CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism

Master thesis

2022   **Vittoria Torsello**

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism

Vittoria Torsello

The reproduction of structural power through discourses of delegitimation. The portrayal of the climate crisis in Italian newspapers

Master Thesis

Prague 2022

Author: Vittoria Torsello, BA

Supervisor: prof Annamária Neag, Ph.D.

Academic Year: 2021/2022

Bibliographic note

Abstract

When experiencing an environmental crisis, legitimacy is necessary. Since the climate crisis is a long-term process that human beings cannot experience directly, journalists must fill this gap by giving an adequate representation of it. In this process, the people who control knowledge and power secure political decisions by legitimising their actions and words in the news media. This study explores the legitimisation discourses, and the sources adopted to refer to the climate crisis in Italian news articles published in 2021. The critical discourse analysis illustrates the mechanisms involved in gaining discursive legitimacy: ideology, hegemony and power. These elements, interacting with each other, help to understand which sources, journalistic practices and discourses achieve dominance in the representation of a crisis. Discursive hegemony in the media is, in fact, able to shift responsibility for the crisis away from the agents involved, protecting their authority. The study, therefore, explores the power that elite actors can have in their relationship with journalists in legitimising their hegemonic position in the media, establishing a consensual perception of their actions and opinions to achieve discursive dominance in the climate crisis.

Keywords

climate crisis, critical discourse analysis, legitimation debate, authority building, med

Abstrakt

Pro chápání environmentální krize je nezbytná legitimita. Vzhledem k tomu, že klimatická krize je dlouhodobým procesem, který lidé nemohou zažít přímo, musí novináři tuto mezeru zaplnit tím, že ji budou adekvátně reprezentovat. V tomto procesu si lidé, kteří mají znalosti a moc, zajišťují politická rozhodnutí tím, že legitimizují své činy a slova ve zpravodajských médiích. Tato studie zkoumá diskurzy legitimizace a zdroje užité k referování o klimatické krizi v článcích publikovaných v roce 2021 v italských zpravodajských médiích. Kritická analýza diskurzu osvětluje mechanismy zapojené do získávání diskurzivní legitimity: ideologii, hegemonii a moc. Vzájemná interakce těchto prvků pomáhá pochopit, které zdroje, novinářské postupy a diskurzy dosahují dominance při reprezentaci krize. Diskurzivní hegemonie v médiích je totiž schopna přesunout odpovědnost za krizi mimo zúčastněné aktéry a chránit jejich autoritu. Studie proto zkoumá, jakou moc mohou mít elitní aktéři ve vztahu s novináři při legitimizaci svého hegemonního postavení v médiích vytvářením konsenzuálního vnímání jejich jednání a názorů s cílem dosáhnout diskurzivní dominance v klimatické krizi.

Klíčová slova

klimatická krize, kritická analýza diskurzu, debata o legitimizaci, budování autority, média

Range of thesis: 122 pages and 217586 characters

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

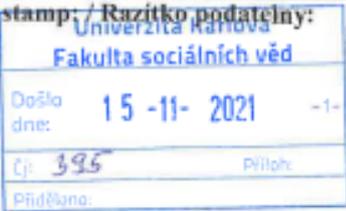Prague 30/07/2022   Vittoria Torsello

Acknowledgments

I am incredibly grateful to all my beloved ones, i miei amori.

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism
Approved research proposal

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism FSV UK
Research proposal for Erasmus Mundus Journalism Diploma Thesis

THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY STUDENT:

Student's surname and given name: Torsello Vittoria	Registry stamp / Razitko podatelny: Univerzita Karlova Fakulta sociálních věd Došlo dne: **1 5 -11- 2021** -1- Čj: 395 Přílot: Přidělana:
Start of studies for EMJ (in Aarhus) September 2020	
Your faculty e-mail: 14130287@fsv.cuni.cz	
Study program/form of study: Erasmus Mundus Journalism	

Thesis title in English:

The reproduction of structural power in the news (de)legitimizing discourses of climate change

Expected date of submission (semester, academic year – example: *SS 2021/2022*)
(Thesis must be submitted according to the Academic Calendar.)

SS 2021/2022

Main research question (max. 250 characters):

RQ1: How do power dynamics influence journalists in legitimizing hegemonic positions between discourses in the news?
RQ2: How do elite actors establish a consensual perception of their actions and opinions to achieve discursive dominance on climate change in the news?

Current state of research on the topic (max. 1800 characters):

Many research studies have been carried out to understand the relationship between media and climate change. Some have focused on its media portrayals (Nisbet et al., 2018, Schafer&Schlichting, 2014, Fleming et al, 2014), framing (O'Neill et al., 2015; Shehata&Hopmann, 2012) or the representation of science (Boykoff&Boykoff 2004; Ladle et al., 2005). Only a few have covered climate politics and its legitimation in media debates (Karlsson Vinkhuyzen et al., 2016). However, useful research has been held to understand the process of legitimation in media concerning climate change (Kleinen-von Königslöw et al., 2019). Most of the research projects focusing on legitimacy do not target directly climate change, but they rather focus on legitimacy discourses of critical events, on the process of legitimation building in news media (Doudaki&Boubouka, 2019; Vaara, 2014); and on discursive legitimation in critical discourse studies (Breeze, 2012; Oddo, 2011; Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). My intention is to analyze how the news plays an active role in legitimating climate change discourses by establishing dominant actors' authority. Several factors play in this process: authority, hegemony, ideology. I will start from the assumption that news play an active role in the meaning-making process, by supporting ideologies (Fairclough, 1992, 2015; Gramsci 1971, 1999; and Althusser 1971); by helping establish hegemony within a natural order (Hall 1979; Hall et al. 1978; Gitlin 1980; Williams 1977); and by building authority (Zelizer 1992, 2004). I will start from a Weberian (2015) concept of legitimation, to focus it on discourse, in which the legitimacy of political objects is assessed based on normative ideals (Habermas, 2003).

Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):

Analyzing power relations within the news and how they legitimate themselves is important given the abstract nature of the climate issue." Climate change [...] needs to be reconstructed through processes of sense-making" (Brüggemann, 2017, 1). Journalistic narrative follows the norm of objectivity, while journalistic authority is executed through rituals, conventions and practices that engage with objectivity (Zelizer, 1992). My second hypothesis concerns how the news acquires authority: the news is dominated by a series of political, economic and institutional elites (Gitlin, 1980) resulting in "a systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions" (Hall et al. 1978, 58). Journalists, by giving room to important elite sources, establish an "institutional bias" on reality, since "together with the information the worldview of these elites is also adopted and presented as the orthodox perception over social reality" (Doudaki 2015, 10). My third hypothesis concerns the ability of journalism to establish hegemonic discourse and how elites can benefit from it. To Gramsci (1971), the process of ideology building is something that is assimilated through major social institutions such as the media. To Gitlin (1980, 253), hegemony is channeled through performed everyday institutional activities that are assimilated as "common sense," thus "mystifying" the interests of dominant groups. Finally, I will analyze how the carriers of these ideologies need to be recognized as having the necessary authority to enact these ideologies and establish their dominant discourse on climate change.

Expected methodology, and methods for data gathering and analysis (max. 1800 characters):

The news have an active role in legitimizing policies related to the climate crisis, as well as in helping dominant actors to establish their own authority. However, it should be recognized that, since discursive practices are context-dependent (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2019), it is necessary to analyze the environment of discursive practices and their relationship to social practices, which highlights the affinity of study with analysis of critical discourse (CDA). I will therefore do a quantitative analysis of the content of Italian newspapers in 2021. My analysis will consist of examining online Italian national newspapers. Furthermore, I will collect articles from newspapers supported by Italian political parties and newspapers published by political collectives: the former is created by a parliamentary group in one of the Italian chambers or of the European Parliament, while the latter arose from organs of political movements. Both are the subject of interesting analysis as they have a strong political framing. As a first step, for the data gathering, I will use specific databases such as Lexis Nexis and Factiva4 that contain the terms "climate", or "global warming". Through these databases, I will be able to access to archive major of major global newspapers and other sources to locate information on a variety of topics, including politics, current events, trends and government data. Secondly, I will develop a search string in Italian that would allow me to separate the articles on climate change politics from articles on other subjects. After having identified the articles, I was looking for, I will do a manual content analysis by randomly selecting samples of 20 articles per newspaper. Then, I will group them in MAXQDA, a software that offers tools for the organization and analysis of qualitative data, including texts,. For the analysis, I will develop a coding procedure that will allow me to identify legitimization statements. Adequate calculations will follow.

Expected research design (data to be analyzed, for example, the titles of analyzed newspapers and selected time period):

I will analyze the content of the Italian newspapers in 2021. I chose Italy because I know how to interpret articles linguistically. Moreover, I chose 2021 because even though Covid19 overshadowed

most of the news on climate change, international climate summits, such as COP26 in Glasgow, had an impact in bringing the topic of climate change to the attention of the news and, therefore, of citizens. Furthermore, in the course of 2021 Italy was hit by several extreme climatic events, to which people were not used to. Examples are the hitting of a hurricane-like storm system that formed over the Mediterranean Sea that has dumped one year's worth of rain in Sicily in October, causing floods, while during the summer Italian wildfires raged on after a 49-degree heat record. My analysis will consist in examining Italian national online newspapers: Corriere della Sera, Il Messaggero, la Repubblica,TGCOM24, FanPage.it, Il Fatto Quotidiano, Donna Moderna, La Stampa, L'argomento Quotidiano, Ansa, il Giornale, Leggo. I will gather articles from party newspapers: Avanti!, La Discussione, Secolo d'Italia, Rivoluzione liberale. Moreover, I will analyse newspapers published by political collectives: Area; Avvenire; Il Denaro; Il Foglio; Il Dubbio; il manifesto; L'Opinione delle libertà; Roma; La Voce di Mantova; Il Secolo d'Italia.

Expected thesis structure (chapters and subchapters with brief description of their content):

1 Introduction

1.2. Background of the study: discourses on climate crisis in 2021 Italy

1.3. Hypothesis: Extreme weather events are de-legitimized by elite discourse for not changing policies in the short term, causing damage and maintaining the economic status quo

1.4. Purpose and importance of the study: Climate change has acquired increasing relevance and the study of power relations within the news will help to understand how they are used within other spheres

1.5. Definition of key terms/concepts;

1.6. Synopsis of the theoretical framework;

1.7. research questions and hypotheses

1.8. Limitations

1.9. Organization of the thesis

2 News and representations of the climate crisis

2.1. The news debates of the climate crisis in Italy, historical and political context

2.2. The analysed newspapers: a characterisation

2.3. Narratives and representations of the climate crisis in the media

2.4. Discourses of legitimation in the news

2.5. Building journalistic authority and narratives

2.6. News and ideology

2.7. Authority and legitimation in times of crisis

3.Methodological Part: descriptive study of a case study

3.1. Methodological Background for the Research: news discourses with critical discourse analysis, textual analysis, open coding process

3.2. Research Problem & Objectives: identifying discourses of legitimation, analytical categories

3.3. Research Design & Sampling: identification of relevant articles, coding procedure

3.4. Ethics of the Research

4. Analytical discourses of legitimation in the Italian climate crisis news

4.1. Analytical framework

4.2. Articles analyzed

4.3. Dominant discourses

5. Conclusions

6. List of References

Basic literature list (at least 5 most important works related to the topic and the method(s) of analysis; all works should be briefly characterized on 2-5 lines):

Kleinen-von Königslöw, K., Post, S., & Schäfer, M. S. (2019). How news media (de-) legitimize national and international climate politics—A content analysis of newspaper coverage in five countries. *International Communication Gazette, 81*(6-8), 518-540.

This article analyzes how the implementation of global climate change policies at the national and subnational levels requires the support of social actors, which depends on the perceived legitimacy of climate policies. Legitimacy can be backed up by debates about legitimacy in the national media.

Doudaki, V., & Boubouka, A. (2019). *Discourses of legitimation in the news: The case of the economic crisis in Greece*. Routledge.

This article analyzes the construction of legitimacy regarding news coverage of the economic crisis in Greece. It starts from the assumption that news is a privileged terrain where discursive struggles over power take place and that the role played by journalists in legitimizing the policies and decisions linked to the economic crisis is active.

Fairclough, N. (2015). Language and Power. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

Fairclough emphasizes the importance of language for understanding issues of social and professional concern, analyzing how communications both influence and are influenced by the structures and forces of contemporary social institutions, how language works in maintaining and changing power and how people can become more aware of it and more able to resist and change it.

Vaara, E. (2014). Struggles over legitimacy in the Eurozone crisis: Discursive legitimation strategies and their ideological underpinnings. *Discourse & Society, 25*(4), 500-518.

This article focuses on the Eurozone legitimacy crisis. Adopting a perspective of critical discourse analysis, empirical analysis focuses on media discussion in Finland to show how the discourses of finance capitalism, humanism, nationalism and Europeanism have played a central role in legitimation. Furthermore, the analysis delves into the legitimation strategies that have often been used in media texts.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & communication, 1*(1), 91-112.

The article establishes a framework for analyzing how speeches build legitimacy for social practices in public communication and everyday interaction. Legitimation is classified through authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoiesis.

Related theses and dissertations (list of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. theses defended at Charles University or other academic institutions in the last five years):

Brzá, M. (2017). Delegitimization of the West in Al Qaeda's Magazine Inspire.

Kuznetsova, S. (2020). The analysis of media discourse on environmental problems in the Russian English-speaking media.

Novák, V. (2019). Ecocritical discourse analysis of corporate environmental reports.

Date / Signature of the student:

THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY THE ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR:

I confirm that I have consulted this research proposal with the author and that the proposal is related to my field of expertise at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

I agree to be the Thesis supervisor.

Dr Annamária Neag, 12.11.2021

Surname and name of the supervisor	Date / Signature of the supervisor

Further recommendations related to the topic, structure and methods for analysis: Further recommendations are being added in the Miro tool used by the supervisor and the supervisee.

Further recommendations of literature related to the topic: See above.

The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry office (podatelna) in two copies, **by November 15, 2021**, addressed to the Program Coordinator. Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Program Coordinator's Office, Mgr. Sandra Štefaniková. The accepted research proposal needs to be included in the hard copy version of the submitted thesis.

RESEARCH PROPOSALS NEED TO BE APPROVED BY THE HEAD OF ERASMUS MUNDUS JOURNALISM PROGRAM.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

"News obfuscates social reality instead of revealing it. It confirms the legitimacy of the state by hiding the state's intimate involvement with, and support of, corporate capitalism" (Tuchman, 1978a, p. 210).

The world is living in a climate crisis. Meanwhile, scientists, journalists and people in control of knowledge and power have the warrant of political decisions by legitimising their actions and words. However, having the knowledge and the power to act impactfully in a crisis is not enough. "To become societally relevant, climate science has to become transdisciplinary, by incorporating social-cultural dimension" (von Storch et al., 2011, p. 113). This study explores the discursive legitimation of decisions, policies, and authority positions of actors related to the climate crisis in Italy, by studying news articles published in 2021. The climate crisis has gained significant attention internationally, turning from being a question of concern limited to the scientific community to achieve the status of a major political problem in need of urgent action. In spreading the urgency of this crisis, news plays an active role. In the news, the reproduction of structural power occurs through specific delegitimising discourses and practices, able to affect the dealing with the climate crisis from a policy perspective.

In this regard, news sources, which consist of "the people who reporters turn to for their information, often officials and experts connected to society's central institutions" (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 102), also play an influential part. Indeed, choosing news sources is crucial in prioritising the legitimation discourse of actors such as politicians, experts, elite exponents, and journalists (Doudaki, 2018). A power relation between journalists and sources occurs when journalists

and news organisations identify "centralised sources of information as legitimated social institutions" (Tuchman, 1978a, p. 210). After being legitimated as the owners of authority in the sense-making process, the sources have the power to turn information into facts, naturalised into common sense. In this way, journalists face daily challenges in choosing their sources, as it serves as their "mutual authority confirmation" (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 85). It consists of journalists validating themselves as news professionals through the authority of their sources, giving, at the same time, important room to specific actors.

"Climate" is here intended as:

"All the changes in the atmosphere, which sensibly affect our organs, as temperature, humidity, variations in the barometrical pressure, the calm state of the air or the action of opposite winds [...] but also with reference to its influence on the feeling and mental condition of men" (Humboldt, 1845, pp. 323-4).

This research addresses any reference to the climatic situation as "climate crisis." The term crisis is here used to refer to "a (highly) disruptive event or situation leading to disorder or even disaster, significantly disturbing the lives of people or the relations among individuals and groups" (Doudaki & Carpentier, 2018, p. 2). The climate crisis involves many people's lives, but, at the same time, it is not easy to define how. The components of this crisis affect, in an almost unperceivable way, the political, social and economic system. It is crucial to use climate crisis terminology to emphasise its dangers and the necessary actions to pursue to face it. The climate crisis is mainly a phenomenon living in people's imagination without being directly perceivable. The characteristic of being unseen and therefore hardly proven has left room for a "regime of [...] unknown non-

knowing - of unknown unknowns […] and hence the collapse of ontological security" (Beck, 2009, p. 40). This non-knowing effect needs to be traced back and shaken with new constructions of words and meaning, in this case, addressing climate as a real crisis (Eide, 2012). This linguistic choice was also made by the Swedish environmental activist Greta Thunberg and her movement 'Fridays for Future' to galvanise an immediate action to prevent an ecological catastrophe.

"This is a clear even though formalistic choice that aims to address the gravity of this problem. We cannot solve a crisis without treating it as a crisis. Nor can we treat something like a crisis unless we understand the emergency" (2020).

Fairclough also supports this position academically: his view suggests that language and discourses are where ideological struggles primarily take place (Fairclough, 2015) and, therefore, can change the reality of things. Recognising the power behind discourse means recognising discourse as a valuable tool to see the change we want: "discourse as a stake in social struggle as well as a site of social struggle" ((Fairclough, 2015, p. 3).

1. THEORY

1.1.   Organisation of the thesis

The present thesis slightly differs from its research proposal concerning the methodology and the research design. The first chapter presents a critical discursive perspective on institutional legitimacy strategies and how they manipulate the climate crisis within the Italian news. Each section elaborates on the interdiscursive basis of legitimation, ideology, hegemony, and power. It builds a practical theoretical framework to understand further how a crisis is covered and helps better comprehend the journalistic dynamics of legitimacy crises. Discourses on the climate crisis in 2021 Italy are analysed to evaluate whether the elite discourse shapes climate crisis-related events to improve climate policies or maintain those elites' economic and political status quo. Therefore, it is shown how the climate crisis has acquired increasing relevance and how power relations within the media mirror society's inequalities.

The research dives into how the media represents the climate crisis within the second chapter by analysing the historical and political context of this phenomenon and, at the same time, how journalism works in Italy. There is a deep characterisation of the analysed newspapers, preparing a consistent literature review to analyse narratives and representations of the climate crisis in the media, focusing on discourses of legitimation in the news and which role they play in the process of authority-building within narratives. The highlighting of dominant discourses in the news is outlined alongside the role of ideology, authority and legitimation in times of crisis.

The third chapter covers the analysis of the case study. Through a consistent methodological background for the research, news discourses are analysed through CDA, textual analysis, and an open coding process. Therefore the research identifies discourses of legitimation and analytical categories. This research follows Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework of authorisation, rationalisation, moralisation and mythopoesis and Doudaki and Boubouka's (2020) framework of objectivation and naturalisation.

Ten articles per news outlet on the climate crisis collected through Factiva were then transferred to MAXQDA for the rough coding of the empirical material to identify strategies in the media texts. This coding is developed and refined by identifying inductive and deductive analysis codes, focusing on the main legitimacy strategies.

The fourth chapter involves a wrap-up of the analytical discourses of legitimation in the Italian climate crisis news. The research outlines the primary trends in analysed articles through a consistent analytical framework, presenting the dominant discourses in the media. A final chapter closes with a conclusion and an appropriate list of references.

1.2.   Background of the study

In the present research, the discourse of legitimation as a means of analysis explores the power specific actors and their policies have in shaping climate news. Furthermore, it examines how the information plays an active role in legitimating climate crisis discourses by establishing dominant actors' authority, starting with the assumption that a relationship exists between media discourses and political

and social power issues (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). Dominant actors' could be politicians but also journalists with the attempt to develop a consensual perception of legitimacy in newspapers, creating "realities that advance their interests" in order "to achieve discursive dominance" (Reshef & Keim 2014, p. 18). Analysing power relations within the news and how they legitimate themselves is essential given the abstract and thus easily manipulatable nature of the climate issue.

"Climate change [...] needs to be reconstructed through processes of sense-making" (Brüggemann, 2017, p. 1). In sense-making, journalists are the actors who decide which shape and sources to favour in the news. In order to transmit an unbiased narration angle, news must use balanced sources to contrast "the overwhelming reliance of journalists on a tightly delimited set of official and otherwise legitimised sources which are systematically drawn upon, through a network of contacts and procedures as sources of facts and to substantiate other "facts"" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 49). In this established way of working, some voices are ignored, such as organisations not considered legitimate (or too "extreme" for the case of political groups and parties) and ordinary people (Splendore, 2020). However, the experience of ordinary people for climate crisis reporting need to be significant as it allows the audience to be more influenced by a human-scale experience by developing a general perception of the phenomenon, "a perception on which they will use the base their decision making" (Dahlstorm, 2014, p. 13618).

On the contrary, elite sources, which correspond to politically, socially, and economically influential people, are the most used (Splendore, 2020).

Non-elite sources are the rest of the people who are not relevant enough to participate in the process of mutual authority confirmation (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020) and, therefore, to be interviewed. In the context of the climate crisis, something that affects everyone on the planet, especially those who do not have the means to adapt to it can behave as agents of action, raising their voices and disappointment. They need their space in the news. However, it does not happen because sources with authority, knowledge and the autonomy to speak are more powerful and, therefore, more reachable by journalists (Ericson, 1999). Coman (2005 in Berkowitz 2009, p. 106) described this phenomenon's outcome: "when the interface between reporters and their sources produces and reproduces a specific frame, a specific vantage point on the social order is propagated and maintained". This power relation also applies in the Italian news context, where politics play a crucial role in the journalistic environment, and journalists avidly seek opinions from people in power. "Italian journalism is opinionated [...], stories are built around the opinions of political sources" (Cornia, 2014, p. 54). It means that politicians' statements are the most used, with most cases of politicians' declarations being the news, in the absence of autonomy in describing events.

Analysing sources and news media's relationships with institutions is integral to this research. Tiffen et al. (2013) study showed that government sources are the most cited within the Italian news media system, often leaving the opposite opinions aside. The more the domestic mainstream press uses privileged news sources, the more newspapers develop "a systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions" (Hall et al. 1978, p. 58). These actors intervene in meaning-making, reconstructing and

interpreting social, political, and economic events through the lenses of their particular interests. The construction of social reality in which journalists are directly involved "is more successful if it resonated with dominant cultural beliefs and values" (Edelman, 1985 in Coleman, 1997, p. 486). The studies of Houghton (1997) and Leggett (2001) report that "to address the structural roots of energy and transportation policy" journalistically, it is necessary "to threaten well-heeled, carbon-based interests" (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004, p. 133). Proper communication can shift priorities from the threats to the economic system to the benefits of environmental policy. As Berkowitz (2009) explains, the relationship between institutional sources and journalists may enable the former to shape the portrayal of specific issues and their outcoming policies. However, suppose the sources influencing journalistic practices are limited to some important ones. In this case, few influential people can set the agenda to place matters of private interest among those discussed by the media (Splendore, 2020).

