglected "through the media's emphasis on scientific uncertainties despite these uncertainties being marginal" (Abalo & Olausson, 2023, p.

3). Secondly, climate hazards are highlighted by the media's downplaying of scientific uncertainties (ibid.).

Researchers from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (Painter, 2013) asked climate journalists to tell about reasons why they use or do not use uncertainty in climate reporting. One journalist from India, who uses scientific uncertainties in his reporting, explains it in terms of "being accurate" (ibid., p. 40). However, the overwhelming number of climate journalists tend to avoid using terms like "likely," "very likely," or "high confidence" in their articles. One of the reasons is "a lack of understanding from some readers who have a binary vision of "knowing" versus "not knowing" (ibid., p. 36). Climate reporters who tend not to mention uncertainties say it is difficult to fit the science into a journalistic format (Abalo & Olausson, 2023), but at the same time, they do not want to retranslate messages from science reports as they are – "Otherwise, you could just as well publish research documents" (ibid., p. 9), says one climate journalist from Sweden.

2.6.3. Ideology

The next popular and important frame in the media is ideology, which "matters in shaping citizen attitudes toward climate action" (Stecula & Merkley, 2019, p. 3). Stecula and Merkley (2019) consider the ideological frame through the lens of left-right ideological conflict. They write, "policy solutions to combating climate change are threatening to the ideological identities of conservatives" (ibid., p. 3). Research studies confirm that the conservative movement is largely opposed to climate change mitigation (Oreskes & Conway, 2011). They use arguments against mitigation as it is extremely expensive for the budget, or they focus on the ideological threat that could destroy the country's sovereignty. Other researchers consider the ideological frame through a cultural lens. They argue that ideological cultures play a significant role in how the media cover the issue (Dirikx & Gelders, 2010). For example, in India postcolonial and nationalistic lines are very strong when it comes to the consequences and possible solutions to the climate crisis (Billett, 2010). Taking into account these results, in my research, I focus on the nationalization of news through the prism of the dominant ideology.

2.6.4. Risk

Risk, like uncertainty, is a part of everyday decision-making, and many sectors, including media coverage of climate change, have to deal with the risk frame (Painter, 2013). Risk plays a

significant role in the media when we talk about climate change since journalists, scientists, politicians, and other actors try to engage the audience by describing possible catastrophic weather-related events or devastating effects on the economy, both from rising temperatures and climate mitigation. Stecula and Merkley (2019, p. 5) spotlight that people tend to underestimate risks associated with climate change because "they are abstract and mostly detached from their daily life." Shuckburgh and colleagues (2012) argue that the risk frame can help to illuminate the misunderstanding of scientific uncertainties in climate reporting that can contribute to environmental awareness.

Previous studies illustrate the tendency to portray climate change in the media through risks and disasters in many countries (Painter, 2013). A 2006 study on Norwegian news outlets showed that the disaster frame was dominant in climate reporting (ibid.). Boykoff (2008, p. 549) investigated four newspapers from the UK and noted "headlines with tones of fear, misery, and doom were most prevalent." Countries at high risk from natural disasters may consider climate change more through the frame of "Natural Impact." This was evident, for example, in media from the Philippines, India, and Gambia (Vu, et al., 2019). Mass media from countries with a high carbon footprint may consider greenhouse gas emissions through the lens of the "Energy" frame. Meanwhile, in countries with a lower carbon footprint, mass media tend to cover carbon dioxide emissions through the "Domestic Politics/Regulatory Process" frame (ibid.). For my purpose, I consider the risk frame as one way to localize climate events to engage the audience through fear.

2.7. Domestication of Climate News

Several studies have concluded that foreign news in national media is characterized by a national logic largely caused by the phenomenon known as "localized," which involves the discursive adaptation of news from "outside" the nation-state to resonate with a national audience as it is perceived (Clausen, 2004; Olausson, 2014).

To analyze media coverage of international events, it is necessary to understand the concept of news nationalization, as news is shaped differently by the national population's perceptions and preexisting worldviews (Berglez & Lidskog, 2019). In the following, I will use the terms domestication and nationalization as synonyms. The national view in global news can be shaped through the "domestication" of news. Domestication refers to the ways in which "the domestic (national) culture serves as a framework for interpreting the rest of the world" (ibid., p. 383). An

event needs to be rooted in a story that audiences are already familiar with to be considered newsworthy. Berglez and Lidskog (2019), studying media coverage of global wildfires, argue that journalists need to highlight domestic interests through victims, national experts, or rescue services to increase audience engagement. Studying the media domestication of international news plays a vital role in the climate change topic because climate change is a transnational issue by nature, which calls for the collective responsibility of all nations (Olausson, 2009). The research project highlights the tension between national media logic and the transnational nature of climate issues. In this thesis, nationalization is not considered as political opposition to globalization but as a means to make international information more relevant to domestic audiences.

Previous studies have demonstrated the significant impact of national factors on climate media coverage. Shehata and Hopmann (2012) argue that domestication in environmental news is driven by journalists' dependence on national elite sources in government and industry. Studies on British media coverage of climate change illustrate that media climate coverage is influenced by "the agency of top political figures and the dominant ideological standpoints in different newspapers" (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005, p. 1457). Olausson (2009) conducted a study of Swedish newspapers and concluded that official policy affects climate journalists. They tend to retranslate the official view on climate change rather than "offer any alternative frames, in relation to those established in policy discourse" (Olausson, 2009, p. 433). Studies on Russian media coverage of climate change show that the main variable in Russian media coverage of climate change is the position of the state (Poberezhskaya, 2015). For this reason, I consider actors who were presented in the selected newspapers as a visible part of news domestication of climate change.

The transnational approach focuses on the interconnection of global environmental risks, whereas the national perspective typically spotlights local and national elements of climate change (Olausson, 2009). Olausson (2014), in her study of the media coverage of climate change in Swedish, Indian, and US national newspapers, highlights three domesticated news discourses, namely (1) introverted domestications, (2) extroverted domestications, and (3) counter-domestication. Introverted domestications mean that journalists emphasize only domestic news sources, domestic actors, and the domestic national political system. The local implications of climate change are highlighted in such news, but they are disconnected from their global causes. An example of such an article or video can be a situation where local climate risks are highlighted, although they are not connected to their global causes. Olausson (2014) gives the

example of a Swedish newspaper where the international event Earth Hour was not rooted in its global framework. This happens when domestication disconnects "local happenings from their global ramifications" (ibid., p. 715).

According to Olausson (2014, p. 716), extroverted domestication distinguishes from introverted domestication by "connecting the local and national with the global," or extroverted domestication means highlighting the relationship between localized phenomena and their global consequences. She describes extroverted domestications as a mixture of domestic and global narratives. This can manifest as emphasizing both the local and the global character of a phenomenon or achieving it by "connecting local circumstances, such as fresh-water shortages caused by a changing climate, with potential global threats, such as transnational terrorism" (ibid., p. 720).

Furthermore, I take into account counter-domestication of climate news in the selected newspapers for a better understanding of the differences in the articles without reference to local events compared to the articles regarding the local agenda. Counter-domestication sees climate change as an abstract, worldwide phenomenon without any particular geographic context (Rabitz et al., 2021). Earth Hour can be an example of counter-domestication with the construction of a global identity of the transnational event. Counter-domestication can also be constructed through science, which deterritorializes space when it comes to climate risks (ibid.).

2.7.1. Sweden

The research study of media coverage of climate change and global warming conducted by Olausson (2009) remains one of the most cited studies about climate media frames in Sweden in English. She analyzed frames of three newspapers: Dagens Nyheter, Aftonbladet, and Nerikes Allehanda between 1 September 2004 and 6 September 2005. The waterline in Swedish media between domestication and going beyond the national boundaries lies in the understanding of climate mitigation and climate adaptation as a social problem. When it comes to adaptation, Swedish media use local stories and local sources of information, spotlighting the importance of acting within the country; in other words, they urge to adapt Swedish society to climate risks. Speaking of climate mitigation, this process "is primarily delegated to international institutions, whereas responsibility for adaptation is left to the local or national spheres" (ibid., p. 432). Olausson (2009) points out that these two frames exist in different contexts, and there is virtually

no overlap between them despite the fact that they are two sides of the same climate change solution.

The difference between adaptation and mitigation in media coverage can be explained from a scientific perspective. Climate science considers mitigation primarily as greenhouse gas reduction or prevention, which leads to climate change mitigation (Deng, et al., 2018). Reducing CO₂ emissions is an international challenge because greenhouse gases are distributed around the globe, regardless of the country in which they were produced. Olausson (2009, p. 426) highlights that mitigation "is strongly related to international political events such as G8 summits, the implementation of the Kyoto treaty, trade in emission quotas, and the like". When it comes to adaptation, this issue is left to the discretion of each country. The state decides for itself which adaptation measures it will apply. For this reason, domestication of climate change in Swedish media occurs through the coverage of adaptation issues in a specific geographical area.

Climate adaptation and mitigation are two forms of demand for collective action (Olausson, 2009). Collective action against climate risks is "a central theme of the Swedish print media reporting on the issue" (ibid., p. 425). It can be said that the collective action frame of adaptation is another way of media domestication of climate change in Swedish newspapers. A local example of a global issue like climate change might be the storm "Gudrun" in early 2005, "which caused tremendous electricity supply problems in the south of Sweden" (ibid., p. 426). Olausson highlights that after local incidents related to climate change, Swedish newspapers emphasized the need for action at the national or local levels. Through the creation of the frame of collectivity, a transnational issue is adapted to the interests of the local audience. On the other hand, the collective action frame can work as counter-domestication in terms of climate mitigation, which is framed as a transnational concern and global responsibility.