Crucial factors that play a role in legitimising discourses are authority, hegemony, and ideology. There is a need for legitimation when reporters gather information from authoritative sources whom audiences will believe are legitimate to express "facts" (Berkowitz, 2009). In order to understand the legitimating mechanisms in the news covering a crisis, especially a climate crisis, it is necessary to start by studying language and discourse and how they interact with the features mentioned above. Indeed, the media's production of meanings and values is essential to the ideological struggle to establish and maintain the legitimacy of the existing political order (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

1.3.   Sense-making mechanisms in climate crisis reporting

1.3.1. Narratives

A climate crisis is a long-term process that, therefore, can not be experienced by humans. To fill the gap between science and reading audiences, journalists need to present the climate crisis through sense-making techniques (Bruggeman, 2017). Starting from the assumption that journalism can be considered the "primary sense-making practice of modernity" (Hartley, 1996, p. 32), reporters, therefore, do contribute substantially to defining the climate crisis as a social problem (Brüggemann, 2017). They do so by deciding whom to quote as legitimate voices on the climate crisis, delineating the causes and consequences, and, most importantly, shaping how people perceive it. An expedient frequently used to make a topic closer to the audience are narratives. These are useful in responsibilising actions, increasing comprehension, and stimulating interest in a non-expert audience. Therefore, "journalists must balance their dual goals of reporting objective and accurate information while simultaneously remaining economically viable by earning and maintaining the fleeting attention of their audiences" (Dahlstrom, 2014, p. 13615). However, this needs to consider some ethical consequences related to how much the transmission of the news reveals to be more persuasive than truthful; Dahlstrom examines how audiences accept the normativity of information through narrative news. In particular, the emotional involvement of the narrative has a severe consequence: "it is difficult for audiences to generate counterarguments against the evaluations to which they are exposed" (p. 13616). However, this study departs from the assumption that the audience is not entirely passive in receiving a determinate message. Indeed, the readers can react against being manipulated when the intent is obvious (Moyer-Guse E & Nabi RL, 2010). If to some extent, some narrative formats of

communication can benefit the audience, they can also cause the opposite result. Indeed, narratives are not subjected to the exact logical scientific requirements of research communication, as they can alter facts to fit the narration (Dahlstrom, 2014).

1.3.2. Framing

As Entman (1993 in O'Neill et al., 2015, p. 380) explained: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text". At the same time, Nisbet and Mooney (2007, p. 56) said: "frames organise central ideas, defining a controversy to resonate with core values and assumptions." Framing theory has been essential in media studies to analyse how journalists emphasise particular issues and shape the news. Frames are necessary tools that allow citizens to focus on the lens projected by journalists to identify why an issue matters and, most of all, who is responsible and what should be done. Concerning how frames are used for the climate crisis, they are frequently "misapplied and twisted in direct proportion to their relevance to the political debate and decision-making" (Nisbet & Mooney, 2007, p. 56).

Another bias of climate communication is recognised by Schäfer and Schlichting (2014, p. 142). It consists in how "climate" is described with dimensions out of their touch (e.g. "the entire world", p. 142), taking the people far away from this topic. It reflects how policies work: climate politics is a global issue that gains importance at international meetings. Moreover, behind worldwide organisations tackling the climate, such as IPCC, news reflects all continents' unbalanced representations, giving a Eurocentric focus instead of a completely inclusive one. As already stated, journalists take part in constructing social reality by deciding

how to frame stories and whom to interview. Particularly with a topic like the climate crisis, where there is also the need for familiar figures such as scientists, journalists tend to look mainly for them as people in authority positions. By shaping events with framing, the presence of one type of source can "result in news coverage focused along narrow ideological lines"(Coleman, 1997, p. 486). In this case, scientists are "technologists whose charge is to enable policy decisions within a technical, legal and political framework" (Coleman, 1997, p. 488). Their knowledge (Habermas, 1970) dominates them over other actor sources. Indeed, the mechanism of power and hegemony influences framing. Frames are influenced by several external, socially and politically relevant actors (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). From this point of view, news can be considered a construction-meaning playground, where political actors sponsor their views on political issues. This helps build the domination of a specific frame on others, favouring the frames of elites. As Entman stated (1993, p. 53), frames in news stories reveal "the imprint of power" by registering "the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text." Frames are linked to how "news both draw upon and reproduces institutional structures" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 210). This reproduction, analysed by Gamson and Lasch (1983), can be perceived from particular devices such as "metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images" (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 223). Hegemonic meanings can be affirmed in the news by delegitimising oppositional movements. In this case, news can be considered a construction-meaning playground and a "struggle over framing" (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993, p. 117). However, due to asymmetric power influences, social movements find it difficult to affirm themselves within frames (Carriage & Roefs, 2004). The difficulty stems from the media's use of

pre-existing value patterns to which individuals and movements must conform (Nisbet, 2011). Another characteristic is relevancy: the more the frame is relevant to a particular audience, the more effect that interpretation has on the audience assimilating it.

Moreover, the more proximity is used in the story, the more humanisation and personalisation affect the reading audience. For example, Maibach et al. (2010) show that when the climate is presented as related to health, it positively impacts people's perception of the cause - the climate crisis. It, therefore, guides the reading audience in its opinion formation. The interpretive communities theory, analysed by Leiserowitz (2007), also focuses on how a group of individuals who share the same risks and backgrounds help develop the same ideologically like-minded opinions.

1.3.3. Journalistic norms and values

Beyond framing theory, researchers have studied how journalists approach science by following certain norms and values. The mass media play an essential role in constructing environmental issues, but several factors prevent journalists from providing accurate coverage (Schoenfeld et al., 1979). With established norms and values, journalists aim to achieve a specific idea of professionalism by ensuring that media statements are objective. This means turning to accredited representatives of major social institutions, representing "the people" or organised interest groups. Following these norms, journalists tend "to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society's institutional order" (Hall et al., 1978, p. 58). As Bennett (1996) theorised, it is possible to categorise

journalistic norms and values to explain how the content of news is affected by three normative orders that individual journalists must contend with:

1. The idea that mass media are invested in the role of providing citizens with helpful political information to build accountability for the political system

2. The idea that journalists need to work efficiently and profitably to survive within a capitalist society

3. The necessity to follow journalistic norms such as balance, fairness and objectivity (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004).

The need to use balance allows them to be neutral by giving equal attention to two sides (Entman, 1989, p. 30). However, the balance of a report can be outweighed when presenting the most dominant political position as the newsworthy one (Gans, 1979) to proceed then to show the other side, pretending neutrality. What makes this way of presenting the news facts "a surrogate for validity checks" (Dunwoody & Peters, 1992, p. 210) is the journalist's absence of expertise or time to check the report's validity. When journalists cover global issues such as the climate crisis, a biased balanced report providing accurate coverage could fail by allowing climate crisis sceptics to fuel their beliefs.

Another journalistic ingredient is fairness, essential for journalists who are asked to show their point of view. Journalists use fairness when presenting different arguments with equal weight. However, giving competing points of view about, for example, politics differs from giving them about a scientific topic, as scientific issues do not have the same weight in an argument (Gelbspan, 1998). Therefore, by misusing fairness, journalists encourage a distortion affected by the

presence of an emphasis on their point of view. This modus operandi, supported either by "internalised professional values and newsgathering routines" (Entman, 1989, p. 48), allows a divergence within news from the agreements of the scientific community related to climate.

A relevant component of journalism is objectivity, defined by Reese (1990, p. 392) as a helpful paradigm for journalists to make sense of the world. If correctly followed, the paradigm of objectivity allows the journalist to be neutral and show facts as separated from values and opinions (Hackett, 1984). However, since journalists work in close contact with powerful institutions, their paradigms are constantly challenged in an ideological struggle over the meaning-making process. In this way, objectivity can make journalists powerful if, in their description of reality, they "rest on assumptions that are eminently compatible with hegemonic requirements" (Reese, 1990, p. 395).

A critical factor in constructing the news is the role of sources expected by the journalistic norms. Through journalistic norms, the sources play a crucial role in maintaining the status quo of the political system. This ingredient helps newsmakers reproduce ideologies with established frames legitimated by officials that marginalise any voice that falls outside the dominant elite circle. Having established within the journalistic routine what is expected and what is deviant, the interests of the neoliberal capitalist system are preserved. It makes it socially acceptable within newsrooms to report prominent sources in the news and consider this method "objective". As a result, journalists' opinions are overshadowed and targeted as biased. If the journalist does not follow the journalistic norm of reporting valuable sources and gives space to a non-official

one, the accusation of the absence of newsworthiness is made. Valueless reporting becomes the norm, the rule of the game of the elite sources. In this process, not only journalists are the responsible ones, but editors play a relevant function. Indeed, they "are more directly in touch with the values of official and other elite sources and are reluctant to exceed these boundaries" (Reese, 1990, p. 396). In this way, newspapers support elite ideological positions by legitimating their authority and delegitimising the position of other actors (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020).

1.4. Political legitimacy in the climate crisis and news

The present research will be developed by analysing national newspapers. However, the climate crisis is a topic that expands to larger horizons, with global influences pressing the national ones. This political feature requires the legitimation of moral leaders, enlightened enough to assume the personal risks inherent in dealing with resistance to change international institutions and influence their country positively by reaching a global perspective of the common good (Kleinen-von Königslöw et al., 2019). It is necessary to adopt the goals of a worldwide sustainable energy system and deep energy security to strengthen the normative legitimacy of global energy governance through increased countries' participation (Karlsson Vinkhuyzen et al., 2015). For this reason, implementing international climate policies on the national and sub-national levels requires broad support (Kleinen-von Königslöw et al., 2019). The political support mainly depends on the perceived legitimacy of climate policies, which debates in domestic news media can sustain (Franck, 1990), influencing its acceptance within civil society. Fuchs and Klingemann (2011 in Kleinen-von Königslöw et

al., 2019, p. 3) highlight how subjective legitimacy operates "into the societal acceptance of political regimes by analysing the legitimacy evaluations of the people affected by them and the underlying evaluation criteria". Subjective legitimacy within a particular regime can consist of a "diffuse support" (Easton, 1965), which easily allows the acceptance of regulations' and laws, providing more efficiency.

In climate politics, subjective legitimacy is the leading player that guarantees the acceptance of institutions and regulations. The addressees of climate regulations are mostly societal actors such as the citizens or private companies who need to adapt or develop their habits to face the climate crisis. On a local level, legitimacy is critical as all political efforts may fail simply because citizens or companies refuse to adapt to policies they do not perceive as legitimate. Naturally, news media have a role in discussing this topic and building subjective legitimacy around it by leading societal actors to change their habits. During critical events and situations, legitimation building in politics and news media could be delicate (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020). When there is a climate crisis, in this case, it can trigger "legitimacy crises" where some values are challenged. "In legitimacy crises, legitimation not only deals with specific issues, decisions or actions, but is also related to the power positions of actors and broader social structures – in other words, to institutions" (Vaara, 2014, p. 503). Policies' support is built by the power of the media, which plays a crucial role in constructing the phenomenon of the climate crisis and mediating the public debate by providing the space for power struggles and delegitimation of actors, policies, and authorities (Tuchman, 1978a).

1.5. Purpose and importance of the study

The main interest of this research is to analyse the political output of legitimacy, linked to the relationships of power and how they create authority and are legitimised in discourses, particularly in Italian news related to the climate crisis. It focuses on whether climate discourses within news observe human rights, empower people equally and show a picture of the problem without manipulating it. Starting from Hurrelmann et al. (2009) assumption that legitimation in the news consists of statements addressing the legitimacy of political objects, this research looks for legitimation statements to analyse discourse and the subjective legitimacy mentioned above. The peculiarity of the climate crisis is that it affects people's lives on several levels, but repercussions are not instantly visible, as could be for other crises. During these times, political and economic powers can invest in profiting but destructive policies. This tense situation creates a disruptive potential on established power relations among groups, allowing for powerful articulation of the state and its institutions also in the media. This analysis focuses mainly on newspaper articles to demonstrate how news sources, with an eye on the elite, attempt to legitimise or delegitimise policies by manipulating the reality of the climate crisis. In this situation, discourses serve sense-making processes leading citizens "draw upon in the development and transformation of their own legitimacy beliefs, or in the translation of behavioural dispositions into acts of support and dissent" (Hurrelman et al., 2009, p. 487). In making news discourses, authoritative characters influence public opinion and common sense "through interpretations that facilitate accepting the meanings they prefer" (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999 in Berkowitz, 2009, p. 107). In this way, they preserve authority

by strengthening their position as elite figures within society and by implementing the climate policies they want to.

Moreover, the meaning-making process of the news relates to the close relationship between journalists and news sources. In this interaction, the interpretation of the news passes through "competing interpretive communities, responding to the preferred meanings that they have learned" (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 107). The present thesis supports the assumption that journalists are never entirely neutral in their watchdog roles, but their work is strongly linked with interpretations of the meaning-making process that enhance each side's status, legitimacy, and power. Discourse and power relationships are analysed to highlight how the reproduction of this phenomenon could result in inequality in the representation within the news. Critical discourse analysis is used to analyse discourse as a social practice in language and power relationships (Blackledge, 2012).

1.6.   Definition of concepts

1.6.1. Legitimacy

The present analysis starts from a Weberian concept of legitimacy, which is "the basis of every system of authority, and correspondingly of every kind of willingness to obey, is a belief, a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige" (Weber 1964, p. 382). Behind a belief, there is the existence of authority that triggers legitimacy. From an institutional perspective, Suchman (1995, p. 574) says, "legitimacy is a generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions".

According to Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), legitimacy rests on principles that sustain the harmonious arrangement of things and persons in a state of general agreement. Moreover, people refer to legitimacy when disputes arise regarding the coherence of social order, such as during a crisis. Bourdieu (1991, p. 238) recognised legitimacy as related to symbolic power, something hidden in social life through "active complicity of the parts of those subjected to it". It contributes to creating a world that reproduces and ensures the permanence of stable power through societal structures.

This research recognises the existence of a relation of power within media structures with their attempt to build authority for the audience. Therefore, discourses analysed are considered, as Habermas (1984) stated, "oriented to instrumental goals" (in Fairclough, 2015, p. 201). What characterises these discourses and pushes them away from their communicative goal is how those "colonise" communication to possess a legitimised strategic influence within the societal order of discourse. The news's active role in societal structures also helps establish hegemony within a natural order (Gitlin, 1980); and build authority (Zelizer 1992; 2004). Professionalism is a relevant characteristic in the authority-building process as it brings authority directly into the daily accomplishment of journalistic work (Zelizer, 1992). What animates journalism as a profession is overall the insistence on meaning-making, which directly involves professional norms and values of journalists, by accomplishing a knowledge production in the interest of people holding power. It is necessary to evaluate the position of journalism in the authority relationship and the collaboration it always has with political-economic forces and their failure to provide ongoing independent investigation (Zelizer, 2004).

1.6.2. Discourse

This thesis starts from Fairclough's assumption that discourse is a social practice that involves several factors. As a social practice, the discourse can build knowledge and belief about particular subjects, allowing the reproducing of meanings within society. According to Fairclough, discourse (1992, p. 67):

"Establishes, sustains, and changes power relations, and the collective entities (classes, blocs, communities, groups) between which power relations obtain. Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalises, sustains and changes the significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations".

In this dialectical relationship with society, discourse becomes a perfect place for the power struggle of particular relations and ideologies. Since this research mainly focuses on how news functions as a place to legitimise the authority of the elite and powerful actors, it is crucial not limiting it to its linguistic form; instead, "discursive practice focuses upon processes of text production, distribution, consumption" (p. 71). Jørgensen and Phillips also outline the presence of power relations propagated by discourse (2002, p. 65), according to which discourse "both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations, including power relations". The discursive intersection with power has been studied mainly by Foucault. In his research, he highlights the link between power and knowledge in the relationship it has with discourse; it defines it as something "to be treated as practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1989, p. 74). From an institutional perspective, Kress refers to discourse as "systematically-organised modes of talking" (1985, p. 6). By systematically organised, he means "sets of statements which give expression to

the meanings and value of an institution" (Kress, 1985, p. 6). These characteristics establish what is possible to say and what not. These definitions put the concept of discourse as a social practice to a new level, serving certain ends.

1.6.3. Power

Power is dislocated within the social experience. The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1971) described power as a form of practical activity that expresses "in all manifestations of individual and collective life"(in Fairclough, 2015, p. 107). The Gramscian theorisation of power closely involves the concept of hegemony; Fairclough defines it as "the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces" (1992, p. 92). In such a society, hegemony is the perfect place to struggle for the monopoly of power. The result leads to the subordinate groups conforming to who owns authority, and media is one of the spheres where this happens.

The media is where "hidden power", as defined by Fairclough (2015, p. 27), takes place: "the perspective of and point of view in news stories seem to be those of the most powerful groups in society, including business and government, rather than just those of the journalist or the newspaper, suggesting the "mediated power" of such groups over the rest of us". It is possible to identify power potential in media in its structure, permitting a high level of exposure to many recipients to the same homologated message. Moreover, its pervasive power declines in the activity of journalists, editors, or other actors. They exert power by using the media when "sources in reporting do not represent equally all social groupings in the population" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 79). Sources' importance

affects how journalists work, who gets to be interviewed, and the resulting audience's message and perspective, showing a biased view.

In assuming that the news has an active role in meaning-making, this study also considers how journalistic practices allow passing a message for the sake of professionalism, which is crucial in keeping the power of media discourses hidden from the population. It occurs when "the practices of production which can be interpreted as facilitating the exercise of media power by power-holders are perceived as professional practices with their rationalisations in terms of the constraint of the technical media themselves, what the public wants" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 83).

1.6.4. Hegemony

Hegemony is the focus of Gramsci's philosophy (1971). He analysed how ruling elites establish consent within a political order by spreading values and meaning built by dominant groups that constantly struggle to maintain the status quo (in Carragee & Roefs, 2004). The struggle is mainly ideological, and the political order preserves it by injecting those ideas and values inside cultural institutions, where media plays a decisive role. However, it does not happen through force, but it is assimilated in an undetected way by subordinate groups. Like Gramsci, also Fairclough (1992) defines hegemony as an unstable equilibrium force tied with a continuous struggle for the rule of consent. "Hegemonic struggle takes place on a broad front which includes the institutions of civil society (education, trade unions, family) with possible unevenness between different levels and domains" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92).

Within discourse, hegemony implies the naturalisation of meanings that lead to an event's social and historical creation, perceived as an inevitable result of a natural phenomenon (Thompson, 1990). Therefore, information, opinion, and ideas are not questioned due to their perceived natural characteristics (Doudaki, 2015). The non-questioning, which is crucial in this passage, happens due to the emptying of ideas, an absence of stimuli that, as already mentioned, erase awareness of the existence of power in people's sense of their social reality.

Representative examples could be political populist discourses when articulating and materialising an existing hegemonic project. This intention is evident in the media when some voices have space to express themselves within newspapers, legitimising a hegemonic political project. Discourse practices have a political investment that reproduces the order of discourse through existing power relations (Fairclough, 1992). Within this framework, hegemony is a valuable tool for analysing climate discourses. The naturalisation of discourses and hegemonic ideologies influencing issues of public concern, such as the climate crisis, are normalised while "ideas within the discursive struggle over the crisis are neutralised" (Doudaki, 2015, p. 5). This normalisation concerning the climate crisis helps build a particular perspective of the problem that validates a hegemonic neoliberal discourse (Doudaki et al., 2019).

With neoliberal discourse as a hegemonic one, this research intends the one that points to and accuses individual actions of the responsibility for the climate crisis. Instead, looking at the problem from a whole structural perspective could shed

light on how discourses are manipulated by politicians and companies concerned about their profits rather than the climate crisis. In this way, the hegemonic discourse on the climate crisis is the one that prevents looking at the problem from a structural point of view.

1.6.5. Ideology

Ideology is part of objective reality: it has a performative character that allows it to be recognised through its direct material effects, such as discourses and the ideologies they transmit (Gramsci, 1971). At the same time, Althusser (1971) emphasises the materiality of ideology by referring to it as something representing the imaginary relationship of individuals, interpellating them as concrete subjects. From a discursive point of view, Fairclough (1992) defines ideology as a material practice that takes form in the site of class struggle: institutions. Moreover, ideologies are "characterised by relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, the cultural group" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 91). These characteristics are necessary to retain the relations of power in which ideologies are submerged (Fairclough, 2015).

When ideologies are naturalised within a particular institutional system, they become common sense. There is a relation of power when commonsensical practices exercised by the dominant class are viewed as normalised and naturalised by the subjected class. The perpetrating of this power happens within "various social institutions" through what Fairclough defines as the consent of social control (2015, p. 67). Social control of ideology occurs, for example, in the

news, where specific messages and people are portrayed through a "simulated egalitarianism".

This research starts from the assumption that news plays an active role in the meaning-making process by supporting specific ideologies (Fairclough, 1992, 2015; Gramsci, 1971). From an ideological perspective, it is necessary to consider ideology as located in orders of discourse where they are transmitted in a continuous process facilitated by natural practices and orientations built into journalistic norms and conventions. Within the journalistic frame, it is possible to analyse how news gathering and news writing practices, thus the conventions of news storytelling, have ideological ramifications. The media and news have been a privileged terrain for the naturalisation and concealment of ideology. Within this logic, news narratives can "serve to justify the exercise of power by those who possess it" (Thompson 1990, p. 62). News is a tool that operates this kind of confirmation even more than other cultural products. It supposedly provides factual and accurate accounts of the events that constitute social reality. However, journalism hides its solid ideological side by following the norm of objectivity.

1.6.6. Common sense

The hegemony theory conceives the world of the ruling class as undergoing a vulgarisation process filtered down to the subordinate classes. The end-product of this process is the emergence of common sense, widespread in the community of ordinary men, subjected to imposed morality, customs, and behaviour that conform to rules established by the institutions of the predominating bourgeois

classes. Following this line, Fairclough (1992) defines common sense as a canon proper to preserve inequality within power relations. By sustaining unequal power relations, common sense promotes "a form of everyday thinking" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 13), able to offer a helpful framework to make sense of the world. Including the capitalist social structure in this framework, the capitalist class power is more able and free to shape reality with discourses clearly expressing opinions and attitudes. By its power, hegemony allows common sense to be naturalised within discourses. "Common sense in its ideological dimension is itself an effect of power" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 113). It, therefore, becomes an accepted ideology that allows people to not revolt against certain taken-for-granted discourses, part of their social reality.

Applying this theorisation to climate crisis discourse within the news would reveal which ideas deflect attention from questioning power relations affecting climate policies. The unveiling process could only occur if background considerations of ideology are made explicit.

1.7.   Synopsis of the theoretical framework

The media has a vital role in informing the public, which has the power "to seek, select, and share information that interests them most" (Dahlstrom, 2014, p. 13618). However, the climate crisis is an "un-obtrusive" issue, complicated to understand at first grasp (Rogers & Dearing, 1988). Therefore each journalist has to find a way of framing the climate crisis, actively impacting how it is perceived. Through frames, "people rely on media representations to help interpret and understand the complex issues surrounding climate science, governance and

decision-making" (O'Neill, 2015, p. 1). At the same time, framing is easily manipulated by elites and people of power able to shape news and legitimate a specific discourse.

From a newsmaking perspective, journalists follow the norm of objectivity and, through ritual conventions and specific practices, build authority for themselves while legitimating authority figures (Zelizer, 1992). Moreover, the presence of political, economic, and institutional elites dominating the news (Gitlin, 1980) produces a privileged channel of access to the media (Hall et al., 1978). Following those norms, journalists establish an "institutional bias" on reality by legitimising the high presence of elite sources in the news. Indeed, "together with the information, the worldview of these elites is also adopted and presented as the orthodox perception over social reality" (Doudaki, 2015, p. 10).

This establishing legitimacy chain follows a process of ideology building assimilated through major social institutions such as the media (Gramsci, 1971). According to Gitlin (1980, p. 253), hegemony is channelled through performed everyday institutional activities that are assimilated as "common sense," thus "mystifying" the interests of dominant groups. These relations and actors are analysed within the frame of Italian journalism, categorised by Hallin and Mancini (2004) as the Mediterranean or polarised media system model.

1.8. Research questions and hypothesis

The research questions are based on the following hypotheses:

H1: The lack of journalistic independence currently experienced by journalists in Italy influences how journalists write about the climate crisis.

H2: Powerful sources' can establish a discursive dominance within the news.

Following Kleinen-von Königslöw et al.'s (2019) analysis, the present research analyses the climate crisis discourses to evaluate the main patterns, with an eye on the legitimacy of powerful subjects' statements looking for normative ideals. The main research question is:

RQ: How powerful (in terms of frequency) can elite' actors be in their relationship with journalists in legitimising their hegemonic position in the media by establishing a consensual perception of their actions and opinions to achieve discursive dominance in the climate crisis?

The research question will be divided into two sub-questions to make it easier to approach.

RQ1: How do Italian national newspapers portray the climate crisis, and what are the dominant discourses?

Since the climate crisis has acquired more importance lately, either in research, political agenda-setting, and in the streets, with this research question, it is assumed that the increase in climate crisis coverage reflects the amount of either legitimising or delegitimising statements.

RQ2: How frequently and in which way are elite sources establishing a discursive dominance concerning the climate crisis within the media?

The analysis will be focused on newspaper articles to evaluate how powerful sources use "legitimation objects" (Hurrelmann, 2009) to legitimise or delegitimise policies concerning the climate crisis. In a Western democracy like the Italian one, the media acts as gatekeepers of messages between upper representatives and citizens, giving importance to elite figures. As described by Hurrelmann (2009, p. 487), elite self-legitimating claims are often sided with legitimacy statements of "journalists, academics and legal commentators" while those who experience the climatic crisis first-hand ("average citizen") are occasionally interviewed. In this sense, it is necessary to analyse elites' legitimacy claims' privilege and how they assert discursive dominance on the climate crisis to channel and influence policies.

2. DISCOURSES OF CLIMATE CRISIS

Climate as a topic landed on the agenda-setting of politics and media in the twenty-first century's first decade. In the same period, as many surveys suggest, public opinion also started to consider the real impact of climate change and human actions. However, public opinion has different interests in considering climate as a crisis or a problem. From an economic perspective, discourses, conventions and theories of cost defects analysis are built on the idea that development and growth are incompatible with climate crisis solutions. Indeed, the most supported economic practices have done little to prevent an environmental crisis. "Many ecological economists, conservation biologists, and natural scientists generally argue that material consumption cannot keep growing" (Norgaard, 2011, p. 201). Economic growth does not deliver benefits to all in the same way as much as the climate crisis does not affect everyone in the same way. Therefore, building climate environmental policies based on this assumption is impossible. Media discourses must consider the critical dimensions of the climate crisis, such as the marginalisation of local people's needs, often ignored by decision-making institutions.

2.1. Neoliberal discourse

The neoliberal discourses draw on what neoclassical economists theorised and have been the dominant ones in the international governance of climate protocols. After the general public opinion acknowledged the climate crisis as a problem, it has started to be also assimilated by the neoliberal discourse. Relating the neoliberal discourses to the climate crisis means equalising "the marginal costs of

abatement for all actors, and thus minimise the overall costs of meeting specified emissions reductions goals" (Paterson, 2011, p. 615). Neoliberalism always perceived climate crisis in monetary difficulty terms by manipulating discursive strategies and economising the crisis itself. Eduardo Gudynas (Sachs, 1993) defines this kind of discourse as "ecocratic": it "presents a framework for conservation which invests in the potential economic value of natural resources" (in Mendelsohn, 2011, p. 176). As a result, nature preservation is related to profit, sustainability to economic growth. From a political point of view, the solution to this crisis is market-based policies. As a result, institutions reproduce particular discourses to maintain legitimation by forcing the neoliberal discourse into the political mainstream. Vandana Shiva (Sachs, 1993) highlighted how, growing out of local awareness, the green movement has lost its local roots through time, recognising the global as the dominant discourse, perceiving only global solutions to any crisis. Shiva highlights that the global feature has now been concretised in the governance, erasing the needs of small communities.

The transmission of dominant neoliberal discourses also starts from the journalistic choice of sources. If a journalist decides to interview a representative of the G8 or the World Bank, he could not expect to serve and represent all the interests of the world communities equally. It is, therefore, a false notion of interest that takes place in the media. Moreover, neoliberal discourse is reproduced within the text through the issue's metaphors, descriptions, and particular framings. Whenever climate politics and media use the metaphor "we are on the same boat", not only a neoliberal discourse is involved, but an enormously privileged one. Following "how a particular domain of experience is metaphorised is one of the stakes in the struggles within and over discourse

practices" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 195); this view does not concretely consider each individual's economic, social, and political differences in the world as each one experiences climate crisis differently based on its life conditions.

2.2. Objectivation and naturalisation discourses

The study explores how objectivation and naturalisation discourses help legitimate policies and positions of authority. The framework consists of the ones produced for the study of Boubouka and Doudaki (2020). Through elite actors' presence in the news, journalists build, confirm and legitimise their positions and roles (Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997, p. 550). Elite actors transfer the authority and legitimacy of the institutions they represent in discourses "consistent with the moral order of society, that is, within the system of laws, norms, agreements or aims agreed upon by (the majority of) the citizens" (Rojo & Van Dijk, 1997, p. 528). Especially in times of crisis, there is a need for legitimacy. Therefore, legitimate actions, policies, and authority positions count more as the series of decisions and measures taken to tackle them usually have significant social repercussions.

Objectivation and naturalisation are vital for legitimation. Objectivation in journalism refers to reporting events accurately and factually (Umbricht & Esser, 2014). It is a journalistic norm and principle belonging mainly to US journalism instead of the more interpretive European one. The objectivity mechanism of discourse concerns that it "cannot be contested, having a quasi-scientific ontological status" (Doudaki, 2015, p. 10). Naturalisation consists of those discursive mechanisms pervaded by the ideology of common sense that results in the voluntary acceptance of a discourse. It is used to bypass ideologies by using

assumptions and taking things for granted, avoiding any contestation and scrutinisation (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020). While "objectivation comprises expertise, quantification, and reification, naturalisation consists of symbolic annihilation, mystification, and moralisation" (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 48). To identify how legitimation discourses in the news are facilitated by objectivation and naturalisation, the research builds on Van Leeuwen and Wodak's legitimation discourse framework (Van Leeuwen, 2007; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) and Thompson's (1990) work on ideology. The framework also taps into the model developed by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (Van Leeuwen 2007; Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999) that identifies four main categories of legitimation: authorisation, moral evaluation, rationalisation, and mythopoesis.

2.3. Discourse of power: environmentality

Environmentality understands the climate crisis as a social and governmental response to mitigate its effects on the population (Luke, 2011). With the increasing need to manage the climate crisis, there is the establishment of government apparatuses that allow power and knowledge formation "in which the few can exercise over the many different approaches to "green governance"" (Luke, 2011, p. 99). Knowledge formation legitimises the need for "technocratic expertise" (Fischer, 1990) for answers that settle in the global management of powers in front of the crisis. Following a globalised corporate capitalist system, the resulting green governance assumes that every country is subjectable to the same system, which is, in reality, imposing from above an expert authority on every community through the power of institutions and services. In the balance of power, the most recognised model and discourse confirm to be the neoliberal one.

However, the climate crisis did not improve from experts and knowledge technicians' meetings. The meaning-making of the crisis and how powerful people manage this discourse lead to a "green governance regime of environmentality" (Luke, 2011, p. 105), with the only objective of economically exploiting a new crisis field.

2.4. Denial discourse

The typical discourse of climate denial involves questions about the impact of human actions on the earth and exaggerates the economic cost of action (Nisbet, 2011). This way of thinking can find fertile soil in those people who, according to Jacques et al. (2008) and McCright and Dunlap (2003), have linkages with industry funders and conservative think tanks and usually are or support conservative ideologies. The news can play, in this case, a negative role if it does not frame the issue correctly, for example, by not balancing all the shreds of evidence for and against that proves man-made climate crisis. However, in this direction, Boykoff's study (2007) has proved that the news strengthens the importance of scientific agreements concerning man-made environmental effects if framed correctly.

2.5. The media in Italy

The media in Italy characterises itself for its strong affiliations with the political system, reflecting the polarised pluralist media system model theorised by Hallin & Mancini (2004). Another attribute is that the Italian press was historically linked with a privileged small number of people. These affiliations can be justified by how Italian journalism developed through history.

Especially with the Enlightenment, the news became a private commodity but only for a restricted group of intellectuals. With the new developments in the nineteenth century, the opinion press emerged, which "played a key role in the institution of a liberal state during Italian Risorgimento" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 93). Even though the expansion of the commercial press saw an increase between 1880 and 1920, its spread involved only bourgeois strata of the population because of a high illiteracy rate and "a substantial linguistic diversity".

In the early twentieth century, the party press was strongly developed. The Italian communist party, PCI, aimed to establish itself as the link party with the masses. Its main paper was "L'Unità", established by the anarchic intellectual Antonio Gramsci in 1924. Other political party papers were, and still exist, "Il Popolo", created by Christian Democrats party, and "L'Avanti", published by the socialist party. However, the influence they managed to build was interrupted by Fascism, to re-emerge again after the Resistance. It was especially during the dictatorship that the media served the political ends of the elites, ignoring all the other social strata of the population. On the other side, also the Church played an essential role in Italian society. Its press included papers such as "L'Osservatore Romano", the official one of the Catholic Church and "L'avvenire", which was the daily linked to the Church organisation. The strong ties the Church had within society have always facilitated its intervention within the media.

Between the 1970s and 1980s, the newsprint became more market-oriented with the increasing importance of press commercialisation. In 1976 one of the leading newspapers that still exist today "La Repubblica" was the first to shift to a more market-oriented press print system by developing a line that was not essentially

political but included other journalistic features. A strong politicised press tradition was strengthened after the Liberation when anti-fascist political forces received for the first time newspaper licenses.

Moreover, as enterprises started to take control of the newspaper industry, the roots of media concentration ("lottizzazione") were eventually established to expand further in the 90s (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Then, deregulation policies were adopted, opening the possibility of extending private commercial media within the advertising market (Boydstun, 2013). "In the 1990s, two other Italian papers, "L'Indipendente" e "Il Giornale", moved toward a still higher level of sensationalism in search of readers, characterised by screaming headlines of a sort previously unknown" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 101). Even if not leftist, these newspapers had political bonds, with Il Giornale connected to Berlusconi's right party Forza Italia and L'Indipendente, linked to the right-wing Northern League. In particular, with the new editor of Il Giornale, Vittorio Feltri, the paper became, in the end, the voice of the Northern League. The political orientation of each newspaper was, and somehow still is, influential to the extent that it also directs the audience on which newspaper to read.

The backing of industrial enterprises happened at the beginning of the twentieth century with the development of more widespread nationally circulating newspapers, which followed the second world war. There are several examples, such as the Milan daily "Il Giorno" founded by Enrico Mattei, a social demo Christian president of Eni, a state-owned oil company; "La Stampa" controlled by Giovanny Agnelli of FIAT; "Il Corriere della Sera" by Cesare Romiti, fashion mogul; "L'Espresso" and "La Repubblica" managed by Carlo DeBenedetti of

Olivetti and "Il Messaggero" controlled by Raul Ferruzzi. As soon as it evolved powerfully, the economic factor became complicated to regulate (Mancini, 2000).

The involvement in banking, insurance and industries (Boydstun, 2013, p. 99) made Italian media an institution dependent on external forces. From a political point of view, the Italian media's lack of independence was afflicted by "blackmail, censorship, demands and impositions" (Mancini, 2000, p. 321). On this fragile terrain, it was common to serve the interests of private subjects. Not surprisingly, for this reason, Italian media are distrusted by citizens.

In the middle of the 1990s, partisanship within the news media turned more critical when Berlusconi became prime minister. This period also coincided with a strong tabloidisation thanks to the growth of advertising and the infiltration of ads within media, new social groups, and extended geographical coverage of news (Boydstun, 2013). In those years, the media system experienced a drastic change by trying to suit audience demands as much as possible. The loss of ideological relevance led to empty rhetoric and a decrease in the importance of politics. It eventually resulted in the disappearance of party newspapers: "We now worry about talking to a reader also culturally less prepared, to extend the market and the comprehension" (Boydstun, 2013, p. 137). This new need is also derived from the necessity of competing with the internet and television. However, the absence of a concrete press council also reflects a "lack of consensus of ethical standards in the media" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 112), mirrored by limited recognition of the journalistic profession.

Journalism in Italy has mainly been driven by external forces, not regulated by the absence of this kind of autonomous institution, resulting in weak protection for

confidential information. It is what Pansa (1977) defined as a "journalist cut in half". The Italian journalist is always half influenced by media owners, financial bankers and powerful politicians. However, the most widespread form of instrumentalisation can be experienced by how commercial owners use the media to be influential or support a particular political orientation through their mediatic power. It is crucial because it affects journalists' work so that they cannot write what they plan. The most extreme example regarded Italian journalists reporting how "others changed their work in the newsroom for political reasons" (Boydstun, 2013, p. 118). It is what characterises Italy, not only related to newspapers but in general with the media: the disruptive level of influence of external actors, who dominate the news to minimise the role of journalists as mediators.

2.5.1. Journalists and their sources in the legitimation in the Italian news

The hypothesis that journalists use the political elite and powerful sources more frequently can be supported empirically by how Italian journalism works under this point of view. Italian journalism is strongly opinionated. Indeed, the importance of reporting politicians' statements mirrors the influence of political life on journalism (Cornia, 2014).

Political authorities highly control newspapers; therefore, news building passes through several superiors such as deputy editors in chief and desk editors. These figures often work as informal party representatives and influence the news and how newsrooms work. Apart from the newsroom dynamics, the journalist's work is "often based on a personal relationship with a politician or a political faction" (Cornia, 2014, p. 55). It helps establish a non-transparent relationship between

journalists who use politicians to obtain helpful information. At the same time, politicians use journalists to positively secure and influence their political position within the media. "Boundaries between journalism and politics are blurred. Interpersonal relationship with a leading politician is often the reason a journalist obtains advancement in their career" (Cornia, 2014, p. 55).

From the study of Esser and Umbricht (2014), it becomes clear how individual sources always have less visibility than others. This impacts the consultation of sources, with Italian citizens relying less on scientific publications than on traditional mass media (Beltrame et al., 2017).

2.5.2. Narratives and representations of the climate crisis in the Italian media

While analysing how the climate crisis is presented within Italian media, it is essential to consider how news and crises are framed by Italian journalism. One of the most used frames in Italian journalism is the one of conflict (Cornia, 2014) to stimulate interest and make the article newsworthy. "Conflictual frame is applied in more than 40 percent of Italian political news, more than double the level of conflict registered in British, French, German and Spanish news programmes" (Cornia, 2014, p. 56). This journalistic trend depends on political figures who organise and spread conflict within the media.

Partisanship among the most used narratives and frames can involve an editorial policy against specific policies to spread support for particular political goals. The radicalisation cause of Italian media can be found mainly in the rising of

Berlusconi as an influential figure within the Italian political system, which split the journalistic scene into "Berlusconist" and "antiberlusconist".

Italy is a country that has also experienced the climate crisis with extreme weather events happening, especially in 2021, which attracted public attention and raised awareness about the crisis. The change in awareness about the climate crisis came especially from above: a great impulse was given by Italian elites and social movements. In addition, the nuclear disaster of Chernobyl (1986) and the Seveso accident (1976) influenced Italians' perception of the climate crisis. Concerning its discursive representation, "Italian mass media represent climate change as an indisputable fact scaled to the everyday domestic and social experience of common people" (Beltrame et al., 2017, p. 1).

Moreover, from the study of Beltrame et al. (2017), the main features highlighted were how a more consistent coverage coincides with specific events such as IPCC or others considered newsworthy enough to be put on the agenda. However, when a weather or extreme environmental event occurs, the Italian media tend to portray and cover more the consequences than the causes, minimising the discursive urgency. The focus is always on "consequences, implications, responsibilities" (Beltrame et al., 2017, p. 13).

3. METHODOLOGY

A particular status quo is reproduced in discourse by applying specific laws and discursive rules (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). At the same time, oppositional discourses can contribute by challenging or destroying the status quo.

These rules within discourse are "constructive, perpetuating, transformational and destructive" (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 92). Constructive discourse strategy creates and maintains private interests' legitimacy of specific groups through the use of "we" and "they", contributing to building solidarity with "we" and distance and discrimination with "they"(van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 92). However, the use of "we" is also analysed by Loy and Spence (2020) as it can help reduce the perceived socio-spatial distance of climate crisis. The perpetuating discursive strategies "justify a status quo ante" (Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 93), able to maintain, support or reproduce a specific legitimate policy, legitimising an image already in the reader's heart. The use of destructive strategies is aimed at the status quo destruction, allowing a legitimation of legal rejection or reformulation in this context.

Profiting from the theoretical framework of Doudaki and Boubouka (2020), it is necessary to consider the contributions made to analysing discourses that hide a particular relation of power. Machin and Mayr call them "linguistic strategies of concealment" such as nominalisation, presupposition, metaphors, assumption and presupposition (2013, p. 137), also investigated in the study by Beltrame et al. (2013; 2017) on how Italian newspapers cover the climate crisis.

One of the main trends of Italian newspapers covering the climate crisis consists of defining the climate crisis in terms of risk and threat or even using the semantics of war. Moreover, in the outline of the narration frames, the responsibility of the climatic crisis is shifted to the individual from the global institutions in charge of the governance.

The study also highlights an "economic dimension frame", where the capitalist model of development is seen as the main responsible for the crisis, but simultaneously with a positive eye on the resulting markets taking advantage of it, such as the green economy and energy-saving devices. In the narratives that Beltrame et al. (2017) analysed, global politics' inefficiency is also described as responsible for the political dimension frame. However, there is a strong legitimacy allowed by the neoliberal discourse, based on the rhetoric of the importance of the global over the local. It is also possible to perceive external influence within discourses: "Corporations use climate change to promote their image and market their products; scientists working it to support their claims and research proposals; politicians use it to back up their strategies" (Beltrame et al., 2017, p. 11).

Moreover, Beltrame et al. (2013) outlined how the scientific community has a relatively low influence in putting the climate crisis on the agenda-setting. The climate crisis has proven to be an attractive rhetorical resource to support different claims and opinions, considered more as a rhetorical resource to attract the audience's attention in this direction, "a common and largely undisputed discursive ground for social actors to meet" (Eder 1996; Snow et al., 1986 in Beltrame et al., 2013, p. 203).

3.1. Critical discourse analysis of news discourses

News are places where legitimation games happen. Beyond the text, several practices affect its meaning: journalistic norms and values, that struggle for legitimation and authority building, and struggles between the journalist, its editor and who owns the media. "Media are seen not just as passively expressing or reflecting social phenomena, but specific machineries that produce, reproduce and transform social phenomena" (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007, p. 274). Discourses can not be analysed only through text, but the analysis needs to go beyond and land on the social practices in which those are produced. For this reason, CDA methodology is used. "CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures" (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 146). Discourse analysis considers that "language is an irremediable part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). If viewed as strongly connected to the social sphere, it is possible to consider the text of the news as having an active effect on power relations, dominance, and inequality by transmitting a particular ideology (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, vital importance to the context is given to the discourses by considering micro and macro approaches, able to include in the analysis the social context where the meaning process is created and shaped. Context is intended as "the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or the comprehension of discourse" (Duranti & Goodwin 1992; van Dijk 1998 in van Dijk, 2001, p. 356). Through a combination of micro and macro analysis and contextual approach, it would be possible to analyse how dominant groups control a situation which involves communication

in its entirety: over content, text and the journalistic practices allowing those. On the micro-level, it would be possible to analyse how "participants produce and interpret texts" based on their "members' resources" (Fairclough, 1992., p. 85), while macro analysis will allow us to understand the orders of discourse and the nature of the member's resources, their normative and creative layers. By dividing the dimensions of discourse into text, and discursive practice, Fairclough (1992) put the importance not only on textual features but especially on meaning-making and the process of production, distribution and consumption. In particular, relating to journalistic practice: "a newspaper article is produced through complex routines of a collective nature by a team whose members are [...] accessing sources such as press agency reports, transforming these sources [...] into a draft report" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78).

Doudaki and Boubouka's (2020) analysis model considers news text, journalistic practice and social practice wholly intertwined. Social practice analysis is essential because it results from "the choice between morality and authority" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 111). This would help better understand how the journalistic product is influenced by power struggles in social practice and, therefore, journalistic practices. As Van Dijk puts it (1988), "Newsmaking is an institutional practice primarily defined in terms of the activities or interactions of journalists in the setting or situations of newsrooms, meetings, beats, and many newsgathering contexts"(p. 179). It is necessary to consider that text production is the sum of a series of internalised orders of discourse and conventions. In considering discourse as a social practice, Fairclough (1992; 2003; 2015) includes ideology and hegemony as pillars of his analysis. Indeed ideology is intrinsic in any form

of language, especially the circumstance of the sustainment of domination, not only within the words but also in its aspects of meaning (Thompson, 1990). On the other side, hegemony is considered to dominate across every domain of society; its "struggle takes place on a broad front, which includes the institutions of civil society" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92); therefore, the media system. While investigating news discourse, hegemony is a powerful tool to analyse how discourse, soaked with social power relations, reproduces and challenges hegemonic structures. In this framework, ideologies are buried in the text to describe particular ideas that reflect the interests of the powerful (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

However, the limits of CDA involve the uncertainty concerning the ability to comprehend and analyse a text to its fullest; therefore, the contributing knowledge derived from this analysis will always be partial. It cannot be assumed that the text will be made the most transparent through the established framework.

3.2. Identifying discourses of legitimation

This research pointed out the relevant role of ideology and hegemony within ideological implications of journalistic texts containing discourses of legitimation. These are present throughout the whole chain of production: from the sources interviewed to the news as the final product of this system. The analysis of the mechanism of legitimation starts from deductive categories based on Van Leeuween and Wodak's (1999), Van Leeuween (2007) and Doudaki and

Boubouka's (2020) frameworks, with an additional textual study of metaphors by Machin and Mayr (2012) as shown in the Codebook.

3.2.1. Authorisation

Legitimation discourses are practices typical of institutional orders. Specifically, as van Leeuwen said, legitimation treats the answer "why should we do this, why should we do this in this way?" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 94).

Authorisation, one of the strategies that trigger legitimation, has different facets. Personal authority is related to a specific person's legitimate authority because "of their status or role in a particular institution". It does not need external agents to justify its actions, containing most of the time moral obligations from a person with authority to a subject.

There is "expert authority", and the legitimacy is gained through knowledge and expertise or can mention authoritative references. In order to gather this kind of legitimacy during the narration of something, the journalist can use "the form of verbal process clauses or mental process clauses [...] with the expert as a subject" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 95). Once he has the space to talk, the expert can express recommendations based on their knowledge. "In the age of professionalism, expertise has acquired authority in many domains of activity"(Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 95).

The authorisation can be impersonal if related to "laws, rules and regulations" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 96). It can be related, for example, to a climatic agreement. Eventually, there is the authority of the tradition, where a statement is justified through custom, practice, and tradition. Under the umbrella of impersonal authority, there is also the authority of conformity, where the action is legitimated because "more people are doing it". If the authorisations are impersonal, they are legitimated by the law. While the authority of law has autonomy and independence based on legal values, the social power that sustains conformity is challenging to avoid.

3.2.2. Moral evaluation

"Legitimation is based on moral values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 97). The evaluations not only define things as good or bad but are linked to a clear set of discourses of moral value, triggered in an inexplicit way and detached from an apparent reference. When evaluative adjectives redirecting to a system of moral values are generally accepted, not discussed nor challenged and considered common sense, there is "naturalisation".

Naturalisation denies morality by forcing moral orders into being accepted as unquestionable. Within the frame of power relations, discourse naturalises meanings of the world to support specific dominant ideologies (Fairclough, 1992). Naturalisation is used when "a social and historical creation may be treated as a natural event or as the inevitable outcome of natural characteristics" (Thompson

1990, p. 66). If this natural state of things is considered within the news, therefore, discourses reported are not questioned and taken as naturally given, erasing any possibility to be contested. Using naturalisation to portray a crisis allows the neutralisation of "diverging opinions and ideas within the discursive struggle" (Doudaki, 2015, p. 5). More severely, when it is about to decide on the level of social policies, the discourse which has naturalised the hegemonic assumptions creates "an inescapable reality on the conditions of the crisis and their optimal handling" (Doudaki, 2018, p. 147). In the Boubouka and Doudaki framework, naturalisation discourse is constituted by "symbolic annihilation, mystification, and moralisation" (2020, p. 48).

3.2.3. Abstraction

Another legitimating discourse can take place by referring to practices involving actions or reactions that are moralising in their nature as they refer to a moral value. A form of abstraction can legitimate actions for discourses of cooperation and independence. Beyond this, there are analogies, "comparisons in discourse almost always have a legitimatory or de-legitimatory function" (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 99). An activity can be linked to another for its positive or negative reason that could be implicit or explicit, "through similarity conjunction or circumstances of comparison" (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 100). This can also happen through rhetorical figures such as similitudes and metaphors.

While for moral evaluation, rationality remains somehow hidden, for rationalisation, it "remains oblique and submerged, even though no rationalisation

can function as legitimation without it" (Leeuween, 2007, p. 100). There are two types of rationalisation discourse. Instrumental rationality "assumes certain agreed ends and legitimises actions or procedures or structures in terms of their utility in achieving these ends" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 99). Habermas (1976) talks about rationalisation mentioning validity claims used by institutions to regulate social actions and exercise their legitimation by following a "strategic-utilitarian morality (p. 22).