Another significant aspect of climate domestication evident in Swedish media is the reliance on local official sources of information. Olausson (2009) highlights the close connection between policymaking and the media in Sweden. According to her analysis, Swedish newspapers tend to amplify the voices of local and European (given Sweden's membership in the EU) established elites, including politicians, public institutions, and scientific experts. This close relationship between the political class and the media implies that journalists do not provide alternative frameworks for understanding global climate change beyond those already established in policy discourse (ibid., p. 433). This tendency in climate reporting is one of the most interesting aspects in light of press freedom in Sweden.

The gap in the study lies in empirical data; previous studies have not focused exclusively on a single global political event. Rather, they were a mixture of different events, including political, scientific, and climate-related ones. Furthermore, previous studies on climate coverage in the Swedish media mainly were conducted during the rule of the left-wing coalition led by the Social Democratic Party. Despite this, between 2006 and 2014, the right-wing bloc dominated the Swedish parliament, although the far-right party, the Sweden Democrats, was not within the coalition. The Sweden Democrats, considered climate skeptics, are now playing a prominent role on Sweden's political agenda, as they have become the second largest party in the country. Additionally, the Minister of Climate and Environment, Romina Purmokhtari, is a representative of the Liberal Party. Before her, all the ministers of climate and environment represented the left and central spectra, including the Social Democrats, Green Party, and Centrist Party.

2.7.2. Russia

The domestication of global environmental events in Russian media is radically different from that in Sweden. There is little research on the domestication of climate change in Russian media, both in English and Russian. In this literature review, I examine academic articles that have investigated media coverage of climate change in Russian media during the 2000s and 2010s. The research gap is that there have been no updated studies on the selected topic since the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and censorship in Russia has reached its peak in recent history. Since the end of the Cold War, the Russian government has enforced "the most draconian and intolerant censorship rules" across Europe (Marthoz, 2023, p. 21). I assume that the tendencies observed in the early 2000s and 2010s are continuing to accelerate due to the pressure on press freedom from the Russian government.

Tynkkynen (2010) highlights the connection between media framing of climate change in Russian media and ideology, namely the "Great Ecological Power." She notes that Russia's international image was one of the main factors behind its decision to ratify the Kyoto Protocol (ibid.). In her study of media coverage of global climate policy between 2000 and 2004 in five dominant Russian newspapers (including *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*), she writes that these outlets used a narrative of Russia as a Great Ecological State to localize global climate policies and risks. The research emphasizes a framing of the mission in Russian newspapers. According to this frame, Russia must be seen not as a victim of rising temperatures but with its forest resources as part of the solution (Tynkkynen, 2010, p. 187). After the USSR's

collapse, greenhouse gas emissions decreased dramatically due to widely spread economic crises in Russian industry, which allowed for the assertion that Russia has already made progress in reducing carbon emissions. In turn, newspapers used the metaphors of ecological donor and ecological leader within the mission frame (ibid.).

It can be said that the economic benefits and costs frame is the most popular frame in Russian media. However, in Russian media coverage, this frame has another angle – newspapers predominantly emphasize the priority of economic development over environmental concerns (Poberezhskaya, 2015). Poberezhskaya (2015) states that this position is not unique to Russia; such prioritization is common in countries rich in fossil fuel resources. However, the economic costs frame is portrayed by Russian newspapers as discriminatory against the country because international climate agreements do not take into consideration "Russia's need to develop and grow economically" (Tynkkynen, 2010, p. 189). This frame is closely related to the national interest frame. The national interest frame is connected to a clash of political interests between Russia and Western countries, which are perceived as enemies (ibid.). Some newspapers use metaphors such as "hostile West" and "evil capitalism" (Poberezhskaya, 2015, p. 104).

Summarizing the media frames from Russian newspapers covering the Kyoto Conference in 1997, the Copenhagen Conference in 2009, and the Russian heatwave of 2010, Poberezhskaya (2015) concluded that state officials were still highly sought after as information sources. She also notes that the President and the Prime Minister were the main official sources on the topic. Almost all newspapers followed the official government line without making critical remarks, with only *Kommersant* openly questioning how the government was handling climate change-related concerns (ibid.). The second most cited source was "science," represented by both Russian and foreign scientists (ibid.). It can be said that Russian newspapers covering climate change largely rely on the official position of the Russian government to frame transnational issues as national questions.

The literature review illustrates that Russian and Swedish media coverages of climate change share some similarities but also exhibit significant differences in how they present global environmental issues to domestic audiences. Russian media, to a greater extent, tend to reflect the perspectives of institutionalized political groups, while largely ignoring political or environmental actors outside of these institutions. In this sense, the Russian media landscape resembles that of the United States. Conversely, climate reporting in Sweden is less directly influenced by political elite or official ideology. Additionally, Russian media are more inclined

to echo US media in terms of emphasizing scientific uncertainties, with Russian newspapers often highlighting uncertainties to serve the interests of the political elite or industry, whereas Swedish newspapers tend to downplay them. The strong politicization of climate issues in Russia results in news frames that are not as prevalent in the Swedish media landscape but are comprehensible to the Russian audience, such as the frame of mission or the "Great Ecological Power" frame.

2.8. Framing Theory

To explore the research questions and investigate how COP28 is framed in different media outlets, I employ an analysis of the framing of news related to climate change and climate policies. According to Goffman (1974), frames are cognitive structures that guide the representation of everyday events. Subsequently, the framing theory was adopted by media scholars. Researchers agree on the definition of a media frame as a selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Frames can also be defined as "the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences" (Reese, 2001, p. 7).

Nisbet and Scheufele (2009) note, "at a theoretical and descriptive level, framing research offers a rich explanation for how various actors in society define science-related issues in politically strategic ways" (p. 1770). This research is based on the belief that the way public issues are presented in the media has a significant impact on how the public understands them (Entman, 2010). Framing theory will help me discover the domestication or nationalization of the global climate agenda and how it differs between the two countries. Domestication means that "news representations of global issues are often predicated on a nationalistic framework" (Djerf-Pierre, et al., 2016, p. 636). Media in different countries tend to highlight the national and local consequences of climate issues, prioritizing national interests. As Entman and colleagues argue (2009), a framing message has particular cultural resonance that plays an important role in understanding how the process of news nationalization works.

Frame analysis was selected as a methodological tool for my research because frames draw attention to information that is there in a text but is not immediately apparent (Entman, 1993). Frame analysis assists in analyzing part of a unit and as such is most relevant to this study.

Frame analysis looks at actors, actor roles, stereotypes, images, metaphors, and messages to determine which parts of the problem are selected and how important they are (Entman et al., 2009). Pan and Kosicki (1993) suggested a classification of framing devices in news discourse. There are four categories representing structural dimensions of news discourse: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure. For my research purpose, thematic structure is most relevant. According to the researchers, certain issue stories focus on one issue or topic covering multiple incidents, actions, or statements related to the issue. It can be said that the thematic structure of news is "a multilayer hierarchy with a theme being the central core connecting various subthemes as the major nodes that, in turn, are connected to supporting elements" (ibid., p. 61).

Rooted in the qualitative paradigm, framing theory helps to discover in-depth how global climate events are portrayed through the news. Methodologically, the central supposition of framing theory is that the representation of an issue or phenomenon presupposes its meaning for the public (Nisbet, 2010). Literature review on previous studies shows that framing practices have an actual impact on how societies are organized and how the social environment is constructed. Some communicators attempt to influence results by encouraging the target audience to adopt interpretations that serve their interests (Entman, et al., 2009). These consist of politicians, scientists, bloggers, and editorial writers.

3. Methodology and Method

In this section, the methodology, methods, and approach chosen to guide the gathering and examination of empirical data are covered. The thesis design was guided by two research objectives. First, to focus on a specific global climate event with political implications (case study). Second, to comprehend the underlying methods by which the chosen climate event is depicted and determine if there are disparities in the news coverage of various types of climate events.

3.1. Case Study

The study employs a qualitative research methodology, which assists in systematically understanding media patterns and gaining insights into how media shapes and reflects meanings and public perspectives (Fortunati, Taipale, & Farinosi, 2015). To address the research questions, a case study approach was chosen as the method. Flyvbjerg (2004) provides compelling arguments for the utility of case studies in research. He suggests that a case study allows researchers to closely examine real-life situations, facilitating a detailed exploration of local practices. Moreover, the case study method aligns with an iterative approach, enabling researchers to revisit or discard theoretical ideas as needed based on the data. While case studies are suitable for generating hypotheses, other methods are better suited for testing those hypotheses and constructing theories. Additionally, the case study method permits the exploration of diverse narratives, allowing for a nuanced understanding of the complexities and sometimes conflicting perspectives within the case (ibid., p. 136).

The 28th Conference of the Parties (COP28) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, held in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, from November 30 to December 12, 2023, was chosen as the mediated event for this study. The selection of this case follows the rationale of opting for information-rich cases "that by their nature and content will shed light on the inquiry question being examined" (Patton, 2015, p. 401). The Conference of the Parties is the main climate-related event of the year, during which delegates from almost all countries gather to discuss global climate issues and find common solutions to climate risks. Every year, the Conference of the Parties receives significant media attention, as it has become one of the main events in global political and economic life. Additionally, a single event allows for a comparative analysis of its coverage in the media of different countries.

3.2. Method

The thesis adopted a qualitative research method. To address the research questions, qualitative content analysis was utilized. Content analysis in media studies typically focuses on identifying and delineating key characteristics of a set of news stories, including sources, positive or negative orientation, settings, and ideologies (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2023). This method of analysis was selected because it helps in understanding broader themes and contexts within the empirical material. Content analysis facilitates the extraction of themes from articles, employing thematic coding to record or identify text fragments related to common themes. This approach enables the revelation of frames utilized in the selected news articles. The content analysis is conducted using categorizations that enable the coding of data relevant to the research questions.