While rationalisation is instrumental and helpful for a specific purpose, a function, a need, or a specific positive effect, Instrumental rationalisation takes form in moralised activities, represented through abstract terms that refer to quality. That quality is, in particular, considered positive or negative based on which kind of moralising activities it triggers. As a result of instrumental rationalisation, the displaced or objectivated activities are the subjects of the effect process, such as "achieve", "create", "affect", "promote", and "facilitate" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 106).

3.2.5. Mythopoesis

With Mythopoesis, legitimation takes place through storytelling. The story told "is taken as evidence for a general norm of behaviour" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 110). On the other hand, negative stories are used to delegitimise action and specific subjects.

3.2.6. Nominalisation

Nominalisation consists, grammatically speaking, of transforming the subject's agency responsible for the action into a noun. Nominalisation can also be applied through passive verbs and adjectives (Fairclough, 2003). Another strategy used to conceal the responsibility of human agents is humanising inanimate thing. For example, "Capital is mobile, technology can migrate quickly, and goods can be made in low-cost countries and shipped to developed markets" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 13). In the previous example, part of a Tony Blair discourse, nominalisation contributes, as a social effect, to deresponsibilise the effects of neoliberalism, mentioning a "configuration of different linguistic forms"(Fowler et al., 1979 in Fairclough, 2003, p. 13). The same deresponsibilisation occurs when nominalisation, used in a discourse of governance and policy, can suppress differences between subjects. Another form of nominalisation is impersonality, with subjects talking or being anonymised, leading to "distance and alienation" (Fowler, 1979, p. 39). Among the other dangerous effects of nominalisation are the erasing agent involved in the actions and the removal of "any sense of time" (Machin & Mayr, 2013, p 142), which happens when a sentence is focused on filled actions and events. Another effect outlined by Machin and Mayr (2012) is the opacity generated when a specific process is objectified. The main result is that the objectivation of certain things has become officially part of knowledge and common sense, leading to taking for granted specific meanings. For example, when talking about globalisation, people refer to it as a noun, forgetting that it is a process resulting from policies and political and economic decisions that can change. Overall, avoiding agents, time and specificity lead to simplifying a process described with more minor details and density. Things that could be

essential disappear. Most of all, with many nouns' usage, the inconvenience of putting uncomfortable responsibility on other agents, potent ones, vanishes.

3.2.7. Presupposition

In presupposition sentences, the information contained is taken for given, for example, with definite articles such as "the Soviet threat" (Fairclough, 1992). A deep analysis must recognise that those sentences can contribute to "the ideological constitution of subjects"(Fairclough, 1992, p. 121). As abstraction and nominalisation, the presupposition is used in liberal discourses to "represent the world in a way which abstracts away from anything remotely concrete" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 132). While processes such as globalisation are represented abstractly, the people, especially those suffering from the globalised world, are not mentioned, even if sometimes in a generic way. What is taken for granted within a presupposition coincides with "pre-constructed elements" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 107), in this way building an argument considered logical by the person pronouncing the sentence. As van Dijk explains, these can help build racist rhetoric (1991), presenting claims as given, justified by racialist presuppositions. By these means, dominant systems are endowed and re-establish their power continuously. For example, political patterns take the global economy for granted even though "many analysts see global economic processes as far from equal around the planet" (Fairclough, 2003 in Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 156). In addition, presuppositions "help to conceal that such things might be choices regarding how we run our societies rather than facts to which we must inevitably adapt" (Machin & Mayr, 2013, p. 156). Through presuppositions, elite sources

can avoid being too explicit while creating a legitimate basis for what they will state.

3.2.8. Assumption

Assumptions are used to create a bridge between two parts of texts, hypothesising that there is a connection between the two. An assumption example reported by Fairclough (2003) is thinking that globalisation "constitutes economic progress", allowing a neoliberal semantic connection (p. 57). If the power of assumption is strong enough, "one can as a reader recognise the value system and therefore the assumed meaning without accepting or agreeing with it" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 57). However, the assumption's influence power depends on the readers' interpretation and their value system and knowledge. In neoliberal discourse, for example, ideology plays an important part behind a particular assumption, even if it is hidden more or less explicitly. Especially when a specific meaning is taken as given by the reader and the journalist, it is possible to assert "that the relations of power are best served" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 58). The ideological work behind assumption mainly allows ideology to be "in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance"(Fairclough, 2003, p. 58).

3.2.9. Metaphorical representation

Through metaphorical representation, specific views on how to perceive things are encouraged and proposed, and the writer chooses to construct reality in a certain way. "Which metaphors become accepted can have implications not only

for how we think about and understand the world but also for how we act, the institutions we build and how we organise our societies" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p 164). According to Fairclough, metaphors carry ideological and political import (1992) and can be considered a tool for organising the experience to legitimise and delegitimise an argument. When used in political discourse, metaphors have a clear intention. For this reason, it is necessary to analyse their structure and the ideological broader discourse they refer to. Fairclough presents an example of how the metaphor assimilates some kinds of meanings that it is challenging to distinguish from a typical explanation within the text. One example addressed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is the use of "metaphorical construction of argument as war" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 195), the use of military terms that can lead to the militarisation of thought and social practice (Chilton, 1988). Those are intensely used for the study of political rhetoric. If getting deeper into the intentions, primarily the political of the metaphor can hide specific ideologies underlying power relations. This is why they are commonly found in political discourses, used as devices to "convey a sense of progress, of building something together, without actually stating what this might be "(Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 169), chasing, in this way, legitimation with an empty and rhetorical discourse. The metaphor also can relate to the naturalisation of discourse: some metaphors are so naturalised and legitimised within a discourse that people who use them are almost unaware of their hidden meaning of those and the easy way they structure reality. Faircloughs brings the example of marketisation (1992, p. 195) of discourse: "The metaphorical constitution of education and other services as markets is a potent element in the transformation not only of discourse but also of

thinking and practice". Everything is reflected in the construction of the perception of society.

3.3. Research Design and Sampling

Before presenting the analysis findings, it is pertinent to present the coding and collecting procedures in depth. This research examines news texts related to the climate crisis in Italy. The analysis also evaluated the use of sources and how this choice relates to the journalistic production of news. The analysis presents news reports from a national newspaper, with articles published online and on paper. The year of publication chosen was 2021. Despite Covid19 overshadowing most of the news on climate change, international climate summits, such as COP26 in Glasgow, had an impact in bringing the topic of climate change to the attention of the media and, therefore, of citizens. Furthermore, in 2021, Italy was hit by several extreme climatic events that people were not used to.

The newspapers part of the analysis are, respectively: Il Resto del Carlino, La Stampa, La Republica, Il Mattino, Il Messaggero and il Sole 24 ore. Deductive codes were created based on the findings of the literature mentioned above to approach the research question. The first deductive code draft was tested on a random selection of 30 articles. Out of these, other inductive codes were developed to provide a complete analysis. After developing the coding frame, a reliability test was conducted, and the coding frame is refined and then applied to a sample of 60 articles. Proportional representation was ensured for each outlet by selecting 10 articles per newspaper. The texts to be analysed were selected

randomly out of a pool of 6,024 articles for Il Resto del Carlino, 2,246 for La Stampa, 2,953 for Il Mattino, and 3,260 for Il Messaggero, 4,070 for La Repubblica and 2,915 for Il Sole 24 ore. These articles were gathered on Factiva after developing and testing an exact search string in Italian to separate the articles on climate change politics from articles on other subjects.

The key words used in the search string were: clima or emergenz* climatic* or climatic* or ambient* or cambiament* climatic* or alluvion* or maltempo or disastr* ambiental* or crisi climatic* or surriscaldamento or surriscaldamento globale or event* estrem* or emissioni or co2 or allarm* climatic*. The words excluded were: film or cinema since most of the articles resulting from the analysis were referring to screening events and film festivals concerning the climate crisis. The articles were automatically sorted by relevance by Factiva. Therefore, the articles were grouped in MAXQDA Analytics Pro, a software program used in qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research.

Moreover, this research focuses on analysing sources and how those contribute to the journalistic meaning-making of news by legitimising o delegitimising international policies and agreements, political positions and actions. The sources were identified through their role within society and influence on the climate crisis topic. The content analysis of the 60 articles identified 424 sources that were then divided according to their characteristics. In order to find legitimation discourse, textual analysis and coding were used. Nevertheless, the initial code system had been tested once following the already mentioned theoretical framework; the procedures were implemented by an open coding process

(Saldaña, 2021) to allow new categories to emerge during the analysis inductively. After the codes were applied, the second round of reading was made to ensure the result did not contain any errors. The initial analytical framework elaborated at the beginning has been implemented and developed by other inductive codes, referring in a different way to the discourse of legitimation, presented by the Codebook. A total of 2,134 codes were reached. The resulting analysis profit from the theoretical framework of Doudaki and Boubouka (2020) and Wodak and Leeuwen (1999), who evaluated expertise, quantification and reification as categories being part of one more prominent legitimation tool: objectivation. On the other side, other mechanisms privileged naturalisation, another legitimising narrative comprehending moralisation and other categories that contribute to the omission or nominalisation of a particular topic: presupposition, assumption, and metaphorical representation. Most of them can not be categorised strictly but are context-dependent to the meaning and significance they are de legitimising of legitimising. The research explores how each one of those, with their unicity, contributes to legitimisation or delegitimisation of discourses within the text. The analysis presents how words and discourses are used, which sources are employed, their importance and influence, and their coherence to the climate crisis. The resulting analysis will portray the data, using the segment coded as a unit of measure, to give more importance to the code used than the documents that employed them. The final results will show how these attributes allow the acceptance of specific ideas supporting certain policies and positions of authority. The researcher translated the articles presented as examples of the discourses from Italian to English.

4. RESULTS

This chapter presents the discourses of delegitimation found during the analysis of the newspapers. Within the theoretical framework already presented, discourses will be treated and tested as a whole practice: a comprehensive way to make ideologies, ideas, power relations, and hegemonic positions emerge.

4.1. Narratives

As Dahlstrom (2014) proposes, narratives help increase audience comprehension, interest, and engagement. If the readers are involved in the narrative, then the impact of delegitimation discourses would turn out more straightforward. Figure 1 depicts the trend of all the segments that used Narrative as a discourse.
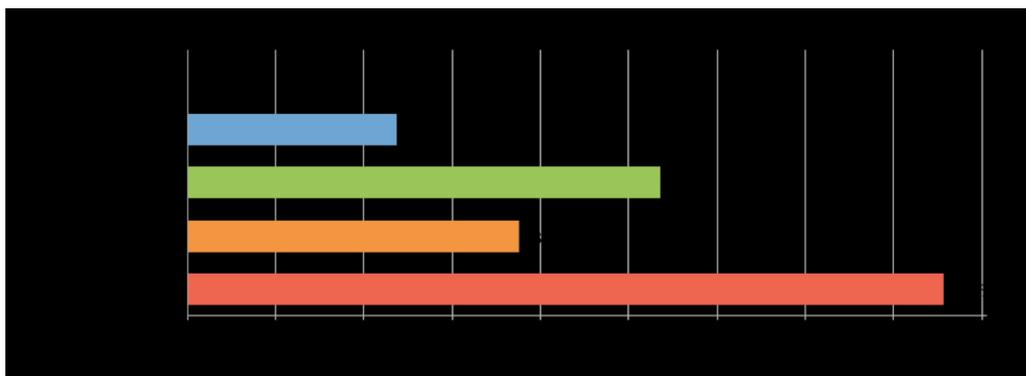
With a total of 112 segments coded, the narrative "Community" figures as the most used one among the "Narratives" ones, referring to the use of "we" within news texts or speeches by powerful sources or experts. The high frequency of the "Alarmism" narrative, representing 70 segments, shows Italian newspapers' clear tendency to present scientific facts in an alarmist and sensationalist way.

4.1.1. Dramatisation

A subcode of the Narratives is "Dramatisation", based on the study by Dahlstrom (2014) and Glaser et al. (2009). With dramatisation, events, facts and human activities consequences are emphasised and accentuated to intensify the discourse that scientific data could support. The use of superlative adjectives and hyperbolic vocabulary supports this code stylistically. The following examples show the dramatisation narrative, soaked with a depiction of solid metaphorical images to describe extreme weather events. "Increasingly violent atmospheric events affect the living flesh of city life, compromising the functioning of services. Thus, when thunderstorms and storms arrive, the underground A is invaded by water and closed, the convoys go straight, and Romans are left on foot" (La Repubblica\"Facciamo presto", grandine e afa i segni del clima già cambi). The image of city living flesh draws the reader's attention to sensationalist narratives. The dramatisation narrative trend always presents a long list of extreme events, while the list of human actions causing them is rarely mentioned.

4.1.2. Feeling of Helplessness

 Two inductive categories part of narratives are "Feeling of helplessness" and "Alarmism", both can be considered a consequence of dramatisation. With a feeling of helplessness, facts not supported by data are excessively dramatised and rhetorical, demoralising the readers and blaming human actions. Excessive

demoralisation can result in the deresponsibility of the audience. The feeling of helplessness mainly refers to irreversible events to which human activity cannot do anything.

4.1.3. Alarmism

Through alarmism, the content portrayed tends to show fear and panic, sometimes not even explaining what is happening, but with the first aim to refer, through presupposition, to the short amount of time left, while heavy consequences are emphasised. Future predictions, if used by a scientist, are manipulated to become and be perceived as alarming facts. The journalistic use of sensationalism in tragedy aims to better appeal to the audience's emotions (Rupar, 2011).

4.1.4. Community

One of the strategies for reducing the psychological distance to increase public engagement with the climate crisis is investigated by Spence and Loy (2020), who recognises the importance of reducing the perceived socio-spatial distance of the environmental events. For example, transmitting the "We are all in this together" feeling, this narrative shows that something is relevant to the whole planet and all humans. "However, when people consider themselves as part of a global society, proximising may not be necessary as people perceive the relevance of distant impacts" (p. 5).

4.2.   Symbolic annihilation

The term symbolic annihilation was used by Gerbner and Gross (1976) to describe how, in the media, the "representation in the fictional world signifies social existence; absence means symbolic annihilation" (p. 182). It was then adopted by Tuchman (1978b) to refer to mechanisms of omission, condemnation and trivialisation employed to represent women in media. It generally refers to practices of portraying something subjected to power through stereotypical images, resulting in misrepresentation and exclusion mechanisms. This practice can also be observed when discussing legitimation discourses. Figure 2 depicts the tendency of all the segments that used Symbolic annihilation the most.
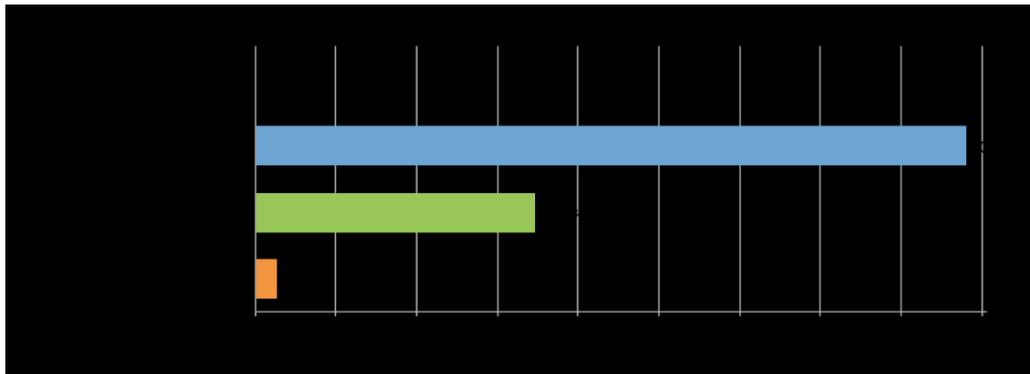
The code "Condemnation of other countries" reaches 135 segments, figuring as the most used among the "Symbolic annihilation" ones. The code "Condemnation of human actions" is still relevant in most discourses analysed. At the same time, the least used one, "Condemnation of youngsters", portrays another tendency: the almost absent presence of young people in Italian newspapers, except for being shown in a pessimistic and paternalistic way those

rare times they are mentioned.

4.2.1. Condemnation of other countries

The inductive code "Condemnation of other countries" was created after noticing a recurring pattern: the condemnation that the Italian government has, or in general powerful countries have, towards other countries for non respecting the climatic agreements. Powerful actors (here considered as the countries of the Global North) use these mechanisms to delegitimise other countries. When discussing climate crisis management and policy, Italy is portrayed as a good country willing to succeed within climatic agreements, which does not happen due to the reluctance of other countries. The resulting "condemnation" of other countries is the legitimation strategy for the inefficiency of managing the crisis, allowing Italy to clear its conscience of its failures in international relations. Among the blames: different economic interests, common grounds, technology and richness, with the latter quickly resulting in paternalistic assumptions towards countries from the Global South.

The following example is explicative: "the international climate negotiation (which essentially concerns industrial production, hence different levels of wealth and technological advancement) finds its greatest obstacle in the fact that the various countries of the world have different starting conditions" (Il mattino\Franco Cardini Da molti decenni storici, climatologi e storici). While the terms of the climate negotiation are omitted, the focus is on the lack of

cooperation that prevents powerful countries, Italy included, from succeeding under this point of view. As a result, Italy is depicted as a nation that "has the great opportunity to lead the world in the right direction" (La Repubblica\ Energia e clima , l'Italia non deve perdere questa occasione) and has the paternalistic duty to "call for a more coordinated approach to support emerging and developing economies" as a result. The expert source that produced the article, Franco Cardini, adopted symbolic annihilation as a defensive strategy to re-establish the nation's ability and authority to face the climate crisis, a position attacked and questioned by the inefficiency of climatic agreements and Italy's national politics about climate. Since the inefficiency is due to the diversity of other countries, it can also be considered an offensive strategy, which usually takes place in "unequal power relations, when the actors attempt to either consolidate or strengthen their power position or change the power balance to their benefit"(Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 75). From a journalistic practice perspective, it allows the journalist to maintain authority by preserving the role of importance of Italy within international relations balances. The author, Franco Cardini, commonly known to the Italian public as an expert and columnist in many newspapers, uses his authority to legitimate the articulation of certain judgments.

4.2.2. Condemnation of human actions

The need to create this inductive code reflects another pattern concerning the "condemnation of human actions". While this code has been used less than the

one above (70.3 per cent segment coded frequency overall for "Other countries condemnation", 27.6 per cent segment coded frequency of "Human activities condemnation"), it is most explicitly used to condemn denialist ideas, backed up by words of expertise. As the following example shows, "climate change caused by human activity was at the doorstep, the scientific evidence was accompanied by a denialist movement (La Repubblica\Il negazionismo del cambio climatico attacca la scienza da 50). It is scientifically proven that human activities are the main responsible for the crisis; however, during the text analysis, this responsibility rarely comes up as explicitly expressed. Indeed, the choice to mention denialists shifts the focus from human actions' fault to a scapegoat. This does not legitimise the human activities' fault discourse by encouraging everyone to participate in the crisis's change. Instead, its main aim is to delegitimise those who deny the crisis. From the perspective of the journalistic production, the journalist can maintain her authority on whom to identify as the scapegoat and who not by mentioning a scientific researcher discussing the choices of those denying the climatic crisis.

4.2.3.   Condemnation of youngsters

Symbolic annihilation can be described as a form of symbolic violence of invisibilisation that reflects the denial of recognising the identity of a specific person (Bourdieu, 2001; Gerbner & Gross; 1976; Tuchman, 1978). Young people, when they are protagonists of the news, are either described with paternalistic terms ("let's do it for the future generations") or with

condemnation. Mainly described as fanatics, they are blamed for giving romantic and unrealistic ideas and not providing solutions. The condemnation argument against them, within a society, the Italian one, that does not provide to the young generation the opportunity to have a future, is used by elite actors (in this case, the columnist and professor Alessandro Campi) to re-confirm and re-legitimate their authority position both in the media environment and society (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020). The following example depicts the discourse: "Delegitimising as inept, insensitive and criminal the legal representatives of the people is always a bad idea. Is Manichaean environmental populism, simplifying and lacking in recipes like all other variants of the same phenomenon, only acceptable because it is ridden by young idealists against whom a terrible sense of guilt is cultivated?" (Il Messaggero\ Alessandro Campi Il riscaldamento globale e i cambiamenti). The blame for someone else's activism and the questioning ideology of the young generations reflects an offensive strategy (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 75). The unequal power relations where this attack comes allow the producer of the article to strengthen his power position. Indeed, Alessandro Campi, political scientist, columnist for 'Il Messaggero' and 'Il Mattino' and lecturer in Political Science at the University of Perugia, is a powerful old man, an expert who attacks the actions of climate activists knowing that he has the privilege to do so, from his untouchable fortress of power against a generation fighting to build a sustainable future in Italy.

4.3. Neoliberal discourse

By neoliberalism, this research intends the "political project for facilitating the restructuring and re-scaling of social relations in accordance with the demands of an unrestrained global capitalism" (Bourdieu, 1998 in Fairclough, 2003, p. 4). Therefore, it will refer to neoliberal discourse whenever words are aimed at the goals of the definition above. These explicitly or implicitly imply: celebrating competitiveness and hyper-individualism, persuading the reader that prosperity is only possible through a free market. Within the climate crisis discourse, neoliberalism blames the individual consumer for producing carbon emissions; it points at the carbon footprint ignoring the socioeconomic factors that propagate climate inequality in minority groups. This has resulted in environmental degradation and wealth inequality, threatening collective action. Neoliberal discourse blames the individual, resulting in the sense of hopelessness, resignation, and deresponsibilisation (Lukacs, 2017). Stylistically, neoliberal discourse adopts tools of delegitimation through abstraction, presuppositions, and assumptions. As the following example illustrates: "It is a cultural issue. We must first change our habits, our way of consuming and eating. We have two great tools to accelerate the change: on the one hand, voting and, on the other hand, our purchasing choices. Let's buy only energy from renewable sources, organic products, eat less meat, waste less" (Il Resto del Carlino\«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»). This sentence is shifting the attention from institutional choices that should, in the first place, contribute to the change, putting individual actions at the centre of the debate. The individual is again to blame if the crisis continues, and the practical solutions institutions could take are

omitted or not explicitly mentioned. It is clear how the mainstream newspaper tendency is to report a dominant narrative of the crisis: Italy and its institutions are never directly blamed for it, but citizens and their individual choices are. As a result, "by not appearing openly ideological, mainstream press reporting becomes all the more ideologically effective" (Reese, 1990, p. 392). While the impossibility of following international agreements is naturalised by blaming other countries, structural problems within society are not mentioned. As the following example displays: "Scepticism often reaches the point of irresponsibility even in everyday and seemingly minimal attitudes: think of the difficulty we are still encountering with a problem as elementary (but of primary importance) as the proper disposal of waste and the related organisation of recycling" (Il mattino\ Franco Cardini Da molti decenni storici, climatology e storici). One of the main arguments of neoliberal discourse concerning individual actions interests individual recycling: a vital activity but still not enough to prevent the climate crisis. Hyper-individualism is here again used to blame individual actions.

While the neoliberal discourse puts the responsibility of human actions at the centre, legitimising them as the only ones on which the change depends, the responsibilities of powerful countries are not on the agenda. "Climate change depends on the concentrations of greenhouse gases - and primarily CO_2 - in the atmosphere, regardless of which country emits these gases"(La Repubblica\La via dei privati per un Altro clima). "Regardless of which country" is a way to deresponsibilise who is in charge of obstructing the reproduction of climate crisis. Deresponsibility is enforced through the concealment of political-

economic system issues that prevent the resolution of the crisis. Eventually, the shading of the responsible actors and the shedding light on the individual is on paper.

The deresponsibilisation is, in most cases, accompanied by a positive depiction of Italian institutions. As the following example shows: "We are living in a time of great uncertainty, in the face of which we would like governments and international bodies to take quicker steps in the right direction, or perhaps reassurances, but even those who are committed in good faith today do so in view of a future of which they cannot know all the variables" (Il mattino\ Franco Cardini Da molti decenni storici, climatology e storici). The "good faith" is justifying another time the impossibility of the states to do anything possible to solve the crisis due to several reasons. The role of institutions is seen as "an ontological status independent of human activity and signification" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 107), supporting in this way this politico-economic system within news (Soloski, 1989).

Italian institutions and politicians are "committed in good faith" and are legitimised by the journalistic production of news standing "in a structured relationship with powerful institutions,[...] with a "paradigm negotiated and renegotiated in view of these forces" (Reese, 1990, p. 392). This paradigm has a consensus within the newsmaking process and the choice of whom to interview, in this case, Franco Cardini, a historian and expert on mediaeval ages. As frequently happens within the Italian news media environment, experts are

invited to speak up about general topics beyond their competence. The newspapers, however, can justify the choice in the name of general expertise and power surrounding the subject interviewed. Figure 3 shows the frequency of segments coded for each discourse analysed.
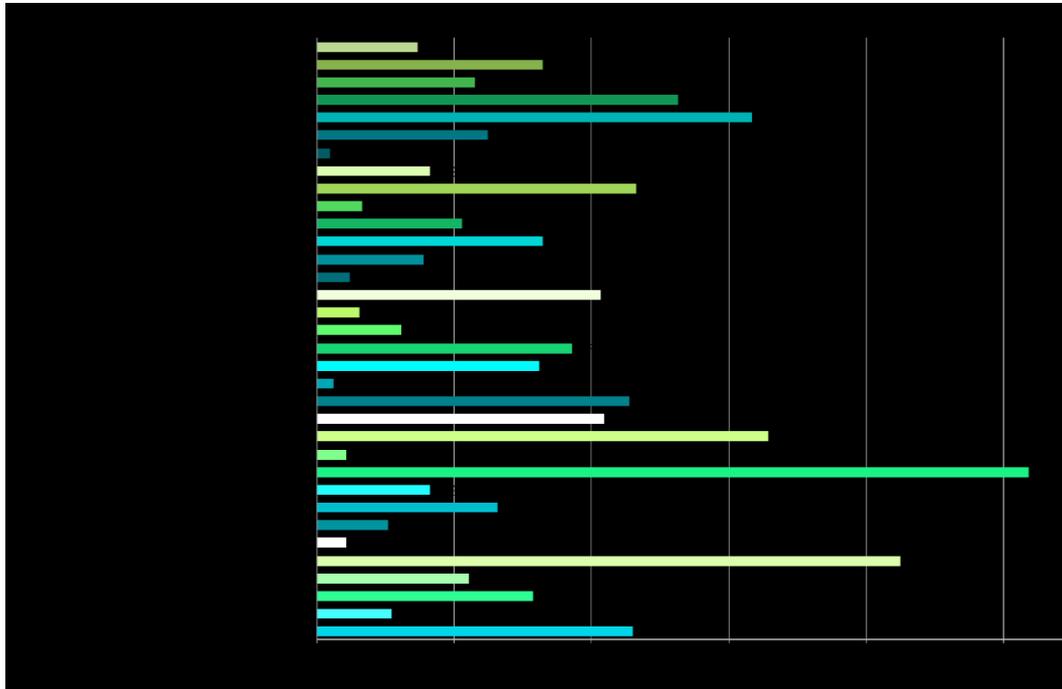
Neoliberal discourse is not the most used, as it appears 35 times in total. The difficulty of putting clear boundaries on such a vast discourse made it difficult to code in a precise way. However, it is always present in using presuppositions and assumptions and submerged in the discourses of power sources.

4.4. Metaphorical representations

"Metaphor is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 136). At the same time, the study of Lakoff and

Johnson (1980) showed how humans understand the world and organise experiences through culturally established metaphors (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Speakers and journalists can use a pool of already set metaphors to legitimise or delegitimise their discourses. Analysing the metaphor is practical to understand what ideological and cultural factors determine its choice (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Fairclough, 1992; 2003). Stylistically, metaphors can be introduced by "metaphorically speaking", "so to speak", "as it were", and "literally".

It is possible to find redundant and sensationalistic metaphors within the newspaper text that do not add value to the information provided, such as "Without emphasis: we are walking on the edge of the abyss" (La Stampa\ Ambiente , il prezzo da pagare: il surriscaldamento farà perd). Others tend to focus on the consequences of the climatic crisis, generalising the similarity with tropical weather such as "a deluge that looks like a tropical downpour" (La Repubblica\"Facciamo presto", grandine e afa i segni del clima già Cambi) and describing them with colourful terms such as "Drought hell"
(Il Resto del Carlino\« Crisi idrica: colpa del clima e delle perdite»). These strong metaphorical pictures have the hidden power to influence the construction of the problems' reality for the reader "in a pervasive and fundamental way" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 194). However, comparing what is happening to hell or the tropics help the reader understand a scientific topic that would be otherwise difficult to digest (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It makes it closer to the human experience.

Eventually, some metaphors delude the audience to make the change, with individual actions again as protagonists: "Our international system will be as we choose it. Our fate is in our own hands" (La Repubblica\ Energia e clima , l'Italia non deve perdere questa occasione p). More specifically, here symbolisation of unity is used (Thompson, 1990) "by binding together individuals in a way which overrides differences and divisions, the symbolisation of unity may serve, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of domination" (pp. 64-65). In this case, the domination consists of the imposition of an optimistic view of the crisis. Indeed, the above article talks about the climate crisis by listing all the reasons to be optimistic about it, erasing the possibility of seeing it critically but rather as "an opportunity for Italy to guide the world". The whole text contributes to optimism washing, downplaying the natural causes and consequences of the climate crisis. Figure 4 illustrates the trend of all the segments that used Metaphorical representations.
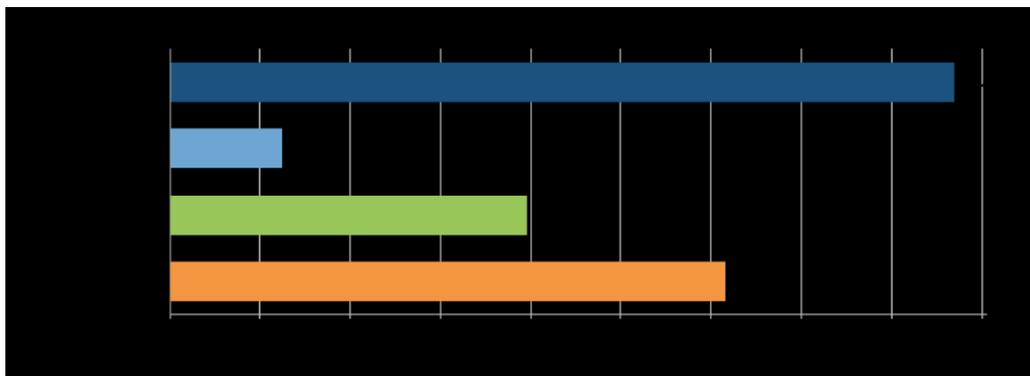
Among the codes, the most adopted one, "Others", refers to general metaphorical techniques that did not include the other subcodes. With 99 segments coded, Italian newspapers favour using colourful and figurative language. Among the subcodes analysed, the most relevant ones give a

personification of the climate and the planet and use a militarised discourse, referring to the crisis as something to fight (70 and 45 segments coded, respectively).

4.4.1. Climate as challenge

Misusing rhetoric leads to perceiving the climate as a challenge rather than a real problem. "Climate change, a challenge on the limit" (Il Resto del Carlino\Cambiamento climatico , una sfida al limite). The climate as a challenge suggests a narrative that needs to be faced as a competitive race.

4.4.2. Militarised discourse

Within the newspapers analysed, many arguments are metaphorically constructed through a militarized discourse. As Lakoff and Johnson clarify: "many of the things we do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war" (1980, p. 4). When the journalist uses militarised discourse, it legitimises militarised practice concerning the issue (Chilton, 1988; Fairclough, 1992). One of the many examples: "The fight against overheating is a race against time". (Il Sole 24 ore\L'intervista. Patricia Espinosa.)

Climate is therefore seen as an enemy of civil society, especially in this example, where prime minister Mario Draghi states: "The experiences we have had, with fires from Turkey to Portugal,' [...] 'is perhaps the best lesson for moving forward with speed and determination in the fight against climate

change (Il Sole 24 Ore\ Draghi: transizione verde ok, ma attenzione ai costi sociali). "We" refers to Italian citizens and, together with "fight", can be considered as an ideology mode pinpointed by Thompson (1990) as "unification and expurgation of the other". The overlap of these two involves "the construction of an enemy, either within or without, which is portrayed as evil, harmful or threatening and which individuals are called upon collectively to resist or expurgate" (Thompson, 1990, p. 65). Moreover, when weather agents are humanised, and their actions are described with militarised metaphors, the fundamental nature of the problem is scientifically hidden and abstracted. From a newsmaking perspective, it is proven to be a tendency of journalists who "cultivate characteristics which are taken to be typical of the target audience and a relationship of solidarity with that assumed audience and who can mediate newsworthy events to the audience in its own common sense terms or in a stereotypical version thereof" (Hartley, 1982, p. 87). As a result, a militarised image of violence will be projected associated with the crisis, influencing its management in this direction.

4.4.3. Personification

As Charteris-Black (2011, p. 61) describes it, personification is a "linguistic figure in which an abstract and inanimate entity is referred to using a word or phrase that in other contexts would be used to describe a person." In many cases, the climate crisis is embodied and performed by a humanised planet. The humanising of inanimate subjects, through mechanisms of nominalisation and

personification, allows an inanimate subject to acquire agency. An example is "that the planet is suffering in terms of climate is nothing new" (La Stampa\ Clima , il monito di Draghi: "Stiamo venendo meno all promesse). From a journalistic mechanism perspective, newsmakers are able "to conceal who the actors are "(Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 171), removing the focus from the people who are agents of impact.

Moreover, the planet earth is not only personified, but also depicted as a human body suffering. It is a commonplace to see an organicistic vision of the earth as a human body able to get sick and suffer from the climate crisis and the presence of humans. Under this point of view, Thompson underlines the ideological power of this metaphor, warning that "the metaphor of disease and cure, combined with the language of "us and "them" [...] shrouds the process of social and economic development in the imaginary of illness and health while neglecting or glossing over the actual circumstances underlying and affecting this process" (1990, p. 64). Examples such as

"Planet fever continues to soar" (Il Resto del Carlino\ Rimini sommersa, è allarme clima) and "the Earth fever" (Il mattino\ Clima, la febbre Della Terra sale verso i +3,3 gradi: richio co) trace a romanticising narrative of the crisis and a severe avoiding of information about the causes of the climate crisis. Suppose the audience accepts the metaphorical understanding of the planet as an organism. In that case, the pedagogical purpose of this portrayal (Cameron, 2003) will lead them to think that "we have to work to make sure all parts of it are healthy and work together" (Mayr & Machin, 2012, p. 166). As already

stated, this understanding influences how the topic is approached within society, affecting its organisation.

4.5. Assumption

Fairclough (2003) describes assumptions by saying, "implicitness is a pervasive property of texts, and a property of considerable social importance" (p. 55). Therefore, assumptions can exercise social power thanks to a hegemonic communication ability to leverage a common ground of shared meanings. These meanings can include assumptions about what exists, what is or can be or will be the case, and assumptions about what is suitable and desirable. Each of them can be triggered by a definite reference and active verbs. Some examples of this in the newspapers are: "[We must] rely on renewables and nuclear power. [...]The technology so much demonised will be the one to save us" (Il Resto del Carlino\ «Il cambiamento climatico ? Non è una leggenda. Ecco perché») and "The insurance sector can contribute to an environmentally friendly growth of the economy in two ways: in its risk management and in its capacity as an investor" (Il Sole 24 ore\Draghi: Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro). The assumption of the first example refers to the need to take unpopular, "demonised" choices to achieve salvation from the crisis. It refers to the lively debate about nuclear power in Italy, where no plants are installed. From a news perspective, the journalist allows the scientific divulgator Ruggero Rollini to express his opinion about a delicate topic, knowing that it will not have neutral effects on the readers, but to produce in the common sense of the

audience the belief that also nuclear powers can save Italy. This disclosure relieves the journalist from any responsibility since she is just reporting the words of a scientific expert. In the second example, prime minister Mario Draghi assumes that the insurance sector can also pursue its interest through the climate crisis in the name of economic growth. However, how to do it is not explicitly covered, while the reason is to prevent the economic impact of extreme weather events. From Figure 3, it is possible to notice that Assumptions are part of 1.5 per cent of the total segments coded, while "Paternalistic assumptions towards developing countries" is adopted for the 0.5 per cent.

4.5.1. Paternalistic assumptions towards developing countries

This inductive sub-category has been developed in research to give the proper importance to a structurally present pattern, especially within international relations of powers involving the Global South and the Global North. The assumption towards developing countries underling that they need to be helped follows a particular strategy, highlighting an unbalance of powers recognised by the neoliberal value systems. An example of an assumption of this nature is: "Moving from zero emissions to substantial reductions requires greater international efforts to drive innovation. It also requires a more coordinated approach to support emerging and developing economies and ensure their timely access to the knowledge, finance and technology they need for a clean energy future"(La Repubblica\ Energia e clima , l'Italia non deve perdere

questa occasione p). It is assumed that emerging economies need the help of powerful countries in order to cooperate according to their globalised system. This kind of assumption hides unbalances of powers. Neoliberal discourse is implicit in assuming those countries do not have the proper access to knowledge, finance and technology. Therefore they need to be helped to reach "innovation". Both assumptions facilitate mechanisms of power within neoliberal discourse since they include explicitly processes - "environmentally friendly growth of the economy" and "innovation" - "but the people involved are for the most part excluded" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 132).

4.6. Presupposition

Presupposition can be considered a discourse relative to the assumptions that "represent the world in a way which abstracts away from anything remotely concrete" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 132). In discourses taken by influential people, presuppositions can mainly emphasise "a common sense in service of power", referring to a common "background knowledge" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 165). Specifically, in defining the ideological relationship between language and power, Fairclough states, "having power may mean being able to determine presuppositions" (2015, p. 164). They are stylistically supported by definite articles, subordinates and verbs such as "forget", "regret", and "realise" (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The primary trend involving the use of presupposition interests the question of the absence of time to trigger action. Such as: "The fight against climate change is the priority. And there is no time to lose" (Il mattino\ IL CASO ROMA La lotta ai cambiamenti climatici è la priorità) and "Do more and

do it soon" (Il messaggero\ Eventi estremi quasi triplicati dal 2010 Dopo il lockdown gas). In both cases, the journalists decide to adopt this discourse. These presuppositions, which are more similar to slogans, give a sense of alarmistic vision that requires giving all the power of agency to someone capable and powerful enough to address this new "priority".

The agency of political institutions takes advantage to gain importance through specific narrations of the crisis. It is described as "incomprehensible and complex", allowing for granted that citizens can not understand it, diminishing their ability to organise themselves collectively to respond to the crisis or to question this view. Some examples are: "Climate is a complex system" (Il Resto del Carlino\Allarme clima , aspettiamoci eventi estremi) and "The situation is inherently complicated" (La Repubblica\ La via dei privati per un altro clima). This narrative, used directly by journalists, allows readers to think that they can not understand it; therefore, their actions are deresponsibilised. The same discourse, in a more hidden way, is portrayed by: "Some processes are now underway, and there is no going back. Greenland's ice is melting and will continue to melt" (Il Resto del Carlino\«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»)" and " we do not stop this stuff" (Il Sole 24 Ore \Cingolani: con 4-5 gradi in più nel 2090 umanità a rischio est). The climate, covered and defined superficially with "this stuff", is also described, in the first example, through abstracted meanings such as "some processes". In the last example, is the minister for ecology transition Roberto Cingolani, to define extreme events caused by climate change as "this stuff",

while in the first one it is used by an expert: both these discourses are employed by figures who have the power to influence the perception of the audience. These presuppositions lead to a lack of information about what is being discussed and what could be done. Moreover, in texts, presupposition frequently supports the agency of the powerful: "It is only a matter of political will. We already have the technologies to change our way of producing energy" (Il Resto del Carlino\"IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE"). "Our way of producing", expressed by an expert, presumes that there is one dominant way that everyone, inevitably, supports. As Machin and Mayr (2012) state, "such presuppositions enter into common usage in the media in a broader sense and increasingly come to appear as self-evident and then background their original ideological usage" (p. 158). Another of the many examples expressed by a journalist reporting the intentions of the International Energy Agency: "Our international system will be as we choose it to be" (La Repubblica\ Energia e clima, l'Italia non deve perdere questa occasione). This assumption seeks to confirm the significance of a powerful part of the social world. If 'our international system' is taken for granted as the one we need, it is easy to think that it must be protected and that the people must make sacrifices in the name of it. In giving power to the state and institutions in front of alarmism, the portrayal of the crisis often assumes positive notes. Rather than presenting the crisis as such, it has been defined as a "great occasion" for Italy by the journalist: "Against the backdrop of all this, Italy has a great occasion to lead the world in the right direction" (La Repubblica\ Energia e clima, l'Italia non deve perdere questa occasione). Moreover, it has been portrayed as an

"opportunity" by prime minister Mario Draghi, able to promote, in this way, his intentions about private investments to help get over the problematic situation.

However, he legitimises himself by first admitting that "we have to be honest with ourselves and our citizens: we are breaking this promise" (Il mattino\ Clima, il monito di Draghi: "Stiamo venendo meno alle promesse). Draghi presupposes politicians' dishonesty by shifting the attention from the incapability of the international systems to address the needs and problems of "our citizens" mentioned. It is not an honest discourse but rather one soaked with manipulative presuppositions. Journalists and experts support his words through presuppositions of agreement. Such as, for example, the historian Franco Cardini:" What the effects of his calm but uncompromising alertness will be, we do not know: but he has done his duty, albeit with some caution depending on his position and the limits of it" (Il mattino\ Franco Cardini Da molti decenni storici, climatologi e storici). The concrete actions that he supposedly took are not on paper, but suddenly everything seems reasonably justified in front of a presupposition stating that a powerful man, the Italian prime minister, "has done his duty", relieving him, in this way, of the possibility of thinking that he could have done more. The rest is omitted, but "the important thing, as the Italian Prime Minister has stated with courage, is cooperation, not confrontation" (Il mattino\ Franco Cardini Da molti decenni storici, climatologi e storici). This presupposition eventually does not overshadow the capacity of the minister to tackle the crisis. However, it backs him up, showing his abstract good intentions of "cooperation". Also, with

presupposition, the modus operandi of "unification" theorised by Thompson (1990) is used to legitimise policy choices and powerful sources' agency. Encouraging discourses with a presupposition that binds together a plurality of people is a way to gain political support and establish a relation of domination. The following example comes from a discourse of Rimini Environment Councillor: "global temperature is expected to warm by 1.5 degrees. And it is an issue that affects everyone, including our city" (Il Resto del Carlino\ Rimini sommersa, è allarme clima). It has the tones of a neoliberal discourse since, by saying, with standardisation strategy, that it touches everyone, it takes for granted that everyone is involved but ignores the fact that every single and different individual is not involved in the same way. Some people are more responsible than others, and some are more affected due to their intersectional differences within society. Figure 3 demonstrates that "Presupposition" have been used 3.3 per cent of the time within the codes (88 segments coded).

4.7. Mythopoesis

A mechanism analysed to achieve legitimation is mythopoesis. With the use of storytelling, it is considered by Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999) as one of the most effective strategies for discourses in non-official contexts to transmit adverse ideologies. By presenting negative stories, for example, mythopoesis delegitimises specific actions; the same happens with positive stories. In the newspapers analysed, storytelling has been used to show what happened in the past to the people facing extreme events. For example, in one article, involving

the storytelling of the plague exhibits that these events already happened, making the readers comfortable with it. However, a whole paragraph takes space to tell this story instead of discussing climatic events and how human activities impact them. By referring to past stories in a pedagogical way, the text transmits a lesson to the audience. Mythopoesis appears 13 times within the segments coded, as shown by Figure 3 (0.6 per cent of the total segments).

4.8. Nominalisation

Nominalisation is a mechanism that "involves the loss of certain semantic elements of clauses" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 143). This kind of discourse contributes to the mystification of what is being told in terms of legitimacy: "support and legitimate actions, policies, and decisions without the involved actors having to fully explain and account for them" (Doudaki, 2018, p. 151). Stylistically is "the conversion of a verb into a noun-like word, and semantically of a process into an entity" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 143). The result is the complete deleting of the agent of what has been subjected to nominalisation. This results in shifting the agency and, therefore, the agent's responsibility to something that abstracts from events. Within discourses of power and legitimation, it "has extensive structural consequences, and offers substantial ideological opportunities" (Fowler, 1991, p. 80), such as deresponsibilising powerful agents and omitting social divisions. An example is "globalisation" or "innovation", presented as "things that have come about, rather than things that are the effects of cause agents" (Fairclough, 2003, p.

144).

Acknowledging that "English is a nominalising language" (Fowler, 1991, p. 79), this research paid careful attention to the application of nominalisation in Italian without interfering too much with its meaning in the translation to English. Nominalisation code was one with the highest frequency among the others (8.1 per cent of the total, if summed with all its sub codes), proving that it is a favourite for scientific and technical language, "but it can be abstract, threatening and mystifying for "lay" people" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 179). A simple example found in the text is: "The events of November 2019 were a loud wake-up call" (La Repubblica\"Facciamo presto", grandine e afa i segni del clima già cambi). This is a phrase stated by Alvise Papa, head of the city's tide centre, explaining how unexpected high tides were observed. Through nominalisation, the probable intention to make the information easier to receive to a non-expert audience made the communication completely abstract and empty, soaked with alarmism. Figure 5 depicts the trend of all the segments that used "Nominalisation" as a discourse.
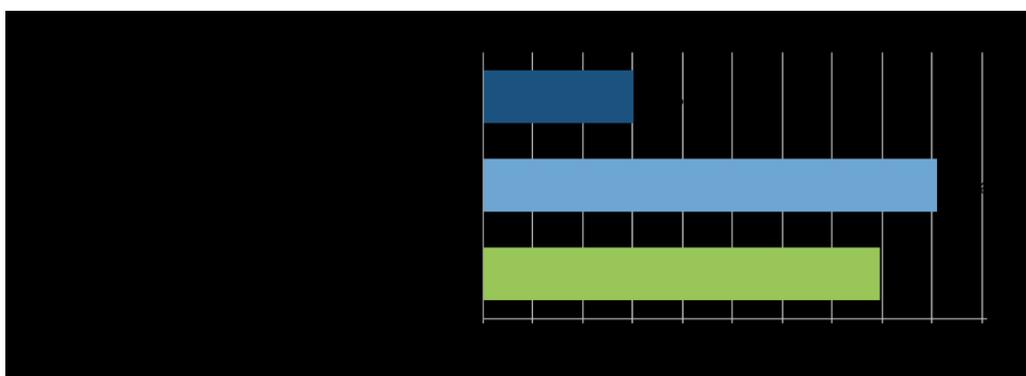
With a total of 79 segments coded, the narrative "Responsibility for human

actions eluded " figures as the most used one among the "Nominalisation" ones, followed by the 69 segments coded of the discourse "Human centrism concerning the consequences of the climate crisis."

4.8.1. Responsibility for human actions eluded

This research created this code inductively to group a general trend that was interestingly coming up during the analysis. Omission of responsibility is a consequence of nominalisation, where the leading causes of climate, human actions, are eluded by blaming the climate itself. Blaming the climate or extreme climatic disasters is a discourse that frees the reading audience from the duties of caring and worrying about it. Few examples involve: "Water crisis: climate and leaks are to blame"(Il Resto del Carlino\ «Crisi idrica: colpa del clima e delle perdite") and "Blame of a fragile territory and climate change " (Il messaggero\ Sicilia ferita dal maltempo Trapani, distrutto un ponte). These examples show how the consequences of human impact hide who caused them, shifting the blame of "climate change" itself. This absolves citizens and powerful people from their responsibilities, perceiving "climate change" as an entity to blame for everything that impacts humans with extreme events instead of recognising it as a process linked to a chain of causes and consequences. Also, nominalisation through the personification of planet earth and other inanimate natural objects used by the journalists is a common strategy to shift the attention from human responsibilities. Examples of this kind are: "The planet is running out of time"(Il Resto del Carlino\Il pianeta non ha più tempo)

and "The Mediterranean has the problem that it is one of the regions of the planet that will have the greatest climate impacts" (Il mattino\«Al G20 non dico che si è raschiato il fondo del barile sul cl). While a journalist uses the first expedient, the second one is adopted by an expert. Not only the consequences of humans acquiring agency, but they are also even more omitted through the personification of "the planet" or "the Mediterranean sea" having "problems". In most cases of nominalisation, the events of the climate crisis itself acquire the agency and are the subjects of entire sentences such as: 'global warming is responsible for the constant rise of the sea' (Il Resto del Carlino\Rimini sommersa, è allarme clima), "Climate change can generate water scarcity, and this can cause great stress" (Il Sole 24 Ore\ L'intervista. Patricia Espinosa) and again "Draghi is aware of the difficulties he encounters, but is also convinced that the emergency will eventually force all leaders not to disregard the expectations of their respective public opinions completely" (Il mattino\ Il caso di Roma: siamo sulla strada giusta per la catastrofe climatica). What is perceived from these texts is that the main culprits of the crisis are "overheating, change, emergency". The proponents of using the mystifying effect of nominalisation in these articles are the executive secretary of the UNFCCC, the IPCC and a journalist. Each one of those sources with their respective newsmaker is aware of the potentiality of this way of depicting things.