From the perspective of data coding and subsequent analysis, frame analysis is pertinent to my study because it relies on relatively small samples that should reflect the discourse surrounding the problem or event. Frame analysis allows for the examination of viewpoints and actors presenting a particular issue in the media. In the thesis, my objective is to scrutinize the embedded meanings (explicit or implicit) in the selected articles. Journalistic frames can be described at both the individual level and the editorial level (Entman, et al., 2009). The individual level refers to frames adopted by individual journalists, whereas the newsroom level is characterized by frames shared among journalists in the newsroom. Given the predominant volume of news articles (excluding opinion and guest articles) in my corpus, I adhere to the second approach.

In this research, I identify frames of news domestication within the empirical materials. I do not consider the frames identified in previous studies because it is necessary to determine which framework can be used to domesticate global climate events in individual newspapers. Frame analysis enables the identification of components characterizing the organizational principles governing the media's portrayal of global climate news. The thesis employs an in-depth qualitative framing analysis of articles in Russian and Swedish media. Frame analysis examines how media professionals and news sources communicate complex social and political issues to audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Therefore, an inductive framing approach was selected to analyze the data. The inductive approach does not rely on pre-existing categories; instead, it identifies new ones directly from the text. The primary goal of an inductive frame analysis is to present frames related to social issues, which in my case largely involves climate change.

3.3. Sampling

The units of analysis for this study were newspaper articles from Russian and Swedish news outlets from November 27 to December 15, 2023. The media analysis focused on articles published in *Dagens Nyheter* (Daily News), the largest Swedish print newspaper, as well as two prominent Russian print newspapers: *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Independent Newspaper) and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* (Russian Newspaper). These newspapers were selected due to their significant circulation in Sweden and Russia, respectively. *Dagens Nyheter*, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* are national daily newspapers covering a broad spectrum of topics including politics, the economy, international affairs, and domestic issues.

Searching for articles related to COP28 revealed insufficient coverage of the summit in the Russian media compared to Sweden. To balance the number of articles between Russian and Swedish sources, I selected two Russian newspapers for my research. Nevertheless, even with this adjustment, there were still more articles about the climate conference in *Dagens Nyheter* than in the two leading Russian newspapers. Choosing two distinct Russian newspapers also aimed to assess potential differences in climate coverage.

The reason for choosing *Dagens Nyheter* as the case study for the analysis is that it is considered the most powerful newspaper in Sweden and it is one of the most comprehensive Swedish news outlets on climate change – in 2018, *Dagens Nyheter* published the highest number of articles on climate issues (Kilström Esscher, 2019). In 2021, the number of print and digital readers of the newspaper was estimated at more than one million people (Statista, 2023). Bonnier Group is an owner of *Dagens Nyheter* and it plays a significant role in the Swedish media market as Bonnier is the biggest owner group with over 2,000 journalists (*Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen*, *Sydsvenskan*, *Mittmedia*) (Nord & Van Krogh, 2021). Although the newspaper is owned by the largest media group, there are also other owners of Swedish leading news outlets, which creates competition. Censorship by the state is prohibited and press freedom is protected by the law.

Nezavisimaya Gazeta and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* were chosen for my analysis because they are federal major newspapers in Russia. They are not the largest newspapers, but I chose them because both newspapers covered the summit to the extent that I could analyse them. The largest newspaper, *Argumenty i Fakty*, ignored the Dubai summit. It was important to me that the newspapers to be analysed were controlled by the Russian government to show the difference in media coverage of climate-related event. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Independent Newspaper) has the

word "independent" in its name, but it is owned by Konstantin Remchukov, who is very close to the Russian government, for example, he headed the election headquarters of the incumbent mayor of Moscow. *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* is owned by the Russian government directly. Thus, it can be said that both newspapers are not independent and are controlled by the Russian government.

Printed articles published from November 27 to December 15 were chosen for analysis. This timeframe was selected to cover several days before the climate conference officially began and three days after the event, during which the largest volume of final articles typically appears. Articles related to COP28 after December 15 were also checked, but the number of relevant pieces was virtually zero, with occasional mentions of conferences not relevant to the study. For sampling articles from *Dagens Nyheter*, I utilized Mediearkivet, the largest digital news archive in Northern Europe. The initial search yielded 52 articles, employing keywords such as "COP28" or "klimatmöte*" or "klimatkonferens*". Following initial content analysis, 21 relevant articles were selected, including opinion pieces (editorials). Articles mentioning COP28 outside the climate context, such as statements made at the conference on the war conflict in Gaza, were removed from the sample. Additionally, articles that only briefly mentioned climate change were excluded from the sample.

To collect articles from Russian newspapers, I utilized their websites where I could download printed newspapers in PDF format. Subsequently, I manually selected relevant articles concurrent with the initial content analysis. Articles lacking explanations or where COP28 was mentioned indirectly were excluded from the sample. Following the search, 11 articles from *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and four articles from *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* were chosen for the research project. Similar to the methodology applied to *Dagens Nyheter*, articles outside the climate context and those mentioning climate change and COP28 in passing were excluded from the sample. In total, the corpus comprises 36 news articles: X = S 21; X = R 15 (see the Reference List).

The length of the article in the selected newspapers varied considerably. Thus, the average number of words for articles from *Dagens Nyheter* was about 575, which roughly corresponds to the number of words in the articles of *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*. However, the average length of an article in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* was twice as large as in the above-mentioned news outlets. The largest article in the newspaper consisted of 1,687 words. *Dagens Nyheter* had three editorials, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* had one each.

Not all articles had images, this was mostly for editorials. However, almost all news articles had images. In my research project, I solely analyzed the textual content of the articles without considering the accompanying pictures. During the initial sampling stage, visual analysis indicated that the pictures did not contain pertinent information that could influence text mining. The majority of pictures featured speakers mentioned in the texts, such as Antonio Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations, or Ahmed Al Jaber, President of COP28.

3.4. Content Analysis

My analysis lies at the macrostructure level (Van Dijk, 2009) which means that I focused on examining the thematic structure of the selected articles. Overall schemata, which follow specific narrative patterns, are examined at the macro level, while in contrast the micro level studies lexical and syntactic relationships in texts (ibid.). Using qualitative analysis of frames as a tool, my unit of analysis was the entire article with a headline and a lead paragraph. The main goal of frame analysis is to explain how an issue is defined or why it matters and problematized (who or what might be responsible for a problem) (Nisbet, 2009).

In my case, it is important to understand not only the words presented in selected articles but also the unspoken meanings that were delivered by certain frame sponsors to the audience. For this reason, I use frame analysis because it adds contextual information to the factual presentation of the information in a news article. I was sticking to the general steps of qualitative content analysis that were presented in *Qualitative content analysis* by Kuckartz and Rädiker (2023). Overall, the researchers suggest five general steps of the process of qualitative content analysis: Read and explore the data, Develop categories, Code data, Analyse coded data, and Present results.

The first two steps that precede the analysis process are defining the research question and selecting materials. The next step of analysis is building a coding framework, which consists of selecting material; structuring and generating categories; defining categories; revising and expanding the frame. I created general codes in the initial inductive coding process to delve into the raw empirical data. In my research, I used thematic categories that refer to specific content such as a topic or a specific figure of thought. Thematic categories point to a certain position, a certain segment in the text (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2023). After all codes were collected, they were grouped into categories which were further transferred to main categories or themes using

concept maps or visual representations of information (in my case, I used Miro). I used a hierarchical category system; it means that there are "*parent categories* and the categories of the subordinate level as *child categories*" (ibid., p. 40). This approach made it possible to see the relationships between codes, and explore and develop the main topic, as well as generate previously untagged new categories. After the study of certain categories, the theoretical foundations of media framing theory are applied to them. This allows me to get analytical results, giving meaning to the codes. The final step is presenting the findings that involve presenting the frame and illustrating it through quotes.

Performing an inductive analysis is not easy because a text may contain latent cultural frame elements. The goal of the coding was to find the frames in the article that stood out the most from the entire text. My focus was on the message the journalist and the speakers wanted to convey to the national audience. This is why only the most prominent frame was coded. Additionally, the process of frame identification may be obscured by mental constructs of a researcher. To overcome this situation, I tried to use the constant comparative method when I compared newly collected categories with previously identified ones.

In parallel with coding the underlying meanings in the articles, stakeholders also played an important role in my research. For me, stakeholders are actors that served as the main speakers for journalists. Actors can be a person or institution that is considered as the main proponent of each frame. Journalists can be seen as actors in all cases because they bring the information. I identified journalists as actors only in cases of editorial articles where opinions of reporters were clearly visible. If the article was based on the interview of a politician, "politicians" were the actors. If the article mentioned benefits or costs for business, the "industry" was the actor. This also applies to actors such as environmental organizations and representatives of science. Additionally, countries or entire regions could act as actors. One unit (article) could be coded for more than one actor. In this case, I did not count the numbers of proponents; for example, two officials focusing on the same thing were considered as one representative of official opinion. While coding the selected articles, I paid to paragraphs, individual sentences, and what meaning the article carries as a whole. The coding process served two other purposes than the direct identification of frames. The first was to get an idea of the overall tone of the report. I evaluated the message behind the article, which played a much more important role than keywords. Secondly, the study's objective was to determine each frame's primary actors. For this reason, I decided not to do a line-by-line analysis to focus on the message from the journalists. I also

focused on the categories that are closely related to the research questions to avoid overlapping with existing climate media frames which do not relate to climate news domestication.

The purpose of the analysis is to show the similarities and differences in climate news domestication in both media systems covering one climate-related event and how storytelling techniques can vary depending on political and economic contexts. In my opinion, one common event is more relevant for comparative analysis of two extremely different media systems than a set of multiple weather-related disasters during a long period of time. COP28 helps to revile what storytelling techniques different news outlets use as the context of the event is independent of space and time. By excluding factors such as the region of the disaster, the number of people affected by climate change and other physical factors, analyzing a single event allows for a more accurate assessment of differences or coincidences in the logic of the narrative. Thus, media coverage of an event depends only on which newspapers do it.

4. Results

The results will be presented to Swedish media and Russian news outlets separately. I will then conduct an analysis where I will compare the two countries, discovering similarities and differences in the domestication of global climate news. My presentation of findings begins by considering how COP28 was framed in *Dagens Nyheter*.