4.8.2. Human centrism concerning the consequences of the climate crisis

It is a tendency within Italian newspapers talking about climate to focus more on the consequences rather than the causes, especially if the consequences interest human lives and how these are damaged. It is a trend already evaluated by the study of Beltrame et al. (2017), who described the narration of climate as follows:

"While the causes of climate change are rarely discussed, its consequences are instead presented in very practical terms (from environmental catastrophes to weather anomalies), and the issue is framed as something linking, embedding, and drawing together multiple social dimensions (the economy, politics, science and technology, and everyday life)" (p. 1).

This study recalls this journalistic modus operandi as "Human centrism" as a consequence of nominalisation because the human activity causes are again hidden to point the focus on consequences harming humans. Some examples focusing on humans being harmed are: "among possibilities we cannot even imagine and threats that now affect our families and our holidays" (Il messaggero\ La ricetta dell'ingegno per salvare il clima) and "car dealers have equipped themselves with protective nets as used in vineyards after suffering millions in damage to car bodies on their forecourts" (La Repubblica\"Facciamo presto", grandine e afa i segni del clima già camb). The two journalists who have produced these articles focus more on consequences affecting human lives in an attempt to reduce proximity. However, the focus on dramatic consequences is often depicted in detail and with metaphorical and unnecessary

descriptions.

Last but not least, another focus on consequences is the rising prices due to the climate crisis, highlighting the difficulties of global economies that strive to see a possibility of investment even within the crisis. An example is "one of the biggest challenges facing the world's economies in the coming years "(Il Sole 24 Ore\Clima , dalle nuove sfide degli investitori al rischio fallimen). The problem here is not climate change and how to address it as a crisis; instead, how investments are not an option to be easily considered. Neoliberal discourse tends to synthesise this impossible relationship by defining it as a challenge.

4.9. Abstraction

As already stated, abstraction is a   straightforward definition of what is happening while hiding a legitimate argument. It can be considered the least explicit form of legitimation discourse. Through abstraction, moral evaluation can refer to specific practices and qualities. It can be a legitimation tool, depending on which kind of abstract association decides to make within the discourse. "For many companies, carbon disclosure is, for now, a useful compilation exercise for trivial social and environmental responsibility reports" (Il Sole 24 Ore\Carbon disclosure: ecco come le aziende "fanno i conti" con l'ambie). Through abstraction, the journalist describes carbon disclosure as "trivial". A measure that will help the environmental transition within our society, is described and delegitimised in terms of bureaucracy. "The main

damage to our waters is caused by CO2" (Il mattino\Le sfide per l'ambiente). Here, the journalist uses abstraction while hiding something more specific about human activities and how they pollute nature. As portrayed in Figure 3, "Abstraction" is used 0.2 per cent of the time.

4.10. Moralisation

The moralisation code identifies a discourse that evokes moral values and can provide the moral basis for legitimation. It is considered the most potent legitimation mechanism as it "attacks the innermost core of human existence - its value system" (Reshef & Keim, 2014, p. 119). The "value-laden language aims to create positive or negative moral connotations for people, actions and decisions" (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 58). As Van Leeuwen (2007) states, morality is strongly entangled with naturalisation discourse: moral and cultural orders are replaced by an imposed and assumed natural order through moralised discourse. Within the analysed text, moral codes are usually present in prime minister Mario Draghi's discourses, supported by a trend also identified by Doudaki and Boubouka (2020). In this way, they can acquire popular support by addressing its solid emotional consequences on the audience. A few examples: "'Carbon pricing can be one of the tools to accelerate the green transition'" (La Stampa\Draghi: "Un'emergenza come una pandemia: dobbiamo agire") and "In tackling climate change, 'we need the private sector, including insurance companies, to step up to the plate to finance the transition" (Il Sole 24 Ore\ Draghi: Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro). Prime

Minister Draghi delivered all these speeches. In putting on the first place what to do through moralisation, he naturalises the necessary strategies and policies to take to face the crisis. Allowing the legitimation of carbon pricing, he also normalises the importance of private investments and insurance above all, which are measures intensely involving the economic interests of humans instead of preventing the crisis from deteriorating the planet. The naturalisation effect of moralisation takes form, given that the excellent approach is adapting rather than responding to it. Therefore, the importance of the private sector and insurance companies investing in the climatic crisis becomes a common-sense knowledge that also affects the legitimisation of specific policies and political actions. Through moralisation, he also indirectly confirms his authority.

The words of the experts are presented and framed not only with data but especially with moralising statements aimed at raising public awareness. "Now is the time to put in place those strategies that will curb the disaster, relying on renewables and nuclear power" (Il Resto del Carlino\ «Il cambiamento climatico ? Non è una leggenda. Ecco perché») and "we are still in a position to avoid the worst by stabilising the climate at a warming of less than 1.5°C." (Il Resto del Carlino\ in balia di eventi estremi,). In the first example, the expert uses moralisation to influence the opinion and naturalises that nuclear power could save us (which is part of Italy's still ongoing debate). The importance of moralisation in this statement is crucial since it has the power to include in common sense the option to consider nuclear power as an answer to the crisis, influencing a delicate debate. In the second example, "avoid the worst"

introduces a moralising statement that induces hopes concerning the strategy of adaptation to the crisis, rather than concrete answers able to change the status quo. The journalists quote the ideas of these experts, contributing to nourishing the monolithic nature of the status quo.

Journalistically speaking, newsmakers use moralisation to influence the audience's perception of what is considered reasonable to do to tackle the climatic crisis. "The sun and wind, which do not emit, are dispersed and intermittently available sources. It is right to keep a hold on nuclear power" (Il Resto del Carlino\ No, è il futuro Lo sanno anche gli ambientalisti) and "We will once again need all the ingenuity that the survival instinct can muster to survive a climate change that is about to hit us with the violence of ten pandemics" (Il Messaggero\ La ricetta dell'ingegno per salvare il clima). Using a moralised discourse, journalists follow the same trend as the experts, in this way not attempting at the authority of their profession. In the first place, they do so by considering it "right" to keep nuclear power among the possible options, in this way legitimising the possibility of using it. It is a statement with solid moralisation power since, in Italy, nuclear power is not used. In the second example, the climate crisis is presented as a natural way of things to "survive". It is the human that, taking for granted and naturalising that the crisis exists now, needs to adapt to it and survive instead of acting to make a real change. Journalistic practice influences this view: it provides objective legitimation by pretending to be "neutral in struggles for power, which is tantamount to it being placed outside ideology" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 113). This all contributes to the

inevitable construction of the reality of the crisis. In Figure 3, Moralisation is one of the most frequent codes, appearing 4.5 per cent of the time.

4.11. Rationalisation

Legitimisation is achieved through rationalisation by stressing the "utility of institutionalised action, and to the knowledge, society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98). This process can not happen without overlapping with moral evaluation, always leading to a hidden reference to a value system. "In the case of rationalisation, morality remains oblique and submerged, even though no rationalisation can function as legitimation without it" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 100). It is considered by Fairclough (2003, p. 99) the "most explicit" mechanism of legitimation. Rationalisation is often implied when discussing policies, strategies, and agreements that must be followed to achieve a specific subject, in this case, tackling and responding to the climate crisis. A few examples are: "Cop26 in Glasgow must be a success; it is important to set a price on CO2 emissions;" (Il Sole 24 ore\L'intervista. Patricia Espinosa), "The UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change - says our premier - told us three things: that our action should be immediate, rapid and large-scale" (La Stampa\ Clima , Draghi: "Un' emergenza come la pandemia: bisogna agir) and "It is necessary "to invest in the right way right now. Recovery will not be possible if it is not sustainable," said Philippe Donnet, CEO of Generali" (Il Sole 24 OreDraghi: Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro). All these discourses pronounced

by powerful people show that "the producer of a symbolic form constructs a chain of reasoning which seeks to defend or justify a set of social relations or institutions, and thereby to persuade an audience that it is worthy of support" (Thompson, 1990, p. 61). The rationalisation is, as moralisation, mostly used by elite sources or powerful sources mentioning the prescriptive importance of agreements and how everyone must follow them to tackle the crisis. "Must" puts the priorities of the crisis on the agenda by legitimising its importance. In times of crisis, the media strongly depend on experts and elite people's words. Draghi, in this case, is an important person but also an economic and financial expert. This makes his declarations and political actions even more instrumental and aimed at an economic purpose, washed away by the importance of the IPCC, the agent that prescribed the actions.

Moreover, Philippe Donnet is one of the many who follows a neoliberal logic, prioritising "the protection of the banking system" and seeing, in this case, the safeguarding of the environment "as an obstacle to capitalist expansion" (Harvey, 2005 in Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 40). Everything is done to identify an investment opportunity. In the name of objectivity, journalists tend to neutrally pass this information to the media without reframing them, using quantification.

4.11.1. Instrumental rationalisation

Legitimation discourse is supported by instrumental rationalisation when vital importance is given to "instrumental or means-ends" (Habermas 1984 in

Fairclough, 2003, p. 98). The stressed utility of agreed ends triggers a legitimation that needs to be achieved towards them. It can appear as the most straightforward form of legitimisation since it openly justifies practices or parts of practices by referring to the purpose they serve. However, they are also linked to moralised activities that reference positive or negative values and moral concepts (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Some examples are: "The G20 members, the minister recalled, shared "the importance of supporting growth and not withdrawing autos in order to be able to promote sustainability and, above all, to be able to limit other risks. International coordination is of fundamental importance to be able to promote recovery'" (Il Sole 24 Ore\ Draghi: Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro) and "Draghi took up the theme there, calling for "a radical transformation of our economies" without "increasing the social cost of this transition" (Il mattino\ L CASO ROMA La lotta ai cambiamenti climatici è la priorità). As in rationalisation, this legitimation mechanism is mostly used by powerful and elite sources such as G20 and Draghi to settle the importance of these prescriptions. While the main trend points to many impersonal rational clauses that list a series of actions to face the crisis, Draghi and other powerful figures, reported more readily by journalists, use arguments related to the economy to legitimise their purposes and action policies. It is a tendency that Vaara (2014) described as "instrumental economic arguments" (p. 510). Particularly in the second example, Mario Draghi calling for a "radical transformation of our economies", remarks on the legitimatory power of what he is saying, mentioning the interest of the Italian people: "our economies" and the "social costs". Through

instrumental rationalisation, nationalist discourse is also used to justify political purposes. In Figure 3, it is possible to notice how the "Rationalisation" code gets 4.2 per cent frequency, with instrumental rationalisation reaching a higher peak of 6.6 per cent of the total.

4.12. Authorisation

Legitimation through authorisation refers to tradition, custom, law, and persons vested with institutional authority (Fairclough, 2003). Figure 6 portrays the frequency of "Authorisation" codes.
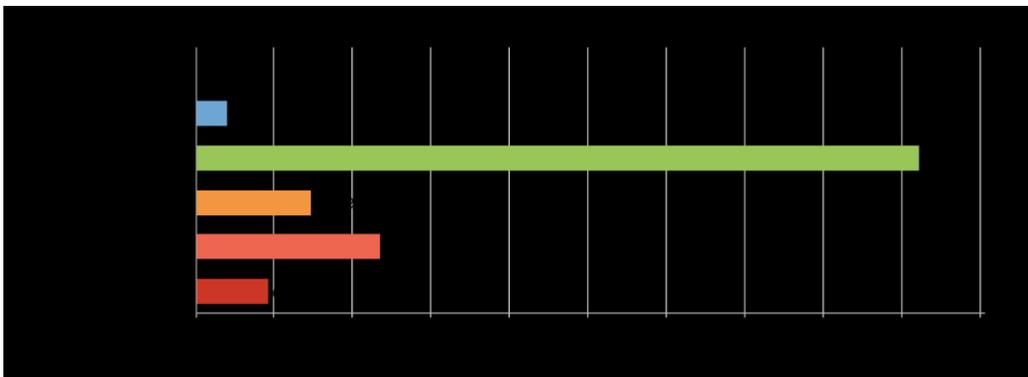
Quantification is, as a code, not only the most used one among "Authorisation" segments, but it also reaches the highest percentage above all the other codes, as shown in Figure 3, confirming itself as the first dominant discourse used to portray climate crisis in Italian national newspapers. The "Impersonal Authorisation" code also gained particular relevance, marking 56 segments.

4.12.1. Impersonal authorisation

Legitimation through authorisation refers to tradition, custom, law, and persons vested with institutional authority (Fairclough, 2003). The authorisation is impersonal when it refers to a law, rules, regulation and experience (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Examples of this legitimation strategy are: "The Paris Agreement of 2016 included a commitment to stabilise the rise in global temperatures within 1.5 degrees of the levels recorded during the period" (Il messaggero\ La ricetta dell'ingegno per salvare il clima) and "keeping in mind the short-term climate target set at the European level, the cutting of pollutant emissions by 55% by 2030" (La Stampa\Transizione ecologica: ecco come il governo Draghi si prepara a). Discourses are legitimated by the aura of importance that the subjects, in this case, IPCC and European Commission's words reported by the journalists, stating the information have. This also allows the journalist to preserve trustworthiness and objectivation, re-affirming its position within a balance of powers. Mostly, newsmakers give space to impersonal subjects with authority because of their expertise or power, such as IPCC, the Paris agreement, Pnrr, G20, and Cop26. "By perpetuating a commonsensical notion of who ought to be treated as authoritative, these routines help the system maintain control without sacrificing legitimacy"(Reese, 1990, p. 394).

4.12.2. Personal authorisation

"In the case of undiluted personal authority, legitimate authority is vested in a person because of their status or role in a particular institution" (Van Leeuwen,

2007, p. 94). Some examples are: "None of us is prepared to increase the social cost of this transition, but at the exact time, none of us is prepared to ignore the disastrous consequences of climate change"

(Il Sole 24 ore\Draghi: transizione verde ok, ma attenzione ai costi sociali) And "The councillor for the environment: Global warming raises the sea level, we must intervene"(Rimini sommersa, è allarme clima). Most of the subjects journalists give space to because of their expertise or power are Mario Draghi and the mayors and councillors of cities affected by extreme weather events. "By relying heavily on official statements [...] journalists give these sources the power, by default, to frame much of their reality" (Reese, 1990, p. 395).

4.12.3. Conformity

Conformity legitimises a discourse because everybody does it and says it, and there is a high frequency of the same actions. The implicit message is: 'Everybody does it, and you should do it too' or 'Most people do it, and you should do it too' (VanLeeuwen, 2007, p. 97). Some examples in the text confirmed the use of this strategy: "It would be most opportune for our country too to equip itself with it [Scientific Technical Committee on Ecological Transition], building on the experiences of others" (Il Messaggero\ Il comitato di tecnici per salvare l'ambiente) and "Meanwhile in Athens, they have created a new post, that of advisor for resilience and sustainability. Paris has a similar figure as does Mexico City, Miami or Freetown" (La Repubblica\"Facciamo in fretta", grandine e afa i segni del clima già cambiato). Journalists use

conformity to compare other countries actively tackling climate action with new institutional figures, while Italy is not. The overuse of this mechanism can reflect not only the legitimation but also the legalisation of specific measures.

4.12.4. Quantification

Dates and numbers are used to articulate arguments and support opinions and policies as tools of persuasion. Some examples: "To date, the earth's average temperatures have risen by 1.1 degrees Celsius since the pre-industrial period" (Il Resto del Carlino\ Cambiamento climatico , una sfida al limite) and "Of the twenty-five exceptional high tides (above 140 centimetres) recorded since 1923, seven have occurred in the last three years. The month of November 2019 was terrible with a peak of 187 centimetres" (La Repubblica\ "Facciamo presto", grandine e afa i segni del clima già cambi). Numbers, used in this study mainly by experts, are a traditional means of legitimation (Potter et al., 1991); however, the calculations behind these numerical arguments or their basis were rarely clearly explained: the trend shows that these are mostly used to legitimise discourses of experts, who strongly use this mechanism to support their predictions. Through quantification and objectivation in general, the construction of social reality gets "the stamp of neutral factuality" (Doudakii 2018, p. 154)

4.12.5. Reification

The reification code is used when "processes and qualities assume the status of things: impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed and counted like capital, paraded like possessions" (Fowler, 1991, p. 80). It is a discourse that supports the objectivation of human enterprises to the extent that man, "the producer of a world, is apprehended as its product, and human activity as an epiphenomenon of non-human processes" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 107). This is proved by the narration of processes such as "transition" and "climate" appearing as autonomous entities and not as products of human activity. As a result, individuals are dissociated from the activities in which they are involved. While individuals lose agency, the products of human activity gain it through nominalisation and passivation, as in the examples: "the climate is very dynamic and is capable of responding in unexpected ways to external disturbances'" (La Stampa\ "Riportiamo in primo piano l'emergenza climatica") and "This report must sound like a death knell for coal and fossil fuels before they destroy our planet" (Il Sole 24 Ore\ Gli scienziati del Clima: così il riscaldamento globale è,). People who adopted reification are, in the first case Antonello Provenzale, an expert, and in the second one, Antonio Guterres, UN secretary. Both are potent sources either for their expertise or high position within society. Through reification, it is the climate "dynamic and capable", the main subject that portrays an idea of human actions as totally detracted from it. As much as the climate, the reification of fossil fuels and their dangers against humans acquire agency. However, there is no explicit mention of human actions actively harming the planet through the use of these resources, omitting and mystifying the causes that destroy it.

Another tendency of reification is the shift of the importance to cities, regions, countries and institutions. Examples are: "Sardinia is burning, Milan and Lombardy have gone under water and experienced exceptional hailstorms, Europe has been hit by what has been called the flood of the century" (La Repubblica\ La pandemia non ha frenato le emissioni. E in Italia le rinnovabili). Here, personification and reification used by an expert source portray countries as people, once again making the responsibility of human beings slide from the paper. Many more other examples prove this trend: "Italy must not miss this opportunity to lead the world" (La Repubblica\Energia e clima, l'Italia non deve perdere questa occasione p), "In addition to its role in Cop26 together with the United Kingdom, Italy's presidency of the G20 in 2021 comes at a significant time" (La Repubblica\ Energia e clima, l'Italia non deve perdere questa occasione p) and "Italy is facing rising sea levels in Venice and melting glaciers in the Alps" (Il Sole 24 Ore\ Draghi: transizione verde ok, ma attenzione ai costi sociali). In the first two examples, the producer of the article, Fatih Birol, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency, puts high importance on a country's reputation instead of how it could contribute to preventing the climate crisis and its responsibility. The third example shows the words of Mario Draghi. Through the reification of social forces, identified as "Italy", the individual, wholly omitted, feels powerless in front of extreme events. Fowler et al. (1979) explain this stylistic choice perfectly: "The effect is to identify the official representatives totally with the state they represent, giving an image of the state as a single individual who acts through these representatives" (p.162).

4.13. Sources

 Figure 7 depicts the trend of all the segments that used "Sources" as a discourse
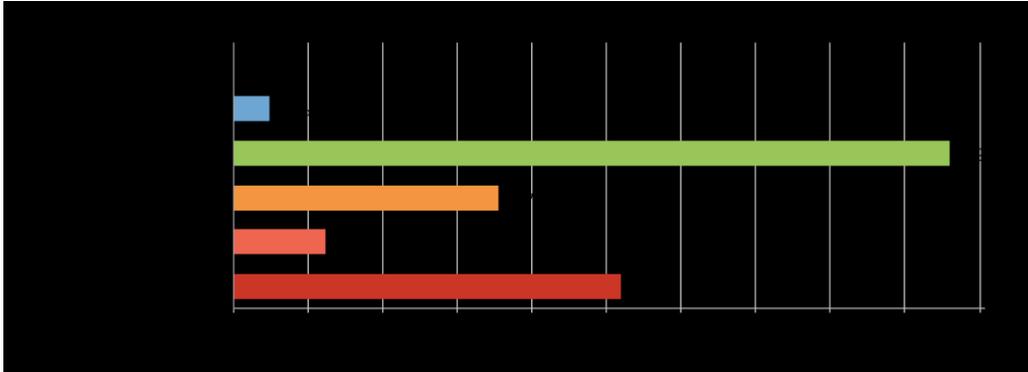
The code expertise is the most used among the "Sources" ones, and in general, it is the second most used after "Quantification" discourse, as shown in Figure 3, with a total of 181 segments. It is not a case that these two codes are frequently used together. Apart from this dominant trend, another relevant figure is portrayed by powerful greenwashed sources, 25.9 per cent of the codes used and influential sources, 17.7 per cent. An opposite trend interests the almost non-existent representation of grassroots groups and people experiencing the crisis, portraying a clear picture: the presence of people of power having easy access to media resources to establish their privileged discourses.

4.13.1.   People experiencing the crisis

In classifying the sources, this study considered the importance of people witnessing in first person extreme events and the consequences of those.

However, this is the minor source code used, as shown in Figure 7. "Giving severe attention to non-official sources is discouraged as unnewsworthy "(Reese, 1990, p. 396). Indeed, journalists need to preserve the hegemonic discourse portrayed by elite and influential sources. They accept the game's rule by choosing not to interview informal sources. Not only in this way, journalists confirm their authority within the news but also within their job environment, where hegemonic requirements of the objectivity paradigm are priced with a rising in their position. The low number of this kind of sources, as well as what this research defined as grassroots sources, respond to a general law identified by Tuchman's work (1978a) "the higher the status of sources and the greater the scope of their positions, the higher the status of the reporters" (p. 69). Moreover, it is proven by a trend identified by Umbricht and Esser (2014), who noticed how "Italian newspapers" - compared to USA, UK, Germany, Switzerland, and France - "show the highest preference for elite political sources" (p. 211).

4.13.2.   Expertise

Through the expertise code, legitimisation is recognised by the possession of knowledge of an expert, professor, researcher or institution. When journalists frame their news with experts' words, they leave them responsible for framing the meaning according to specific "ways of knowing" (Rose, 1990, ix). In times of crisis, when it is necessary to find the right way to manage the volatility of change (in this case, the environmental one), newsmakers recur more often to

experts and their power "recommending what the significance or relevance of that information is "(Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 59). This way, events, facts and consequences are emphasised and accentuated within a powerful discourse supported by scientific data.

Words of experts are presented and framed not with data but with moralising statements and dramatisation aimed at sensibilise the audience, a trend also testified by Doudaki & Boubouka's research (2020). Content induces fear and panic, sometimes not even explaining what is happening. The first aim refers to the short time left while heavy and dramatic consequences are emphasised. For example: "It is up to us to decide what life will be like for our children and grandchildren because the greenhouse gases emitted today will remain in the atmosphere for another half-century,' explains Filippo Giorgi, climatologist" (Il Resto del Carlino\«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»). In this example, the words of the climatologist do not sound like those of an expert but assume a pedagogical meaning aimed at influencing the lives of citizens, primarily using unnecessary details, such as the discourse of "our children", which is a crucial motif in political discourses of economic, environmental and socio-political nature. The research study of Kverndokk (2020, p. 155) affirms how this rhetorical tool "blurs the distinction between a private family sphere and a public" and allows the legitimisation of a downscaling climate change to one or two generations ahead. "Our children" discourse pedagogical intention results in dramatisation and the collapsing between very different timescales and spatial scales, other than into an

"equation between nature, heteronormative family structure, reproductive futurism, and the landscapification of the future" (Sheldon, 2016, p. 38). Another expert moralising discourse is in this example: "The Po data on pollution are rising, according to Legambiente, but this cannot lower our guard. The problem is complex and cannot be tackled in watertight compartments" (Il Resto del Carlino\ Po, allarme siccità: a rischio l'ecosistema»). The complexity of the problem and the data shown by Legambiente moralise an action that should be expected by everyone who, prescriptively, does not have to low the guard. However, there is no correct explanation for "data on pollution is rising": this claimed complexity provides an alarmistic discourse and triggers an absence of action.