4.1. Sweden

The inductive coding, followed by analysis, revealed two main distinctive frames in communication about climate change for the paper: Conflict Frame, and Fear, where the second frame is subordinated to a subordinate position to the first one and serves the idea of urgent global actions against temperature rise. I will then analyze each frame separately. I dismissed some categories because of their infrequent mention in the articles. They were also not combined into a single frame.

4.1.1. Conflict Frame

Following the structure of the frame analysis, I found that the main climate frame that helps journalists localize the global news is the comparison of different countries. I named this frame "Conflict Frame" because journalists shift the reader's attention to comparing what different countries are doing to solve the climate crisis. Ultimately, this comparison comes down to the fact that there are countries that are dealing with the climate issue ("good" countries or heroes), and there are countries that are trying to defend the production of fossil fuels ("bad" countries or villains).

The contradictions between oil countries and Western countries were the dominant frame in the newspaper. Almost all articles were based on the frame of conflict with heroes and villains. "Bad" countries include Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Russia, Iran, China, India, and Brazil.

According to sources in the negotiations, they have faced strong opposition from Russia in particular, which together with Iran argues that fossil gas is a good transition fuel as it produces

lower emissions than coal power. Saudi Arabia and India have also opposed all the above commitments (Dagens Nyheter, 7 December, 2023).

The main message in *Dagens Nyheter* was that oil countries are trying to divert the negotiations. In one of the lead paragraphs, the position of the UAE and Saudi Arabia is directly labelled as sabotage of negotiations.

As the UN climate summit gets underway, it is revealed that both the host country, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia are trying to sabotage the world's climate efforts for their own financial gain (Dagens Nyheter, 30 November, 2023).

As a result of the signed agreement, Russia's position was labelled hypocritical, as the country's representatives managed to lobby for loopholes for gas extraction.

But the biggest loophole, paragraph 29 of the agreement, comes with a Russian signature. "Transitional fuels" are identified as a solution for the energy transition and to guarantee energy supply. Honestly, it would have been nice if the countries of the world had spoken clearly and written fossil gas. Talking about a transition away from fossil fuels - and at the same time emphasising fossil gas as a solution - is almost hypocritical (Dagens Nyheter, 14 December, 2023).

The conflict frame was presented through direct negativity against oil countries. The purpose of this way of storytelling is to provoke questions from readers to oil countries and to demonstrate to the domestic audience that their country (Sweden) is taking the right steps. One way of provoking negativity against oil countries and their representatives was critical characterization of Sultan al-Jaber, the head of COP28, who also represented the United Arab Emirates, the host country.

It is a conflict of interest so conspicuous it almost seems contrived. The head of the UN Climate Change Conference COP28, which starts on Thursday in Dubai, is Sultan al-Jaber. He also has another job: CEO of one of the world's largest fossil fuel companies, Adnoc, which is owned by the United Arab Emirates (Dagens Nyheter, 30 November, 2023).

Throughout the coverage of the climate summit, the newspaper's journalists propagated a narrative common in the Western press – the climate summit should not be held in oil countries,

as they are sabotaging decision-making. Compared to European countries that are committed to solving the climate crisis, the reader feels anger towards other countries as they are presented in a negative way.

Hundreds of fossil fuel lobbyists have arrived at the Climate Summit in Dubai, many likely to take issue with plans for a fossil fuel phase-out agreement [...] The battle over fossil fuels has heated up at the COP28 climate summit in Dubai, a city of skyscrapers and luxury in abundance, all funded by fossil fuels. (Dagens Nyheter, 3 December, 2023).

This is really absurd - for almost 30 years, the issue of fossil fuels has been completely blocked in climate negotiations (Dagens Nyheter, 14 December, 2023).

In addition, similar narrative about the pointlessness of holding climate summits in countries whose economies are based on mining was put into speeches by representatives of non-profit organizations.

“Why are we here at all? Is that the best we could do?” says Shah Rafayat Chowdhury of the Bangladesh youth delegation tells DN (Dagens Nyheter, 5 December, 2023).

If the newspaper presented the point of view of oil production supporters, the journalists tried to portray representatives of oil countries in a negative way. This bias was visible in the interview with Kamel Ben Naceur, a former Minister of Oil in Tunisia. The interview was accompanied by the following description:

He is sitting casually, coffee in hand, outside the United Arab Emirates' capital, Abu Dhabi's magnificent Louvre Abu Dhabi museum. Inside the light grey dome is art by Leonardo da Vinci, Monet, van Gogh and a currently world-famous exhibition by jewellery maker Cartier. A few kilometres away are the headquarters of his former employer, the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC), whose revenues indirectly paid for the museum (Dagens Nyheter, 12 December, 2023).

To the contrary, Sweden and the EU were portrayed as heroes. We can see this positive message reflected in the speakers' speeches who present Sweden as a country with a prominent environmental policy.

Since 1990, our emissions have fallen by a third, while our economy has doubled. Many countries in poorer parts of the world do not know that this is possible. They only see the burden, they don't see all the opportunities (Sweden's Prime-Minister Ulf Kristersson. Dagens Nyheter, 3 December, 2023).

It is worth noting that the official position of Sweden plays a significant role in the media coverage of COP28 in *Dagens Nyheter*. The voice of Swedish officials was dominant during the event in the newspaper. It can be concluded that the Swedish government was the main actor in the nationalization of global climate news. Besides Sweden's Prime Minister, the voice of the Minister for Climate and Environment, Romina Pourmokhtari, was visible. Sweden's Climate Ambassador at the summit, Mattias Frumerie, was also a key source for the newspaper. Through their words, Sweden was presented as a country making significant attempts to solve the climate crisis against the background of other countries.

We will not allow actors who want to continue to emit and pollute the climate to condition our negotiations and our work to deliver on the agreement to fully phase out fossil fuels (Swedish Minister of Climate and Environment Romina Pourmokhtari, Dagens Nyheter, 10 December, 2023).

In addition, the positivity about Sweden's work on climate issues that readers can see in the examples of international businesses based in Sweden that are on the way to a greener future.

Microsoft founder Bill Gates is investing in a factory in Örnsköldsvik to produce climate-smart marine fuel. It will use renewable energy to convert water into marine fuel for the shipping industry of the future (Dagens Nyheter, 2 December, 2023)

Moreover, the positive context around Sweden is created by mentioning the signed agreements that provide more opportunities for the transition to a green economy or green energy.

At the climate summit, it is other actors who are leading the way in renewables. One of the most positively received declarations is a new declaration on tripling renewable energy already by 2030. Around 120 countries - including Sweden - have signed the declaration (Dagens Nyheter, 3 December 2023).

Not only Sweden, but the entire European Union (EU) is considered the main driver of change, while other countries are trying to sabotage the negotiations. The EU's position in the negotiations was presented both through European officials and through representatives of Sweden. Throughout the summit period, *Dagens Nyheter* demonstrated the strong position of the European Union on the cessation of fossil fuel production. This gives the reader an idea of European countries as “good” countries that take care of the climate.

Working towards an agreement at the Dubai climate summit has been complicated. Swedish Climate Minister Romina Pourmokhtari (L) confirmed that the EU was ready to leave the negotiations - "Yes, that's true. The proposal presented on Monday was very far from what we expected," she said (Dagens Nyheter, 13 December 2023).

To evoke the emotion of frustration in readers, the journalists used the narrative of injustice to compare different countries from different regions. This storytelling technique was employed by the journalists and the speakers in two ways. First, the reporters highlighted the economic injustice between wealthy countries, for example, China and India on one side, and the EU on the other side. The message is that it is unfair to shift responsibility for the climate issue only to developed countries, while China, which is considered a developing country, is the largest emitter of greenhouse gases.

They [China and India] would prefer to see wording about developed countries taking greater responsibility. The definition of a developing country has been in place since 1992, when the UN climate convention was signed, with India and China qualifying as developing countries (Dagens Nyheter, 8 December, 2023).

Secondly, in *Dagens Nyheter*, the voice of the Global South is used to contrast oil-producing countries that sabotage decision-making with countries that are most vulnerable to global climate change (primarily Oceania). While in the first case, the injustice was portrayed by contrasting developed countries (Sweden among others), in the second case, it was done by contrasting developing oil countries with the most vulnerable countries. This is also a way to evoke questions and negative emotions towards the oil-producing countries.

High expectations for the climate summit in Dubai collapsed on Monday. All language about phasing out fossil fuels was removed from the new draft agreement. – “We did not come here to

sign a death warrant. What we saw today is unacceptable,” said John Silk, the Marshall Islands' minister of natural resources (Dagens Nyheter, 12 December, 2023).

It can be concluded that the aim of the journalists was to evoke the reader's negative attitude towards the oil-producing countries, since almost the entire narrative of the newspaper was based on the confrontation between Western countries and countries dependent on the extraction of fossil fuels. The frame of conflict and negativity towards certain countries works well for localizing global climate news. Through the confrontation of countries, the reader of *Dagens Nyheter* feels more involved in Sweden's climate agenda.

4.1.2. Fear

The second frame, fear, revolves around the catastrophic consequences of lack of action. The literature review showed that this frame is quite common in the global media. This frame, like the previous ones, aims to evoke emotions in the reader. It is worth noting that Swedish news outlets tend to present the climate crisis through a catastrophic view to provoke collective action (Olausson, 2009). However, my findings illustrate that the Swedish journalists in *Dagens Nyheter* localize climate news using a common vision of weather-related consequences without any national references, at least not in the selected articles. In my case, there are no local events, either potential or actual, that can demonstrate future damages. All examples were international or had vague descriptions without any details.

Record high temperatures, record low sea ice, deadly fires and accelerating sea level rise - it is a deafening cacophony of broken records! [...] We risk losing the race to save our glaciers and curb sea level rise (Dagens Nyheter, 1 December, 2023).

In this example, we see that the lack of action from all participants of the Paris Agreement can lead to some weather-related natural disasters. However, there are no descriptions of how sea level rise can affect Sweden. Despite the fact that *Dagens Nyheter* did not mention any catastrophic events in Sweden, the newspaper wrote about weather-related damages in other regions. This is illustrated by the example below. The article also had several pictures of consequences in Canada.

In Canada, 185 000 square kilometres have burned, an area the size of Götaland and Svealand combined. Hawaii was hit by the deadliest wildfire in the US in more than 100 years when at

least 99 people died on the island of Maui. The Horn of Africa suffered flooding after five years of drought that reduced the soil's ability to absorb water. Hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to flee their homes (Dagens Nyheter, 1 December, 2023).

I included the fear frame in the list of ways of how journalists localize global climate news for two reasons. First, I am coming to the conclusion that the Swedish audience is considered as part of the global community that can take other people's problems personally. The consequences of climate change for other states are no less important than the consequences Sweden may face. As Olausson (2009) highlighted, the frame of collectivity plays one of the central roles in Swedish media reporting on climate issues. Appealing to fear can be seen as one method of calling for collective action. Secondly, the fear frame is directly related to the other frames described above. For example, news outlets demonstrate through fear and risks the consequences of decisions taken primarily by oil-producing countries.

I want to highlight that frame of fear plays a secondary role and serves the purpose of the first frame. As with the conflict frame, fear is intended to galvanise collective efforts to address the climate issue on a global level. However, both frames are of a different nature. In the first case, I can say that it is about the emotion of negativity; in the second case, it is about the emotion of frustration. Since Swedish journalists use two different types of emotions, I decided to identify the fear frame separately, as subordinate to the first frame, which is dominant in the climate news coverage.

Overall, the qualitative research indicates a clear tendency in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* to provoke negativity against certain countries. It can be concluded that the two frames are linked to emotions. The journalists used a social identity construction of "Us and Them" to localize the global news and to engage the domestic audience in the climate agenda. The findings demonstrate that the domestication of politically-related global climate news is conducted not on the level of local events (such as weather-related natural disasters, local climate adaptations, etc.), but on the emotional level of confrontation between countries. The blame for inaction is laid at the feet of the oil-producing countries, while Sweden is portrayed as a progressive country.

Dagens Nyheter utilized Swedish speakers to localize COP28 for its audience. Swedish officials were the most prominent actors in the media coverage of the event. The Minister for Climate and Environment, Romina Pourmokhtari, was the most cited person, with Prime Minister Ulf

Kristersson in second place. Sweden's official position was predominant, with some articles presenting it without any alternative viewpoints. This was evident in an article discussing nuclear power as one of the pathways to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Despite the topic being subject to debate due to significant global and local anti-nuclear campaigns (such as those led by Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace), the journalists only covered the official stance. I affirm my assumption that the newspaper likely prioritized local sources and speakers over international ones (both within and outside the EU). However, local speakers, including officials, Swedish academia, and environmental organizations, were predominant.

Summarizing, *Dagens Nyheter* presents COP28 in the conflict frame i.e. a conflict between those who support active changes in fossil fuels production (Sweden, the EU) and countries who fight for the possibility to use gas and oil in the future. In this case, the conflict frame serves the purpose of collective actions on a global level against climate change. My findings confirm the previous studies illustrating that the Swedish media tends to cover climate news through the lens of need for more intense collective actions.

4.2. Russia

Having analyzed two Russian newspapers, I identified two main frames: Conflict frame and Failure of the green agenda. I will analyze each frame separately. Because certain categories were not mentioned very often in the articles, I decided to drop them, as was the case with the Swedish news outlet. The second frame has a subordinate position to the main frame, serving certain purposes of justifying Russia's (in)actions.

4.2.1. Conflict Frame

The frame of a conflict was presented by the newspapers in two ways. The first representation is related to the conflict between developed and developing countries in terms of green energy transition. The second representation of the frame is related to Russian interests or losses from green energy transition. It is worth noting that the first representation is dominant in the selected articles. Russian media is trying to push Western countries and the Global South on the topic of climate change. The selected articles were dedicated to the unjust attitude toward countries from the Global South. The articles portrayed developed countries as "bad guys" who want to solve the climate crisis at the expense of poor countries and countries with economies heavily dependent on oil or/and gas production.

Rapid economic growth is possible where there is cheap labor and energy raw materials. This is Africa, Asia, but not Europe. But if a general divestment from fossil energy sources can be pushed through, the EU can lead the energy transition and reap the dividends. (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

The injustice between the Global South and developed countries was presented through the idea of relocating high-carbon plants from European countries, including Sweden, to developing countries. The shifting of CO₂ emissions is one of the main arguments when it comes to the responsibility for the climate crisis. By relocating factories to other countries, the European Union, with high consumption, reduces greenhouse gas emissions on its territory, but the carbon budget remains the same. Since the climate is global by its nature, relocating factories plays no role in solving the problem.

Who should pay for carbon - the producer or the consumer? [...] After all, it is pointless to reduce emissions in Sweden if it imports high-carbon products from third countries. And the more it consumes, the more emissions increase in the countries that produce them for Sweden (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

Seeking the support of the official Russian position (fossil fuel production should continue), the selected newspapers try to use the Global South in their arguments. They attempt to show that developing countries want the same thing that Russia wants.

Developing countries are refusing to swear to green ideology. The Western "low-carbon transformation" lobby first met with strong opposition from developing countries at the UN climate summit (COP28) in Dubai (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 5 December, 2023).

Among other things, the Russian media try to clash the interests of Western countries with the interests of developing countries, showing that not everyone in the world agrees to follow the green transition quided by the developed countries.

Sultan bin Ahmed al-Jaber, President of the COP28, has articulated what is considered unacceptable in Europe, Russia or the United States: accelerated divestment from fossil fuels will return part of the world's population to the caves. This is how developing countries are responding to Western demands for an accelerated green transition (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 5 December, 2023).

Rossiyskaya Gazeta calls the climate policy of developed countries unreflective of poor countries. The countries of the Global South allegedly do not want to follow it, which is a plus

for Russia. In addition, the contradictions between Western countries and Global South is clearly outlined in the article.

The gap between the positions of the so-called developed countries (read 'collective West') and developing countries (read 'Global South') on climate issues is widening. The countries of the Global South are no longer silent, but are asking quite specific and sometimes uncomfortable questions. For example, 'who will actually pay for reducing greenhouse gas emissions with the help of "green technologies" that developing countries simply do not have?'. No one wants to mindlessly follow the Western climate agenda anymore (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 7 December, 2023).

One of the main messages of this frame is the presentation of Russia as a protector of the interests of other countries (hero), as opposed to Western countries (villains).

Russia intends to defend the possibility for all countries of the world to use fossil energy sources along with renewable energy sources when necessary due to the needs of the economy and population, while, for example, EU countries (and Germany in particular) advocate a complete ban on the use of coal, oil and gas (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 4 December, 2023).

In addition to this message, journalists also try to find positive actions that Russia takes to solve the climate crisis.

At the Conference, Russia confirmed that it intends to achieve carbon neutrality no later than 2060. To achieve this, it is necessary to develop technologies to reduce emissions and increase CO2 absorption. A significant role in this process is assigned to Russia's first climate science and education center "Yenisei Siberia" (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 14 December, 2023).

Over the past two years, Russia has built - both at the regulatory and technological levels - a national system for issuing carbon units based on the results of the implementation of projects to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. The GHG validation and verification institute has been formed, the register has been launched and the scheme for circulation of carbon units has been tested on a pilot transaction (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

It is interesting to note that both Russian newspapers also present the conflict frame in their articles, using a strong propagandistic tone that was more characteristic of Soviet newspapers. They do this in order to show representatives of Western countries in a bad light. For example, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* tried to show them as clowns who do not know what they are doing.

Westerners unashamedly talk about the 1.5°C temperature limit as a dogma everywhere they can. They even put on¹ '1.5°C' badges on their lapels (apparently, this will also somehow help to stop climate change). At the same time, the Paris Agreement talks about 'limiting the temperature rise to 2°C and making efforts to limit the temperature rise to 1.5°C (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 7 December, 2023).

In addition, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* rudely labelled extremists against those who take an opposing position to the Russia government.

It [30th Anniversary IPCC report] is this that has become the guideline for the various climate extremists. The unattainability of this was clear from the start, as such a temperature could be achieved with zero greenhouse gas emissions as early as 2050 (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

In addition, the conflict frame is portrayed by using a common narrative of Western countries' fight against Russia, which was accelerated after the sanctions against Russia in 2022. According to this idea, Western countries are trying to destroy the Russian economy through green energy transitions.

The dictate of the green lobby directly threatens Russia's interests: the global anti-coal coalition will reduce the possibility of exporting raw materials, at the expense of which many regions of the Russian Federation exist (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 5 December, 2023).

4.2.2. Failure of the Green Agenda

Failure of the green agenda is the next frame which is secondary to the main frame, as in the case of Sweden. The journalists try to prove that the current green movement, guided by Western countries, is useless. There was an article in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* about three failures of the world's climate strategy: failure to meet climate goals, failure to secure climate finance, and failure to coordinate climate action between developed and developing countries. Throughout the coverage of the Climate conference, the idea that the Paris Agreement had failed was one of the arguments suggesting that the world would not be able to cease fossil fuel production, no matter how much the EU wanted to do so.

¹ In the original, this verb is slang and has a negative meaning

Each year, the gap between the emission reduction targets and the amount of emissions after some decrease during the period of covid restrictions is growing. In 2022, greenhouse gas emissions reached their maximum values (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

Many Western leaders pretend that the failure of the Paris Agreement did not even happen: they do not analyse the reasons for what happened and keep launching new green initiatives (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

Using this frame, journalists try to show the contradictions between countries and the fact that Russia is not alone in its position on oil and gas production.