In most cases, especially in Italian news, the statement from the expert or the influential person consists of the news itself. Therefore, the power shift to their words which are not treated as predictions and expert information but as news facts. "They are dissociated from their producers, appearing as created on their own and not by humans" (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020, p. 62) since they are not questioned, in most cases, by the journalists. Part of this category is mainly climatologists, scientists, meteorologists and scientific communication agencies.

4.13.2.1. Predictions of the future

This study created this inductive category to analyse the predictions and how

those affect the discourses independently. The manipulation of future predictions, if used by a scientist, is exploited to become and be perceived as alarming facts. Also, experts often use metaphorical representations with data to make the audience aware of what is happening but quickly fall over rhetorical arguments. An example: "Science claims that in 30 years it will no longer be possible to stop global warming: however, we are still in a position to avoid the worst by stabilising the climate at warming of less than 1.5°C "(Il Resto del Carlino\ in balia di eventi estremi). By treating this information as a fact, the only solution presented is resigning to the fact that it is necessary to adapt to it. Moreover, the reification of "science" acquires all the power, while the humans working behind it lose all the agency, and the journalist preserves the knowledge-authority position.

4.13.3. Powerful-greenwashed source

This research has chosen to code the quotes by Mario Draghi and the minister of the Italian green transition Cingolani (and a few more) as greenwashed since they have been strongly criticised for making policy choices in support of questionable measures for the climate crisis. Their important positions within Italian politics justify their prominent presence in the news. However, since this research considers activism within academia as impactful and powerful, it considered the more substantial and sensitive consequence that these sources have as greenwashed and decided to code accordingly.

Mario Draghi's perspective not only does not addresses specific central issues, with the most effective tools available, such as introducing a proper carbon tax to discourage CO2 emissions and consuming those products that abuse them, but also his "National Recovery and Resilience Plan" did not change the status quo of environmental action within Italy. It is, indeed, a list whose allocation of items is influenced by the pressures and demands of the political parties that support the government (and which must respond to the interests of their large electorate). On the other side, Minister Cingolani's promises ended up with him financing Snam. Snam, a "Milan-based gas transmission system operator, has advocated for a hydrogen economy and [...] has allocated just 9% of its spending plan to "energy transition" over the next four years while continuing to expand its fossil gas network" (Flora, 2021). Moreover, a journalistic investigation provided data proving how minister Cingolani also funded measures and positions that protect the Italian fossil industry, starting with ENI and privileging nuclear over renewables (ReCommon, 2021). Draghi, as prime minister, did stop him from undergoing these choices.

Using these sources to talk about the climate crisis outlines a superficial intention in dealing ethically with the issue, ignoring what the subjects do in the political sphere concerning what they declare. Some examples, "However, as Mario Draghi reminded us at the closing conference of the G20, the private sector can likely provide a fundamental impetus for negotiating and combating the climate crisis" (La Repubblica\ La via dei privati per un altro clima). One year later, Draghi did not attempt to provide a refreshing change to the

environmental crisis by channelling his interests in investments in his political discourses. This result makes his words about investments and protecting people from the costs of the crisis just empty.

On the other hand, the declarations of Cingolani: "if the increase is 2 degrees, there will be damage, extreme climatic events, but this does not pose a critical issue for the human race, it will be a disaster but manageable with decisive action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions" (il Sole 24 Ore\ Cingolani: con 4-5 gradi in più nel 2090 umanità a rischio esti) and "We need 'now a clear pact with Italians that future choices should support these strategies (il Sole 24 Ore\ Cingolani: con 4-5 gradi in più nel 2090 umanità a rischio esti). In the first place, he tries to gain legitimacy and attention by assuring that the human race will not be affected, that, again, an adaptation is possible, legitimising their "decisive action" in front of the "disaster but manageable". In the second example, "Italians" is a way of conceiving "government as a collective entity" to "strongly emphasises consensus"(Fowler et al., 1979, p. 162).

4.13.4. Powerful sources

Powerful sources are those involving elected officials and influential people. By interviewing the centre of power, the journalist's objectivity is preserved in the name of the negotiated truth with institutions. "In anticipation of a catastrophe that, despite the announcements, will fortunately not occur this time either" (Il messaggero\ Alessandro Campi Il riscaldamento globale e i

cambiamenti cl); with these words, the influential professor Alessandro Campi, who is also the writer of this article, accuses those proclaiming the crisis as exaggerators. By claiming that a crisis will not happen again, he legitimises the action of states and institutions that will have time to change and have an impact if people will ever need it.

4.13.5. Grassroots sources

Another least influential source is one of the students and grassroot movements, as shown in Figure 7. One of the few voices used to give representation to the youngest and the grassroots movements is reported by La Stampa, interviewing a young activist. "My neighbourhood is full of disused factories,' warns the activist. Let's reclaim those areas instead of building in the countryside. We are not here to represent a political colour. We only ask to make a difference". (Fridays for future" torna in piazza a Novara: oltre 200 ragazzi, Pos 1) However, the general trend within the analysis portrays them with paternalistic words, referring to them as the hope for a better future, with some disagreements. "Do they think, unlike their fathers, that progress (also in the moral sense) must definitively disassociate itself from progress understood as the mere accumulation of goods and riches to the detriment of our world?" (Il messaggero\ Alessandro Campi Il riscaldamento globale e i cambiamenti cl) and "Young people are less selfish than the elderly and believe in a system that puts man and his dignity back at the centre, re-establishing the relationship between economy and society: this is why I am confident that many will return

to the South to bring their contribution" (Il mattino\ « Clima , Draghi ha ragione: ora acceleriamo per ridurre le em). While the first discourse example delegitimises the action and any attempt to change the action, the second one consists of a patronising discourse on young people expressed from a powerful elderly source.

4.14.   Testing the research questions

4.14.1. Research question 1

The first research question of this study aims to depict a general portrayal of discursive narration of the climate crisis within the national newspapers.

RQ1: How do Italian national newspapers portray the climate crisis, and what are the dominant discourses?

In order to correctly answer this question, the research needs to start from the assumption that all the discourses detected are never entirely independent from each other. For this reason, the general pattern can be compared to a net of connecting points constantly interacting, within which simple frequencies would not be able to describe the main trends alone. Frequencies show that from a narrative perspective, Italian newspapers tend to portray the climate crisis with "Alarmism." Alarmistic narrative aims mainly at creating panic in the reading audience, often referring to the reality of the climate crisis with catchy sentences claiming that humanity and the planet "do not have time". This

alarmistic way of displaying things is accompanied mainly by the frequent use of "we" as a proximity tool to make the reader feel closer to the narration of what is happening. It is a tool primarily used by experts and powerful sources.

In dealing with the climate emergency, one of the dominant discourses is "Condemnation of other countries" within international relations balances. In this characterisation, newsmakers and sources often blame the managing of the climatic crisis on the inefficiency of other countries, avoiding mentioning or omitting the involvement of Italy in the poor dealing with this aspect. Another relevant subcategory of "Symbolic annihilation" is the "Condemnation of human actions", even though there is a tendency to avoid an explicit blaming of human actions in terms of the political decision of who is in charge of managing the crisis. The frequent omission of information is facilitated by using presuppositions and assumptions as strategic discursive tools. The "Condemnation of human actions" reconnects to the neoliberal discourse aimed at promoting hyper-individualisation and blaming the individual consumer within the competitiveness of the free market.

A third dominant trend within new discourses covering climate crisis is the overuse of metaphors, a tendency adopted by journalists and experts. This colourful language often depicts the effects of the climatic crisis in extreme ways, following the already traced line of the "Alarmism" code. If, on the one hand, it helps the readers deal with the urgency of the climatic issue, on the other, it contributes to deresponsabilise the readers, bringing up the belief that

there is nothing useful to do to solve the crisis. According to Figure 3, the most used metaphor is "Personification", a tool to portray inanimate climatic subjects as the protagonists and causes of the crisis. This code intersects with the one of "Nominalisation", another dominant discursive tool that redirects the narrative of the climate crisis on the consequences of human actions rather than on the causes of those. In this study, the focus on consequences is referred to as "Human centrism", which directs the perception of the climate crisis not as an environmental problem but as a concern only when it threatens human lives.

Two highly used discourses often accompany the colourful language: the one of "Moralisation" and "Rationalisation", which both hide a referring system of values to their prescriptions. As already mentioned, the system value highly refers to the neoliberal one. In particular, by using "Moralisation", sources reported can easily acquire support by addressing the emotional consequences of values on the audience. On the other hand, with "Rationalisation", value refers to the importance of specific means.

Eventually, the most used one is "Quantification", which refers to the high use of numbers to acquire persuasion. Since the most used source is the expert one, this code's prominence testifies to its high frequency.

The concluding result sees legitimating discourses using dates and numbers to describe the climate crisis. However, behind this tendency, another one supports the journalistic practice of deresponsibilising the audience by focusing more on

the consequences of the crisis rather than the causes, with the benefit of "Alarmism" and "Nominalisation" codes. While on the other side, sources interviewed and journalists have a tendency to preserve a good image of Italy facing the crisis while delegitimising the other countries for not being able to facilitate the promulgation of laws and agreements. Moreover, influential codes of "Rationalisation" and "Moralisation", referring to neoliberal values, promote discourse and policy more aimed at adapting to the crisis rather than changing the system to confront it.

4.14.2. Research question 2

The second research question was presented as:

RQ2: How frequently and in which way are elite sources establishing a discursive dominance concerning the climate crisis within the media?

The analysis evaluated how frequently and with which discursive tools elite sources attempt to use legitimate or delegitimating statements about the climatic crisis.

Through MAXQDA Analytics Pro, this research has developed a table that links the discursive codes with the sources, highlighting the dominant discursive practices. The analysis evaluated the proximity of codes in the same document, with a maximum distance of one paragraph. The same analysis has been conducted by evaluating the intersections of the codes on the same

segment, and it has shown the same results. The table is shown in Figure 8.

Sistema dei codici	Expertise	Powerful-greenwashed source	Powerful sources	SOMMA
⌄ Narratives				0
Feeling of helplessness	97	26	14	137
Alarmism	179	51	45	275
Dramatisation	114	42	22	178
Community	213	122	63	398
⌄ Symbolic annihilation				0
Condemnation of other countries	171	169	128	468
Condemnation of human actions	128	44	55	227
Condemnation of youngsters	5			5
Neoliberal discourse	85	39	43	167
⌄ Metaphorical representations	223	86	55	364
Climate as challenge	47	50	39	136
Militarised discourse	110	77	42	229
Personification	178	50	61	289
⌄ Assumption	91	63	33	187
Paternalistic assumptions towards d	21	40	9	70
Presupposition	190	103	59	352
Mythopoesis	48	8	7	63
Predictions of the future	142	31	29	202
⌄ Nominalisation	71	29	28	128
Responsibility of human actions elu	181	68	58	307
Human centricrism concerning the	158	87	50	295
Abstraction	24	9	5	38
Moralisation	214	133	95	442
⌄ Rationalisation	178	119	74	371
Instrumental rationalisation	230	175	101	506
⌄ Authorisation				0
Conformity	49	16	9	74
Quantification	360	160	128	648
Reification	91	54	36	181
Impersonal authorisation	134	107	72	313
Personal authorisation	46	43	24	113
Σ SOMMA	3778	2001	1384	7163

Figure 8: Sum of the main discourses used by each source

As previously demonstrated, the most used codes are "Expertise" and "Quantification", a result also proved by Figure 8, showing the intersection of these two codes the highest number. The expert's figure primarily asserts the discursive dominance using "Quantification" to provide their data. However, despite their role as researchers and professors, this does not divest them from using a moralising discourse about what to do, followed by metaphorical and colourful language to accompany their predictions. Indeed, after "Quantification", the most used discourses are "Instrumental rationalisation", "Metaphorical representation", "Moralisation", and "Community". This pattern

demonstrates that experts, taking advantage of their knowledge power when expressing information with data, often use other powerful tools to manipulate the legitimacy of their discourses. Behind their numbers, the prescriptive actions of moralisation and instrumental rationalisation are always hidden to touch the readers and their values deeply, encouraging them to do as they say. The use of the code "Community" facilitates all these.

Moreover, powerful-greenwashed sources used mostly "Instrumental rationalisation", "Condemnation of other countries", and "Quantification". Therefore, the power of prescriptive language is also used here. As Habermas (1984) put it: legitimising discourse is supported by instrumental rationalisation when vital importance is given to "instrumental ends" (in Fairclough, 2003, p. 98). The emphasised utility of agreed ends triggers a legitimation that must be achieved towards them. Moreover, as already stated, the pattern is always present in powerful greenwashed sources' discourses in the condemnation of other countries as a tool to free Italy from any responsibility of inefficiency in dealing with the climate crisis in international relations. The "Quantification" code again proves the power of numbers to legitimate the statements they say. Overall, their discursive dominance presents the trend of focusing on the consequences rather than the causes. This focus gives legitimacy to adapting strategies rather than considering a complete and drastic change to solve the crisis. In this way, the neoliberal values they refer to are present, submerging in their rational discourses. Powerful sources confirm the same trend. The other sources have not been considered in this analysis since they were not considered

part of the categories mentioned by the research question.

4.15.   Limitations

A limit that this research needs to address is the contextualisation of the textual analysis. This research focuses on analysing news as discourse, complementing the study of journalism as a profession and the sociopolitical environment that reflects the news. However, it is not representative of other countries and is limited to a single nation's peculiarities.

Moreover, several reasons prevented responding to the main research question comprehensively. The research study assessed the main pattern of the discourses used, focusing on which kind of narrative angle they were more inclined to legitimate, trying to evaluate the hegemony hidden in the most used ones. More deeply, it focused on the journalists' relationship with their sources and which kinds of these were prioritised. From an external validity point of view, the discursive dominance of the climate crisis can not be generalised to the whole Italian newspapers since only a minimal part of them have been analysed. The choice of these six outlets left aside other newspapers that would have given another perspective on the discourses of the climate crisis. Nevertheless, the tendencies evaluated can not be representative enough of the outlets' analyses since only ten articles per news outlet have been randomly picked.

From an internal validity perspective, one threat to the accuracy of the analysis result interests the translation from Italian to English. Indeed, the researcher did not have the opportunity to double-check the meaning and the discourses evaluated through a peer review of Italian-speaking researchers. This might have resulted in unconscious manipulation of the discourses presented, affected by the meaning in Italian and English and the switch from one language to another.

Possible future researchers interested in this topic can take advantage of these gaps to provide a more comprehensive picture of legitimation discursive strategies in covering the climate crisis within Italian newspapers by collecting a more significant sample and involving a team of expert researchers in the critical discourse analysis study.

4.16. Delimitations

Despite the wide availability of newspaper articles of Factiva, the short time and available resources prevented the researcher from using them to their fullest potential. Due to time and resource issues, the study could not get deeper into other angles that would help improve the theoretical framework and the use of text. Any incongruence resulting from the interpretation of the Italian text and its English translation is to redirect to the same reasons mentioned above.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The previous pages have outlined the data analysis. The present chapter offers a summary of the study able to briefly portray the findings, implications for practice, recommendations for further research and the concluding remarks. The main aim of this chapter is to provide a general understanding of the findings linked with the theoretical framework presented in the second chapter and to present further advice for future research about legitimation discourses in covering climate crises within Italian newspapers. A final word will be dedicated to capturing this study's scope and attempted results.

5.1. Summary of the study

The primary purpose of this study has been to explore the intersectional relations in the media between journalistic practice and the use of text and sources to portray the climatic crisis in Italian newspapers. In order to give the most comprehensive picture of the problem possible, the theoretical framework focused on the study of the leading researchers involved in understanding news and discourse mechanisms behind them. Before proceeding to the analysis, the analysis provided room for the discourse and its main focal points on which it depends from legitimising perspectives such as authority, hegemony, and ideology. The organisation of the theoretical framework as such followed Fairclough's idea that discourse is a social practice that requires the involvement

of several characteristics. In analysing the discourses involving the climate crisis in Italy, it was always strongly assumed that discourse and its mechanism allow the reproducing of particular meanings within society. The main hypotheses have supported the idea that the absence of independence from a journalistic perspective that journalists experience in Italy due to the powerful newspaper's ownership, the interdependent relationship of authority building between journalists and their sources and the absence of an institution in charge for journalistic independency in Italy, journalists would have portrayed the crisis in a biased way. Since the influences of external forces have proven to be strong within the journalistic environment, another hypothesis was that powerful sources manage to establish their discursive dominance within the news. Critical discourse analysis has been used to grasp better all these characteristics and relationships between the subjects analysed. The sampling included collecting 10 news articles per news outlet from Il Resto del Carlino, La Stampa, La Republica, Il Mattino, Il Messaggero and il Sole 24 ore. The resulting sampling consisted of 60 articles analysed and randomly collected through Factiva. The articles have been transferred to MAXQDA Analytics Pro for textual analysis. After having developed the textual codes inductively and deductively to evaluate the main discourses, the research put a strong focus on the choices made in the newsmaking process, the meaning-making and the journalistic mechanisms that allowed the establishment of a dominant discourse. The study included one main research question, divided into two subquestions to make the study easier:

RQ1: How do Italian national newspapers portray the climate crisis, and what are the dominant discourses?

RQ2: How frequently and in which way are elite sources establishing a discursive dominance concerning the climate crisis within the media?

The first question was handled with a deep analysis of all the main discourses by the codes developed. The second research question was addressed through a frequency analysis of the sources used by the journalists and the main discourses and ideas they were adopting in covering the climate crisis and facing it from a policy perspective.

5.2.   Discussion of the findings

Concerning the first research question, it is possible to outline the main trends used within Italian media-dominant discourses.

About the Narrative code, the most used tool is "Community" (5.2 per cent of the segments coded) which refers to the use of "we" to establish proximity, used in the narration, especially by expert sources. It was studied by Spence and Loy (2020), who recognise the importance of reducing the perceived socio-spatial distance of environmental events. Another dominant subcategory of the narratives is "Alarmism"(3.3 per cent of the segments coded), through which the content portrayed tends to show fear and panic, sometimes without explaining what is happening, but with the primary objective of creating alarm concerning the little time left. This tendency is confirmed by Beltrame et al.

(2017, p. 14): "climate change is presented through a definitional work based on the semantics of catastrophe, disaster, and drama". As Rupar (2011) studied, this sensationalist strategy is used to appeal to readers' emotions. The journalistic use of sensationalism in tragedy is intended to better appeal to the audience's emotions (Rupar, 2011). However, this discourse triggers a sense of derepsonsibilisation from the audience's perspective since the use of slogans detracts the attention from the climatic problem.

According to the frequency data shown in Figure 3, another dominant discourse is the "Condemnation of other countries", which covers 6.3% of the total segments coded. Through this discourse, Italy is never directly blamed for its inefficiency in tackling the environmental issue. Regarding climate crisis management and policy, Italy is portrayed as a good country willing to succeed in climate agreements, which is not the case due to the reluctance of other countries. The high frequency of this code shows how the causes of crisis management are often omitted: it is a mechanism to legitimise Italy by discrediting others and clearing its conscience of its failures in international relations. The blame, therefore, goes to the "Condemnation of other countries", a narrative used mainly by powerful and greenwashed sources. Omission of causes is also proved by the subcode of nominalisation "Responsibility of human actions eluded", which covers 3.7 per cent of the total segments. It is a persistent tendency within the newspapers analysed, and it was also assessed by research studies involving climate crisis communication in Italy. Especially Beltrame et al. (2017) stated how, when Italian news media find something newsworthy to cover, the main focus is always on "consequences, implications,

responsibilities" (p. 13).

Another tendency of Italian newspapers favours the use of colourful and figurative language through a high frequency of metaphorical representations (4.6% of the total coded segments). As part of the meaning-making process, most of the metaphors used by journalists and sources again support a sensationalist representation of the issue. At the same time, others help to bring the issue closer to the reader. Among the most frequently used metaphors is "Personification", which relates to many examples of climate crisis embodied and represented by a humanised planet. The humanisation of inanimate subjects, through mechanisms of "Nominalisation" and "Personification", allows an inanimate subject to acquire agency in place of human beings. "Nominalisation", with its sub-code "Responsibility for human actions eluded" (3.7 per cent of the coded segments), contributes to the de-empowerment of the individual by blaming the climate itself. Again, the natural causes are not outlined, a tendency also found by Beltrame et al. (2017, p. 13): "very limited discussion of the causes of climate change, which are largely taken for granted".

The study found that "Moralisation" also has a significant impact within discourse, with a frequency of 4.5%. Mainly used by experts, this discourse evokes moral values that are used to legitimise the discourse, producing naturalisation of what is being addressed. Doudaki & Boubouka (2020) studied the use of moralising language, which allowed the naturalisation of the economic crisis in Greece. This, too, disempowers the crisis because it takes it for granted, promoting the discourse of adaptation rather than action for real change. All this contributes to the inevitable construction of the reality of the

crisis.

The third most used code is "Instrumental rationalisation", which covers 6.6% of the total codes. It is used to support instrumental ends: the stressed utility of agreed ends triggers a legitimation that needs to be achieved towards them. Their effectiveness is based on the fact that, like "Moralisation", they also refer to hidden moral values. In Mario Draghi's speeches, for example, one can detect a tendency to use "instrumental economic arguments" (Vaara, 2014, p. 510) to achieve a specific end.

Eventually, the most used code is "Quantification", covering 10,4% of segments. Mainly used by experts, but also powerful sources consist using numbers as a tool of persuasion and legitimation. Through quantification and objectivation in general, the construction of social reality gets "the stamp of neutral factuality"(Doudaki, 2018, p. 154).

The finding of the second research question assessed the predominance of experts and powerful greenwashed sources (47.9 and 25.9 per cent of the total sources used). The absence of non-elite sources is a trend confirmed by Esser and Umbricht (2014) that analysed how individual sources always have less visibility than others within Italian news practices and how it privileges the newsworthiness of elite ones. This confirms the initial hypothesis stated at the beginning of the study and also the affirmation of Fairclough: "the overwhelming reliance of journalists on a tightly delimited set of official and otherwise legitimised sources which are systematically drawn upon, through a network of contacts and procedures as sources of facts and to substantiate other

"facts"" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 49). This research confirmed this trend by noticing how powerful sources were overrepresented while others were ignored, such as those grassroot organisations, students protesting for their future and people experiencing the crisis. The discursive dominance is therefore achieved mainly by elite sources, government and political figures (Splendore, 2020; Cornia, 2014; Tiffen et al., 2014). Their dominance in newspapers is achieved with the most effective forms of legitimation discourses, respectively: "Instrumental rationalisation", "Condemnation of other countries", and "Quantification", as demonstrated by Figure 8.

5.3. Implications for practice

The results of this study can shed light on how journalism works in Italy and what could be done better by significantly improving its transparency and building mechanisms that allow it to be a safe tool for providing information. The study identifies the links between external sources of power and the work of Italian journalists, showing how there is a need for information instead of sensationalism and propaganda. Furthermore, this study offers insight into how the news production system should work and could help Italian journalists to build and establish a position of trust with their audience. Since this research gives a general idea of how relationships with sources negatively influence the final product of the journalist, they must recognise this and change the news production system of Italian journalism. It is essential to become aware of it by allowing journalists to take advanced training courses, especially to defend themselves and their careers from the threats of external influences.

5.4.   Recommendations for further research

From a theoretical point of view, a gap does not adequately investigate the relationship between newspaper ownership and the use of elite sources. Further research in this direction might find it interesting to investigate Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's (1994) study on how the concentration of media ownership reinforces the dependence of mainstream media on elite sources of information. A study of the influence of ownership on news production could also be interesting for newspaper advertisements: if, for example, there are more articles about the climate crisis than advertisements promoting a polluting product, the production ethics of all outlets could be investigated in this direction.

Furthermore, additional studies interested in the functioning of the relationship between sources and journalists within the media of other countries could use this research for a cross-country comparison, which is relevant to the climate crisis as it affects people globally. Other recommendations are for a more detailed code structure to capture discourse more fully. It would be interesting to assess how different codes interconnect in creating a central discourse through qualitative and quantitative research and how this could also apply to other discourses. These patterns could moreover be analysed concerning different sources. Besides, this research emphasises external factors that influence journalistic activity but do not provide sufficient time and space to investigate them in depth. Further research should explore this direction with an

appropriate methodology considering all these factors across the board to make the information more detailed and accurate. Moreover, further studies should assess whether there are common patterns of specific discourses within certain news outlets, investigating the reasons for this.