The pace of development of green economic transformation is insufficient to achieve the goals of the Paris Agreement, and this conflict is reflected in the discussions in Dubai (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

The argument that it is impossible to cease oil and gas production is reinforced by reference to developed countries that are involved in fossil fuel production.

Even industrialized countries such as the United States, Norway, Canada and Australia are expanding fossil energy production and exports (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 12 December, 2023).

Overall, the selected Russian newspapers present COP28 through conflict frame as well as the Swedish media outlet. This conflict is between Western countries and mainly Russia as a representative of oil countries. As seen in the case of the Swedish newspaper, Russian media is also trying to create a sense of frustration and injustice among their readers but towards Western countries to localize global climate news. By leveraging the interests of countries from the Global South, Russian newspapers try to demonstrate the unfair treatment of developed countries towards poor nations as well as towards Russia in terms of climate mitigation and adaptation. Additionally, the demonstration of the failure of the green agenda serves Russian interests in fossil fuel production. The frame of failure of the green agenda is subordinate to the conflict frame, which serves a single purpose, namely to justify Russia's failure to act on the climate crisis as one of the largest emitters of greenhouse gases.

My assumption that national officials would be the dominant group of speakers to localize global climate news was not confirmed for the Russian newspapers. The dominant group of speakers was academia. Using comments from representatives of different academic institutions, journalists tried to confirm established ideas such as the failure of the Paris Agreement and

unfair attitudes toward developing countries. I confirmed my assumption about sources; the selected newspapers used sources from within Russia more. However, I did not expect that *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* would cite foreign sources so much. All quoted sources were credible, but journalists often used only those messages that supported Russia's official position, ignoring others.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

As my result shows, all three newspapers – *Dagens Nyheter*, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* – present the climate conference in the frame of conflict where two additional frames are secondary to the main frame, in case of Sweden it is fear frame, in the case of Russia it is failure of the green agenda. The conflict frame is portrayed in two different ways – clash of interests between oil and non-oil countries (for the Swedish news outlet) and conflict between West and East (for the Russian newspapers). The conflict frame serves two different purposes. The Swedish journalists from *Dagens Nyheter* use it to emphasize the need for global collective action (primarily, cessation of oil and gas production). The Russian journalists use the conflict frame to justify Russia's inaction in climate mitigation and adaptation and highlight the importance of fossil fuels production by emphasizing the economic disparity between developed and developing countries.

The findings illustrate that Swedish and Russian media use similar patterns, localizing global climate news to provoke strong feelings among their readers. I placed all frames in the matrix (see Appendix 5), adding the moral and emotional basis of the frames to demonstrate the tendency of using the same emotional patterns in two different media systems. However, they employ two different storytelling techniques: *Dagens Nyheter* uses the concept of protagonist and antagonist, while Russian newspapers employ the Karpman Drama Triangle. The concept of protagonist vs. antagonist is common in literature, films, TV shows, or video games. However, the analysis of the Swedish print newspaper illustrates that journalists frame news and stories related to climate change in terms of "bad" and "good" countries, portraying oil-rich countries like Russia as villains, while Sweden and other EU countries are portrayed as heroes. The idea of heroes and villains in the media provides a framework for discussing morality and power, evoking a wide variety of emotions in the audience.

The Karpman Drama Triangle is a social model of interpersonal relationships coined by Stephen Karpman (1968). The triangle contains three roles: the victim, the rescuer, and the persecutor. Both Russian newspapers use this social model in climate media coverage to portray rich countries, including Sweden, as the persecutor or antagonist, developing countries (mainly from the Global South) as the victim, and Russia as the rescuer taking on the role of the helper. In some articles, Russia is also portrayed as the victim of European green policy, although journalists emphasize that the main losers of the green transition advocated by developed

countries are from the Global South. Since poor countries cannot stand up to the European Union and the United States, Russia acts as a protector of the poor nations. Similar storytelling technique of polarization between developed countries and developing nations is employed by news outlets from those countries that are most vulnerable to climate change, such as Nepal (Shrestha, Burningham, & Grant, 2014). According to the narrative from these countries, responsibility is laid at the feet of the developed countries, a narrative that Russian media promotes.

The three-part technique of storytelling of climate news in the Russian media is strongly correlated with the official narrative of decolonization of the Global South, which intensified with Russia's increasing isolation after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Consequently, the Russian government has embarked on a race for influence over African countries by bolstering its diplomatic contacts (Ferragamo, 2023). One of the narratives promoted, both by officials and the media, is African countries' struggle for economic and political sovereignty, with Russia depicted as a friend and helper.

Common climate news frames related to the contradictions between countries in Swedish and Russian newspapers refer to the Cold War analogy, the opposition between Western and Eastern ideologies in the mid-20th century. After World War II, conservative newspapers in Scandinavia, as well as Swedish and Danish social democratic newspapers, began to emphasize in their articles "poor living conditions in the USSR, the dictatorship, and the Soviet prison camps all paved the way for the change in public attitudes towards the Soviet Union during 1946 and 1947" (Roslyng-Jensen, 2012, p. 541). The same media logic was used in Soviet newspapers to show ideological differences between Western countries and the Warsaw Pact nations. It can be observed that, for example, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* uses a strong propagandistic tone against Western countries in climate reporting, trying to ridicule the negotiators from the developed world. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* calls environmental activists and non-governmental organisations, which largely adhere to the climate policies of Western countries, climate extremists. Although *Dagens Nyheter* does not use propaganda narratives directly, the journalists contrast the interests of Sweden and other developed countries with the interests of oil-producing countries, which are often ideologically opposed to the Global North. We can see that climate issues in media coverage are becoming one of the controversial political topics in international policy between two ideologically different regions.

The findings show that the storytelling techniques of global climate events (COPs) differs from the storytelling techniques of climate news related to weather-related natural disasters or other events that do not correlate directly to the decision-making process in the climate change topic. Previous studies illustrate that a common storytelling technique of domesticating climate changes in the media is stories about damages that affect or can affect local territories and local people (Boykoff, 2008). Such events might be floods, hurricanes, wildfires, heatwaves, and others. For this reason, the frame of fear and risks is one of the most dominant frames in different news outlets around the world (Painter, 2013). However, I could not find any local catastrophic events either in the Swedish newspapers or the Russian newspapers. *Dagens Nyheter* illustrated some weather-related natural events by damages from outside Sweden (Canada, for example). The Russian newspapers mentioned risks from rising temperatures in a vague and general manner. Worth noting, the two countries have already faced climate consequences, for example, sea level rise in Sweden, and huge wildfires and catastrophic floods in Russia.

When discussing climate media coverage in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, we can observe the same pattern that was discovered in previous studies. Poberezhskaya's (2015) results show the prioritization of economic development over environmental concerns. My findings illustrate that Russian journalists tend to highlight the failure of the green policies of Western countries through economic losses for both Russia and the countries of the Global South. However, my results do not correlate with previous findings, arguing that in climate reporting, the position of officials dominates. COP15 in Copenhagen was one of the cases for Poberezhskaya (2015), but the comparison of two climate conferences demonstrates two different results. It can be explained that Russia is now isolated, and its foreign policy is in decline.

Moving to the Swedish media, my results confirm previous studies of Swedish newspapers, which claimed that climate journalists convey the official position of the state through quotations of officials (Christensen & Wormbs, 2017). In my case, Swedish officials were the main group of speakers in climate media coverage. According to Olausson's results (2009), the Swedish print media has made collective action against climate dangers a key theme, emphasizing the need for active action at different levels (global, national, and local). In my case, this frame was presented through global-level action, namely pressure on oil and gas exporters to recognize the need to cease fossil fuels production.

In comparing Russia and Sweden, I assumed that the Swedish media would use international cooperation on climate adaptation and mitigation in a positive way, while Russian news outlets would present cooperation with other countries using negative frames. However, the opposite has happened – *Dagens Nyheter* transmitted a common idea among climate activists that it is pointless to negotiate with oil countries, while the Russian newspapers provided an idea of international cooperation between developed countries and poor nations to address the concerns of the latter with a stronger voice of the Global South. Additionally, the needs of poor countries from the Global South were used by both media outlets but in different manners. The Russian newspapers used the Global South to confirm Russia's official position on oil and gas production (arguing that the world needs fossil fuels). In contrast, *Dagens Nyheter* used poor nations (especially island countries) to emphasize the urgent need for action to limit global temperature rise, particularly by ceasing the use of fossil fuels.

What is evident from the findings shown above is the high level of politicization of the climate conference and the difference in media coverage of different types of climate-related events. Political climate-related events are not portrayed through weather-related natural disasters. The difference in the coverage of one event in two different media systems runs along the lines of the confrontation of two ideologies (Western and Eastern countries). It is worth noting that Russian and Swedish news outlets use the same methods to deliver messages to their audiences, namely evoking negative emotions against certain countries. Despite some differences in the storytelling technique of Swedish and Russian newspapers, storytelling in both countries is based on the confrontation of two systems, where some countries are portrayed as good and others as harmful. This refers us to "us" vs "them" rhetoric of the Cold War period when two polar ideologies were opposing each other.

5.1. Limitations, Ethical Issues and Future Studies

The primary limitation of this research is its scale. Due to the individual nature of the research project, the corpus of selected articles was limited to 36 articles, even though COP28 had a greater scale. Thus, for example, the Swedish viewpoint on the event was limited to only one newspaper. There may be concerns about the dependability of the content analysis because the research was conducted only by me, one individual. An additional coder could be useful to check for coding bias and increase the legitimacy of the research findings. That is where the main ethical issue lies, namely objectivity. Maintaining objectivity is crucial in framing analysis. In my case, I have a bias against the Russian media because of their dependence on the Putin

regime. In the context of climate change, I personally adhere to the viewpoint on climate policy promoted by the Swedish government. However, in my study, I clearly followed all the instructions of qualitative analysis and tried to be unbiased.

Another limitation of the research is the lack of perspective from the audience. Studying the nationalization of news, it is also important to examine how readers or viewers perceive certain ways of presenting information on climate change. Language and cultural barriers are some of the research limits that can directly affect the depth of the analysis. However, the researcher's belonging to another country is a strength of this study as it provides an opportunity to explore the context from different cultural and professional perspectives. In addition, the lack of a quantitative approach in the research project can be seen as a disadvantage. As the literature review shows, in studies on framing analysis of climate change, mixed qualitative and quantitative method is more common. Despite these limitations, this thesis contributes knowledge to the growing body of literature on climate media coverage, especially in Russia, where research on this topic is limited.

The novelty of my study lies in the fact that previous studies have mainly focused on a set of the most frequently used frames in climate reporting. My findings revealed the media logic that journalists use to domesticate global climate news stories. Further studies should explore the process of politicization of the climate agenda in the media in more detail. It should be investigated not only through political events such as COPs but also weather-related natural disasters. It is also important to look at the process of nationalization of global climate events from the audience perspective. Audience perspective would be important to add to this area to understand whether journalists and other stakeholders achieve their goals. International research would provide an understanding of how media use climate-related topics to polarize audiences in different countries. Additionally, my research provides direction for the future study of storytelling techniques used to communicate climate change information to audiences.

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№	Date	Title	Journalist's name	Type
1.	27.11.23	Oil companies' strategy is based on illusions	Sverker Lenas	News
2.	29.11.23	This is what the countries of the world will to agree in Dubai	Jannike Kihlberg	News

3.	30.11.23	Why COP28 is held in a major oil country	Jannike Kihlberg	News
4.	30.11.23	Peter Alestig: Here are the secret plans to destroy the world's climate work	Peter Alestig	Editorial
5.	01.12.23	New climate data has shocked the head of the UN	Jannike Kihlberg	News
6.	01.12.23	A flying start to COP28 with controversial climate fund	Jannike Kihlberg	News
7.	02.12.23	It's time for a tax on flying	Peter Alestig	News
8.	02.12.23	Bill Gates invests heavily in Örnköldsvik - will make fuel from water	Peter Alestig	News
9.	03.12.23	UN chief attacks hundreds of fossil fuel lobbyists	Peter Alestig	News
10.	03.12.23	Kristersson's new goal: Tripling nuclear power	Peter Alestig	News
11.	05.12.23	COP28 President questioned fossil fuel phase-out	Peter Alestig	News
12.	06.12.23	Sweden increases climate aid	Peter Alestig	News
13.	07.12.23	Peter Alestig: The fossil fuel battle of the century is underway in Dubai - it could make a real difference	Peter Alestig	Editorial
14.	08.12.23	Major issues to be resolved as ministers arrive at COP28	Jannike Kihlberg	News
15.	09.12.23	Canadian initiative puts pressure on fossil fuel nations	Jannike Kihlberg; Peter Alestig	News
16.	10.12.23	Leaked letter reveals joint oil cartel counterattack	Jannike Kihlberg; Peter Alestig	News
17.	12.12.23	Phasing out all fossil fuels is not a solution	Jannike Kihlberg; Peter Alestig	News
18.	13.12.23	Climate summit in overtime	Jannike Kihlberg; Peter Alestig	News

19.	14.12.23	This is the beginning of the end for the fossil era	Jannike Kihlberg; Peter Alestig	News
20.	14.12.23	Peter Alestig: Why Russia was one of the biggest winners of the meeting	Peter Alestig	Editorial
21.	14.12.23	Island States of critical importance are not present in the decision-making process	Jannike Kihlberg; Peter Alestig	News

Table 1. The corpus of the article from *Dagens Nyheter*.

№	Date	Title	Journalist's name	Type
1.	27.11.23	The Russian Federation may impose a climate tax. EU calls on developing countries to make 'air polluters' pay up	Danila Moiseyev	News
2.	28.11.23	The carbon transformation will require a lot of human lives. People of the global South will have to be sacrificed for a green transition	Mikhail Sergeyev	News
3.	04.12.23	Russia has something to say on the global climate agenda	Editorial office	Editorial
4.	05.12.23	The coal regions of the Russian Federation again facing restructuring	Mikhail Sergeyev	News
5.	05.12.23	Chinese solar power plants will be installed in Central Asia for Arab money. The region is transitioning to green energy in its own way	Victoria Panfilova	News
6.	12.12.23	Three failures of the world's climate strategy	Oleg Nikiforov	News
7.	12.12.23	New UN benchmarks looming in Dubai. The degradation of globalism is reflected in countries' attitudes towards the environment	Boris Nikolaev	News
8.	12.12.23	Russia produces carbon units in the absence of demand	Oleg Nikiforov	News
9.	13.12.23	The need for fossil fuels has led to a dead end UN climate summit	Olga Solovieva	News

10.	15.12.23	Green lobby spurs gas demand. Conservation technologies for SO aviation become the main hope of eco-activists	Olga Solovieva	News
11.	15.12.23	Carbon neutrality is not possible without nuclear power	Vladimir Polkanov	News

Table 2. The corpus of the article from *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*.

№	Date	Title	Journalist's name	Type
1.	27.11.23	The UN climate conference in Dubai - a new milestone in human history or an outmoded, expensive mechanism?	Igor Dunayevsky	News
2.	07.12.23	Kosachev: No one wants to mindlessly follow the Western climate agenda anymore	Konstantin Kosachev	Editorial
3.	12.12.23	In Dubai, the discussion was not about the climate, it was about deciding who would become rich and who would become poor	Sergey Tikhonov	News
4.	14.12.23	Science and education centers help reduce greenhouse gas emissions	Mikhail Kalmatsky	News

Table 3. The corpus of the article from *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*.

7. Appendix

Appendix 1: Sampling.

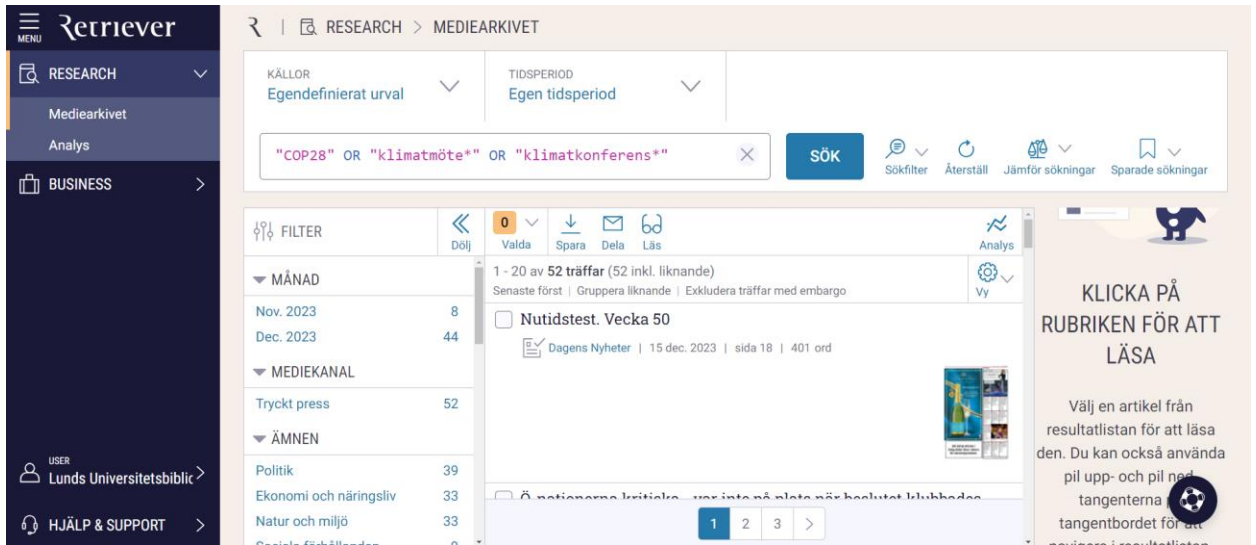


Figure 1. Sampling of articles in Mediearkivet.

Appendix 2: Coding Process.

To analyze the selected article, I used Excel. I began coding the articles line by line. You can see this process in Figure 1. However, I concluded then that line-by-line coding is not very suitable in my case. Then, I began coding the texts, focusing on the meaning that was hidden between the lines. I also provided a short summary with keywords for each article (Figure 2). As a result, some codes were changed, and they became more thematic, which helped me reveal the way news is domesticated rather than finding preexisting frames in the empirical material.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
32						
33		News article: Nya klimatsiffrorna skakar FN-chefen 2023 kommer att bli det varmaste året som uppmätts. Rekordhöga temperaturer, rekordlite havsis, dödliga bränder och allt snabbare höjning av havsnivåerna. – Det är en öronbedövande kakofoni av brutna rekord, säger WMO:s generalsekreterare Petteri Taalas. 2023 är på väg att skriva klimathistoria.				
34		Nyheter. Rekordhöga temperaturer, rekordlite havsis, dödliga bränder och en allt snabbare höjning av havsnivåerna. 2023 kommer att bli det varmaste året som har uppmätts. Data fram till slutet av oktober visar att året är cirka 1,40 grader över förindustriell tid. Den preliminära årsrapporten från den Världsmeteorologiska organisationen, WMO, presenteras under det stora klimatmötet COP28 som hålls i Dubai. – Den rekordartade globala uppvärmningen borde ge rysningar längs ryggar på världens ledare. Och det borde få dem att agera, säger FN:s generalsekreterare António Guterres. Det hittills varmaste året som har uppmätts är 2016 då årmedeltemperaturen låg 1,29 grader högre än under förindustriell tid. – Det här är mer än bara statistik. Vi riskerar att förlora kapplöpningen för att rädda våra glaciärer och tygla havsnivåhöjningen. Vi måste agera nu för att begränsa riskerna med ett alltmer ogästvänligt klimat under detta och de kommande århundradena, säger Petteri Taalas, WMO:s generalsekreterare.	Certainty	Fear and risks	Certainty is strong Scientist's words	
35		– Saker och ting går så fort att vi en hel månad innan årets slut redan har förklarat att	Certainty	Fear and risks; Science; Politics/international cooperation; Responsibility of countries; Position of science	Official's words Scientist's words Foreign speaker/source	

Figure 1. Initial coding.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
159		Björn-Ola Linnér, professor i klimatpolitik vid Linköpings universitet, som har följt förhandlingarna, menar att den överenskommelse som nu ligger på bordet inte alls lever upp till förväntningarna som byggdes upp under mötet. –Det lär bli en lång strid om detta utkast. Jag förväntar mig en skärpning i skrivningarna kring hur vi säkerställer ökade ambitioner i den fortsatta processen de närmaste åren. Allt annat vore ett misslyckande för COP28 och ordföranden.	Responsibility of countries	Swedish university	Academia						
160	The article contrasts the EU and oil countries. EU countries are "good guys" who want to solve the climate crisis. To opposite, oil countris like Iran										
161	and Saida Arabia are "bad guys". The voice of Swedish government. From minister for climate we learne that Sweden is a "good guy" and the										
162	country ia redy to fight. The article provokes negativity towards oil countries that sabotage. In the article Groble South is mentioned										
163											
164		"Att fasa ut alla fossila bränslen är ingen lösning" Dubai. Han var oljeminister i Tunisien och fram till nyligen chefsekonom på det emiratiska oljebolaget Adnoc. DN har träffat en av klimatområdets mest utskälda deltagare, fossillobbyisterna. Men Kamel Ben Naceur menar att omvärlden har missförstått allt.									
165		● Han sitter avslappnat, med en kaffe i handen, utanför Förenade Arabemiratens huvudstad Abu Dhabis storslagna museum Louvre Abu Dhabi. Innanför den ljusgrå kupolen finns konst från Leonardo da Vinci, Monet, van Gogh och en just nu världsberömd utställning av smyckestillverkaren Cartier. Några kilometer bort ligger huvudkontoret för hans forna arbetsgivare: Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, Adnoc,	Negative against oil supporter		Voice of oil producers						
166											

Figure 2. Coding in the first analytical step.

Appendix 3: Codes for the Russian and Swedish newspapers.

1. Interests of the Global South
2. Criticism of the EU
3. Criticism of rich countries
4. Injustice (Global South vs Developed countries)
5. Criticism of green movement
6. Inefficient green agenda
7. Failures of climate agenda
8. Unachievable goals
9. Russian justification
10. Good Russia
11. Russia has its own interests
12. Threat to Russian interests/economy
13. Criticism of the host country
14. Criticism of the COP28 president
15. Criticism of COP28 and the negotiations
16. Criticism of oil countries
17. Negativity towards oil states
18. Negativity against oil supporters
19. Accuse of Sabotage
20. Vulnerable countries
21. Strong Actions from the EU
22. Positive about the EU

23. Positive about Sweden
24. Monetary Influx from developed countries
25. Unjustice
26. Contradictions between countries
27. Responsibility of countries
28. Fear and risks
29. Lack of action
30. Disasters
31. Positive about UN
32. Positive about nuclear power
33. Academia
34. Officials
35. NGO
36. Business

Appendix 4: Mind Maps in Miro.

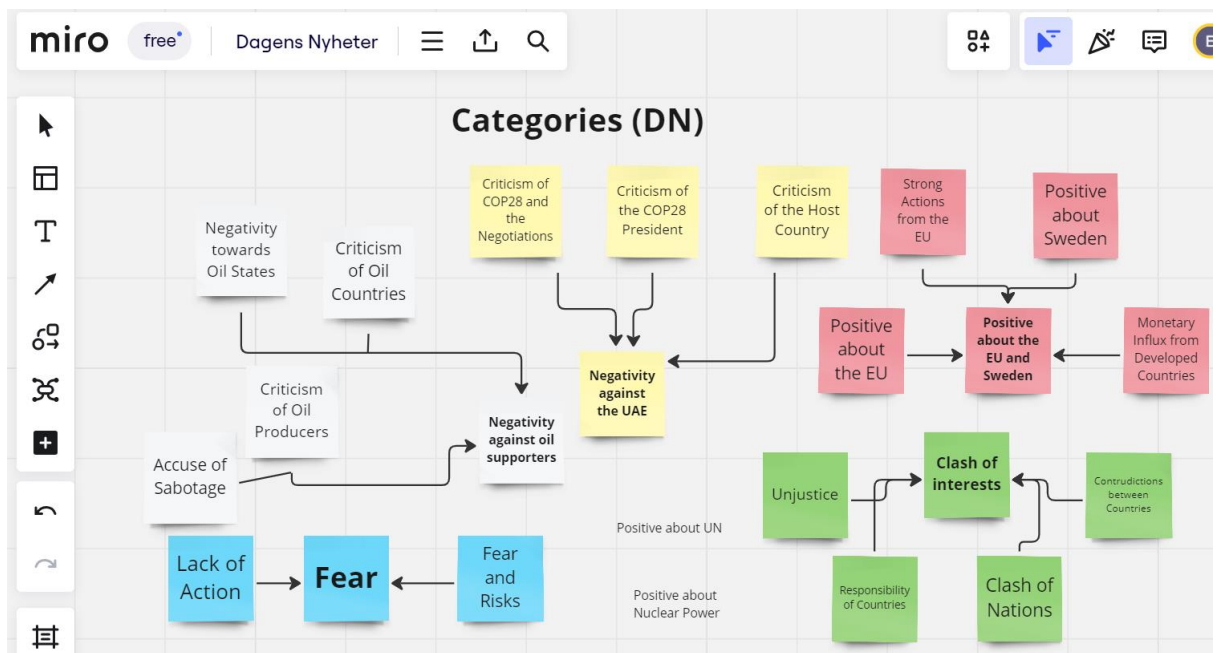


Figure 3. Mind map of category creation from codes in the second analytical step.

Figure 4 demonstrates the process of creating frames. In the first step, I decided to highlight three media frames for *Dagens Nyheter*. Later I decided to combine some frames and change the names. The conflict frame came after the full coding including the Russian part.

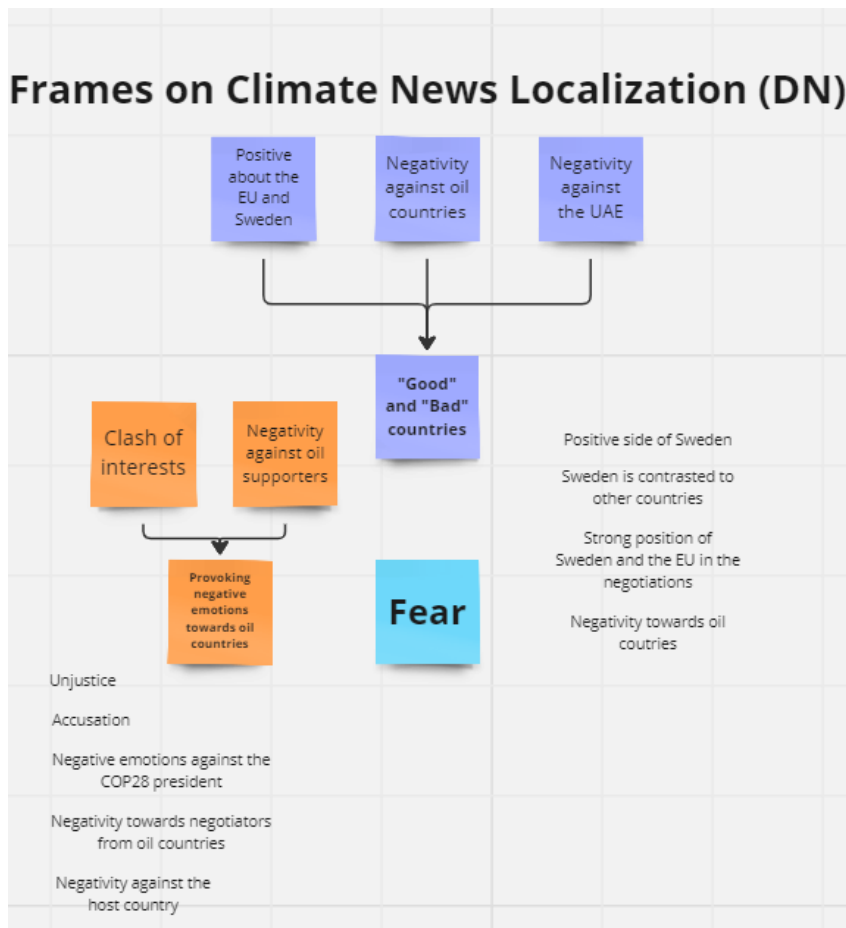


Figure 4. Creation of a frame map from categories in the third analytical step.

Appendix 5: Frames.

Frame	Problem definition	Moral basis	Emotional basis
Conflict frame	The media logic of this frame is to present global climate-related news to a domestic audience through the confrontation between the protagonist and antagonist, where readers find themselves on the "right" side.	Responsibility for the planet; (in)justice	Involvement; frustration; compassion; distrust
Fear	The frame of fear is a common media frame in climate reporting aimed at provoking collective action and solidarity among readers and decision-makers. It is a response to a lack of action.	Collective action; solidarity	Fear; anxiety

Table 4. Frames for *Dagens Nyheter*.

Frame	Problem definition	Moral basis	Emotional basis
Conflict frame	The media logic of this frame is to present global climate-related news to a domestic audience through the confrontation between the protagonist and antagonist, where readers find themselves on the "right" side.	(In)justice	Compassion; distrust
Failure of the green agenda	Threats to Russia's and other non-Western nations' interests and economy. Justifications for Russia's inaction in terms of climate mitigation and adaptation.	Justification	Distrust, frustration

Table 5. Frames for *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*.