5.5. Conclusions

The trends highlighted in this study concern not only the climate crisis' representation but are also a symptom of the poor state of Italian journalism, which is far from working for its primary informative objective. Recognising that there is a relationship between the over-accessibility of specific sources and the discursive dominance they manage to impose is essential to outlining future solutions and changing the status quo. Not only can the poor conditions in which Italian journalists operate affect their work, but the results also influence the public's perceptions and ability to make decisions in the face of a severe crisis (Dahlstorm, 2014). The dangers of the crisis are at risk of not being understood, especially by people who experience the crisis first-hand, who are the first not to be interviewed. Indeed, the low number of people experiencing the crisis interviews' can have detrimental results for the newspaper audience, which does not develop a perception based on first-hand sources (Dahlstorm, 2014, p. 13618). Intervention in creating the meaning of what people should know inevitably passes through the self-interest of someone powerful over them. The construction of social reality in which journalists are directly involved "is more successful if it resonated with dominant cultural beliefs and values" (Edelman, 1985 in Coleman, 1997). Non-elite sources are the rest of the

people who are not relevant enough to participate in the process of confirming mutual authority (Doudaki, 2018) and therefore to be interviewed. This and many more research studies need to change these trends, promoting healthier journalism able to contribute for the better to the climate crisis coverage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation) (trans. Ben Brewster). In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: Monthly Press.

Beck, U. (2009). *World at Risk*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beltrame, L., Bucchi, M., & Mattè, B. (2013). Climate Change as a Rhetorical Resource and Masterframe: An Analysis of the Daily Press Coverage and Public Opinion in Italy. *Rethinking The Public Sphere Through Transnationalizing Processes,* 187-207. DOI: 10.1057/9781137283207_10

Beltrame, L., Bucchi, M., & Loner, E. (2017). Climate Change Communication in Italy. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia Of Climate Science*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.013.462

Bennett, W. (1996). An introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics. *Political Communication*, *13*(4), 373-384. DOI: 10.1080/10584609.1996.9963126.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality.* London: Pensguin Books.

Berkowitz, D. (2009). Reporters and Their Sources. In *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch, 102–15. New York: Routledge.

Berkowitz, D., & TerKeurst, J. V. (1999). Community as interpretive community: rethinking the journalist-source relationship. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(3), 125-136.

Blackledge, A. (2012). Discourse and power. In: Gee, J. & Handford, M. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* 616-627. London: Routledge.

Boltanski, L., & Thévenot, L. (2006). *On justification: Economies of worth* (Vol. 27). Princeton University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *On Television*. New York: New Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Boydstun, A. E. (2013). *Making the news: Politics, the media, and agenda setting*. University of Chicago Press.

Boykoff, M., & Boykoff, J. (2004). Balance as bias: global warming and the US prestige press. *Global Environmental Change*, *14*(2), 125-136. DOI: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2003.10.001.

Boykoff, M. T. (2007). Flogging a Dead Norm? Newspaper Coverage of Anthropogenic Climate Change in the United States and United Kingdom from 2003 to 2006. *Area*, *39*(4), 470–481.

Brüggemann, M. (2017). Shifting Roles of Science Journalists Covering Climate Change. *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia Of Climate Science*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.013.354.

Cameron, L. (2003). *Metaphor in Educational Discourse*. London: Continuum.

Carpentier, N., & De Cleen, B. (2007). Bringing Discourse Theory into Media Studies: The Applicability of Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) for the Study of Media Practises and Discourses. *Journal of Language and Politics 6*(2): 265–93.

Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of communication*, *54*(2), 214-233.

Charteris-Black, J. (2011). *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. 2nd ed. Great Britain: CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

Chilton, P. (1988). *Orwellian Language and the Media.* London: Pluto Press.

Chomsky, N., & Herman, E. S. (1994). Manufacturing Consent. *The Political Economy of the Mass Media.* London: Vintage.

Coleman, C. L. (1997). Science, technology and risk coverage of a community conflict. *Social meaning of news*, 483-496.

Coman, M. (2005). Cultural anthropology and mass media: A processual approach. In E. Rothenbuhler & M. Coman (Eds.) *Media anthropology*, 46–55. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cornia, A. (2014). Will Italian political journalism ever change?. In Kuhn R and Nielsen RK (Eds.) *Political Journalism in Transition: Western Europe in a Comparative Perspective*, 47–73. London: Tauris.

Dahlstrom, M. (2014). Using narratives and storytelling to communicate science with nonexpert audiences. *Proceedings Of The National Academy Of Sciences*, *111*(supplement_4), 13614-13620. DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1320645111.

Doudaki, V. (2015). Legitimation mechanisms in the bailout discourse. *Javnost-The Public*, *22*(1), 1-17.

Doudaki, V. (2018). Discourses of Legitimation in the News: The Case of the Cypriot Bailout. In V. Doudaki, & N. Carpentier (Eds.), *Cyprus and its conflicts: representations, materialities and cultures*, 142-162. New York: Berghahn Books.

Doudaki, V., & Carpentier, N. (2018). Introduction: A multidisciplinary and multi-perspectival approach on conflict. In V. Doudaki, & N. Carpentier (Eds.),

Cyprus and its conflicts: representations, materialities and cultures, 1-21. New York: Berghahn Books.

Doudaki, V., Boubouka, A., & Tzalavras, C. (2019). Framing the Cypriot economic crisis: In the service of the neoliberal vision. *Journalism*, *20*(2), 349-368.

Doudaki, V., & Boubouka, A. (2020). *Discourses of Legitimation in the News: The Case of the Economic Crisis in Greece.* New York: Routledge.

Dunwoody, S., & Peters, H. P. (1992). Mass media coverage of technological and environmental risks: A survey of research in the United States and Germany. *Public understanding of science*, *1*(2), 199.

Duranti, A. and Goodwin, C. (1992). *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Easton, D. (1965). *A systems analysis of political life*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Edelman, M. J. (1985). *The symbolic uses of politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Eder, K. (1996). *The social construction of nature, a sociology of ecological enlightenment.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Eide, E. (2012). Visualising a global crisis. Constructing climate, future and present. *Conflict & Communication*, 11(2).

Entman, R. M. (1989). *Democracy without citizens: Media and the decay of American politics*. Oxford University Press.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *43*(4), 51-58.

Ericson, R. (1999). How journalists visualize fact. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 560*(1), 83–95.

Esser, F., & Umbricht, A. (2014). Changing Political News? Long-Term Trends in American, British, French, Italian, German and Swiss Press Reporting. In Kuhn, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (Eds.). *Political journalism in transition: Western Europe in a comparative perspective*. London: Tauris.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and Power* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Fischer, F. (1990). *Technocracy and the politics of expertise*. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications.

Flora, A., (2021). *IEEFA Europe: Snam woos investors with net-zero claims, while growing its spending on fossil gas infrastructure*. [online] Ieefa.org. Available at: <https://ieefa.org/articles/ieefa-europe-snam-woos-investors-net-zero-claims-while-growing-its-spending-fossil-gas> [Accessed 28 July 2022].

Foucault, M. (1989). *The Archeology of knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. Routledge.

Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. R., & Trew, T. (1979). *Language and control*. London: Routledge.

Franck, T. M. (1990). *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations*. Oxford University Press.

Fuchs, D., & Klingemann, H. D. (Eds.). (2011). *Cultural diversity, European identity and the legitimacy of the EU*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Gamson, W., & Lasch, K. (1983). The political culture of social welfare policy. In S. Spiro & E. Yaar (Eds.), *Evaluating the welfare state* (pp. 397–415). New York: Academic Press.

Gamson, W., & Wolfsfeld, G. (1993). Movements and Media as Interacting Systems. *The ANNALS Of The American Academy Of Political And Social Science*, *528*(1), 114-125. DOI: 10.1177/0002716293528001009.

Gans, H. J. (1979). Deciding what's news: story suitability. *Society*, *16*(3), 65-77.

Gelbspan, R. (1998). *The heat is on: The climate crisis, the cover-up, the prescription*. Cambridge: Perseus Press.

Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. (1976). Living with Television: The Violence Profile. *Journal Of Communication*, *26*(2), 172-199. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1976.tb01397.x

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Glaser M., Garsoffky B., Schwan S. (2009). Narrative-based learning: Possible benefits and problems. *Communications-European Journal of Communication Research 34*(4), 429–447.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (ed. and trans. by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith). London: Lawrence & Wishar.

Habermas, J. (1970). Technology and Science as Ideology. In *Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science, and Politics,* 81-127. Boston: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1976). *Legitimation Crisis*. London: Heinemann.

Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action vol 1: Reason and the rationalisation of society* (trans. by T. McCarthy). Heinemann.

Hackett, R. A. (1984). Decline of a paradigm? Bias and objectivity in news media studies. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *1*(3), 229-259.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. & Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Hartley, K. (1982). *Understanding News.* London: Methuen.

Hartley, J. (1996). *Popular reality: Journalism, modernity, popular culture.* London: Arnold.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Houghton, J. (1997). *Global Warming: The Complete Briefing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hurrelmann, A., Krell-Laluhova, Z., Nullmeier, F., Schneider, S., & Wiesner, A. (2009). Why the democratic nation-state is still legitimate: A study of media

discourses. *European Journal Of Political Research*, *48*(4), 483-515. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.00844.x.

Jacques, P. J., Dunlap, R. E., & Freeman, M. (2008). The organisation of denial: Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism. *Environmental politics*, *17*(3), 349-385.

Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: 10.4135/9781849208871.

Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen, S. (2015). The legitimation of global energy governance: A normative exploration. In *Transitions to sustainability*, 119-130. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kleinen-von Königslöw, K., Post, S., & Schäfer, M. (2019). How news media (de-)legitimize national and international climate politics – A content analysis of newspaper coverage in five countries. *International Communication Gazette*, *81*(6-8), 518-540. DOI: 10.1177/1748048518825092.

Kress, G. (1985). *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.

Kverndokk, K., 2020. Talking about your Generation: "Our Children" as a Trope in Climate Change Discourse. *Ethnologia Europaea*, 50(1).

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Leiserowitz, A. (2007). Communicating the risks of global warming: American risk perceptions, affective images, and interpretive communities. *Creating A Climate For Change*, 44-63. DOI: 10.1017/cbo9780511535871.005.

Loy, L. S., & Spence, A. (2020). Reducing, and bridging, the psychological distance of climate change. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 67.* DOI: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2020.101388.

Lukacs, M. (2017). *Neoliberalism has conned us into fighting climate change as individuals.* Retrieved 26 July 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/environment/true-north/2017/jul/17/neoliberalism-has-conned-us-into-fighting-climate-change-as-individuals

Luke, W. T. (2011). Environmentality. *The Oxford Handbook Of Climate Change And Society*. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566600.003.0007

Machin, D. & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis.* SAGE.

Maibach, E., Nisbet, M., Baldwin, P., Akerlof, K., & Diao, G. (2010). Reframing climate change as a public health issue: an exploratory study of public reactions. *BMC Public Health*, *10*(1). DOI: 10.1186/1471-2458-10-299.

Mancini, P. (2000). How to Combine Media Commercialization and Party Affiliation: The Italian Experience. *Political Communication*, *17*(4), 319-324. DOI: 10.1080/10584600050178906

McCright, A., & Dunlap, R. (2003). Defeating Kyoto: The Conservative Movement's Impact on U.S. Climate Change Policy. *Social Problems*, *50*(3), 348-373. DOI: 10.1525/sp.2003.50.3.348

Mendelsohn, R. (2011). Economic estimates of the damages caused by climate change. In *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moyer-Guse, E., & Nabi, R. (2010). Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming Resistance to Persuasion. *Human Communication Research*, *36*(1), 26-52. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01367.x.

Nisbet, M. C. (2011). Public opinion and participation. *The Oxford handbook of climate change and society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nisbet, M., & Mooney, C. (2007). Framing Science. *Science*, *316*(5821), 56-56. DOI: 10.1126/science.1142030.

Norgaard, R. (2011). Weighing Climate Futures: A Critical Review of the Application of Economic Valuation. *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566600.003.0013.

O'Neill, S., Williams, H., Kurz, T., Wiersma, B., & Boykoff, M. (2015). Dominant frames in legacy and social media coverage of the IPCC Fifth Assessment Report. *Nature Climate Change*, *5*(4), 380-385. DOI: 10.1038/nclimate2535.

Pansa, G. (1977). *Comprati e venduti: i giornali e il potere negli anni'70* (Vol. 26). Bompiani.

Paterson, M. (2011). Selling carbon: From international climate regime to global carbon market. In *The Oxford handbook of climate change and society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potter, J., Wetherell, M., & Chitty, A. (1991). Quantification rhetoric—cancer on television. *Discourse & Society*, *2*(3), 333-365.

ReCommon. (2021). *Le mani del settore dei combustibili fossili sul Recovery Plan - ReCommon*. Retrieved 28 July 2022, from https://www.recommon.org/le-mani-del-settore-dei-combustibili-fossili-sul-recovery-plan/.

Reese, S. D. (1990). The news paradigm and the ideology of objectivity: A socialist at the Wall Street Journal. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *7*(4), 390-409.

Reshef, Y., & Keim, C. (2014). *Bad time stories: Government-union conflicts and the rhetoric of legitimation strategies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rogers, E., & Dearing, J. (1988). Agenda-setting research: Where has it been, where is it going? *Communication Yearbook, 11,* 555–594.

Rojo, L., & van Dijk, T. (1997). "There was a Problem, and it was Solved!": Legitimating the Expulsion of `Illegal' Migrants in Spanish Parliamentary Discourse. *Discourse & Society*, *8*(4), 523-566. DOI: 10.1177/0957926597008004005

Rose, N. (1990). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. London: /Routledge.

Rupar, V. (2011). *Journalism and meaning-making: Reading the newspaper*. Hampton Press.

Sachs, W. (Ed.). (1993). *Global ecology: A new arena of political conflict*. Zed Books.

Saldaña, J. (2021). The coding manual for qualitative researchers. *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*, 1-440.

Schäfer, M., & Schlichting, I. (2014). Media Representations of Climate Change: A Meta-Analysis of the Research Field. *Environmental Communication, 8*(2), 142-160. DOI: 10.1080/17524032.2014.914050.

Schoenfeld, A., Meier, R., & Griffin, R. (1979). Constructing a Social Problem: The Press and the Environment. *Social Problems*, *27*(1), 38-61. DOI: 10.2307/800015.

Sheldon, R. (2016). *The Child to Come: Life after the Human Catastrophe.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5749/minnesota/97808166 89873.001.0001.

Snow, D., Rochford, E., Worden, S., & Benford, R. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, *51*(4), 464. DOI: 10.2307/2095581

Soloski, J. (1989). News reporting and professionalism: Some constraints on the reporting of the news. *Media, Culture & Society*, *11*(2), 207-228.

Splendore, S. (2020). The dominance of institutional sources and the establishment of non-elite ones: The case of Italian online local journalism. *Journalism*, *21*(7), 990-1006.

Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *Academy of management review*, *20*(3), 571-610.

Thompson, J. B. (1990). *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. Stanford University Press.

Thunberg, G. (2020). *Fight For 1 Point 5* [Video]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/i/status/1337091285182803968

Tiffen, R., Jones, P., Rowe, D., Aalberg, T., Coen, S., & Curran, J. et al. (2013). Sources in the News. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(4), 374-391. DOI: 10.1080/1461670x.2013.831239.

Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R., & Vetter, E. (2000). *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis.* London: Sage.

Tuchman, G. (1978a). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: Free Press.

Tuchman, G. (1978b). The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media. In dies., AK Daniels, & J. Benét. *Hearth and Home. Images of Women in the Mass Media*, 3-38. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vaara, E. (2014). Struggles over legitimacy in the Eurozone crisis: Discursive legitimation strategies and their ideological underpinnings. *Discourse & Amp; Society*, *25*(4), 500-518. DOI: 10.1177/0957926514536962.

van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

van Dijk, T. A. (1998). Towards a theory of context and experience models in discourse processing. In H. van Oostendorp and S. Goldman, (eds), *The Construction of Mental Models During Reading*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. *The handbook of discourse analysis*. Blackwell Publishers.

Van Leeuwen, T., & Wodak, R. (1999). Legitimizing Immigration Control: A Discourse-Historical Analysis. *Discourse Studies*, *1*(1), 83-118. DOI: 10.1177/1461445699001001005

Van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, *1*(1), 91-112. DOI: 10.1177/1750481307071986.

Von Humboldt, A. (1845). *Cosmos: a sketch of a physical description of the universe*, *1*. London: Henry G. Bohn.

Von Storch, H., Bunde, A., & Stehr, N. (2011). The physical sciences and climate politics. In *The Oxford handbook of climate change and society,* 113-128. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. (1964). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Free Press.

Zelizer, B. (1992). *Covering the body: The Kennedy assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zelizer, B. (2004). When facts, truth, and reality are God-terms: on journalism's uneasy place in cultural studies. *Communication And Critical/Cultural Studies*, *1*(1), 100-119. DOI: 10.1080/1479142042000180953.

LIST OF APPENDICES

7.1. Codebook

Category label	Category definition	Further explanation (coding rules)	Anchor example of the category	Anchor example of the category in the documents	Frequency of codes	Percentage of segments with codes	References
Top category 1: Authorisation	"Authorisation legitimation is legitimation by reference to authority (Wodak& Van Leuwen, 1999, p. 104). "Authority of tradition, custom, law, and of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98).	It implies the use of saying verbs with the relevant authority as the subject or a circumstance of attribution	"It is the answer to the explicit or implicit question "why is it so?" or "Why must it be so" is "Because I say so" or, "because-so-and-so says so" (ibid) IT: **"Perché lo dico io"** o "perché (la persona che detiene l'autorità all'interno di un'istituzione) lo dice/dice così"				Van Leuwen 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak, 1999; Fairclough, 2003
Subcategory 1: Personal authorisation	"In the case of undiluted personal authority, legitimate authority is vested in a person because of their status or role in a particular institution, for example, parents and teachers in the case of children. Such authorities then need not invoke any justification for what they require others to do other than a mere 'because I say so', although in practice they may of course choose to provide reasons and arguments"(VanLeeuwen, 2007, p. 94)	Personal authority legitimation typically takes the form of a 'verbal process' clause (Halliday, 1985: 129) in which the 'projected clause', the authority's utterance, contains some form of obligation modality (VanLeeuwen, 2007, p. 94).	"Because I say so because so-and-so says so."(ibid) IT: **"Perché lo dico io"** o "perché (la persona che detiene l'autorità all'interno di un'istituzione) lo dice". Es: il Papa	"Nessuno di noi è disposto ad aumentare il costo sociale di questa transizione, ma allo stesso tempo nessuno di noi è disposto a ignorare le conseguenze disastrose dei cambiamenti climatici»"-Draghi [Il Sole 24 ore\Draghi: transizione verde ok, ma attenzione ai costi sociali; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 29/06/2022 13:12; Punteggio del peso: 0]	22	1.0%	Van Leuwen 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak, 1999;
Subcategory 2: Impersonal authorisation (VanLeeuwen, 2007)	The authority may also be impersonal, referring to a law, rules, regulation and experience (Van Leuwen & Wodak, 1999)	It can be in the form of definitions or statements that express **"the way things are"**, it can be in the form of explanation, where the explanation relies on **"people do the way they do because that is the way they are"**, attributive relational clause, clause realising a habitual activity; (Van Leeuwen&Wodak; 1999)	"The rules stipulate that. The bible says that.", "People do the way they do because that is the way they are". IT: **(oggetto impersonale) dice, la Bibbia dice, la Costituzione dice, l'accordo di Parigi dice, è così perché si è sempre fatto così"**	"tutto tenendo ben presente l'obiettivo climatico a breve termine fissato a livello europeo, il taglio delle emissioni inquinanti del 55% entro il 2030." [La Stampa\Transizione ecologica: ecco come il governo Draghi si prepara a; Posizione: 1 - 1;	56	2.6%	Van Leuwen 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak, 1999,
Subcategory 3: Reification (Doudaki&Boubo uka, 2020)	Things (climate, institutions ecc appear as autonomous entities and not as products of human activity; individuals are dissociated from the activities they are involved in; while individuals lose agency, the products of human activity	Economy (and its related institutions) is among the areas of human activity that is systematically reified in representations by news media. The markets and their associated institutions are regularly presented as powerful and loaded with agency, as well as having feelings. Articulated through nominalisation and	The need to restore the markets' trust:"the completion of the fourth review of the ESM programme will contribute to a sustained improvement in business sentiment and Greece's ability to attract foreign investment", the report says, (ibid, p 68). IT: **Ripristinare la fiducia dei mercati, il sentimento delle imprese**	"Il clima è molto dinamico ed è capace di rispondere in modo inaspettato ai disturbi esterni." [La Stampa\"Riportiamo in primo piano l'emergenza climatica"; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 22/06/2022 10: 53; Punteggio del peso: 0]	35	1.6%	Doudaki&Bo ubouka, 2020

Category	Definition	Indicators	Example	Count	%	Reference
Subcategory 4: Quantification (Doudaki&Bouboula, 2020)	Dates and numbers are used to articulate arguments, support views and policies; data are used as tools of persuasion.	Quantified arguments	Mr. Draghi reacted strongly to the criticism by members of the European Parliament that he is blackmailing Greece. He reiterated that the total exposure of the ECB in Greece reaches today €104 billion or 64% of Greek GDP, whereas three months ago (in December), the exposure was only €50 billion. "This is the country where the ECB has the greatest exposure", he said (Doudaki&Bouboula, p 64). IT:Dati del PIL, 50 miliardi di euro, esposizione totale — "Ad oggi le temperature medie terrestri sono cresciute di 1.1 gradi centigradi dal periodo preindustriale." [Il Resto del Carlino/Cambiamento climatico , una sfida al limite; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 20/06/2022 19:38; Punteggio del peso: 0]	221	10.4%	Doudaki&Bouboula, 2020
Subcategory 5: Conformity	Something is legitimated because everybody does it, everybody says so, because there is a high frequency of the same actions. The implicit message is, 'Everybody else is doing it, and so should you' or 'Most people are doing it, and so should you'. No further argument (VanLeeuwen, 2007, p.97)	"the majority of people affected by climate." "normally", "usually", " a normal thing sit is that"	The majority of teachers keep records of their progress. Many schools now adopt this practice. IT: la maggioranza di, molte persone, normalmente, di solito — "Sarebbe massimamente opportuno che anche il nostro Paese se ne dotasse, partendo dalle altrui esperienze." [Il messaggero/Un comitato di tecnici per salvare l'ambiente; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 04/07/2022 15:13; Punteggio del peso: 0]	9	0.4%	Van Leuween 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak 1999
Top category 2: Rationalisation	Rationalisation can be established through common sense, also, certain ideologies or religions can work for this purpose. "In the case of rationalization, morality remains oblique and submerged, even though no rationalization can function as legitimation without it" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 100)	Obligation modalities (must, should, etc.) Definition modalities (is, constitutes, means, etc.) Explanation modalities (because, etc.) Predictions and hypotheses (Doudaki&Bouboula, 2020, p. 58)	IT: deve, dovrebbe, è necessario, è, costituisce, significa, perché, predizioni e ipotesi — "La Cop26 di Glasgow dev' essere un successo, è importante stabilire un prezzo per le emissioni di CO2." [Il Sole 24 ore/L'intervista. Patricia Espinosa ; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 30/06/2022 13:19; Punteggio del peso: 0]	89	4.2%	Van Leuween 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak 1999
Subcategory 1: Instrumental rationalisation	Something is legitimated by reference either to the utility of the social practice/action. It can appear as the straightforward justification of practices or parts of practices by referring to the purpose they serve, but they also are linked to moralized activities: activities that trigger reference to positive or negative values, and moral concepts (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999)	Legitimization: The displaced or objectivated activities are the subject of "effect process such as "achieve", "create", "affect", "promote", "facilitate". Delegitimization: the objectivized or displaced activities are de legitimated by being the encumber, hinder, obstruct.	"The measure is necessary for the sake of national security, for public law and order, for the protection of public health". The following strategies were employed to make the introduction to PE more smooth. (VanLeeuwen, 2007, p.101). IT: "La misura è necessaria per il bene della sicurezza nazionale, per l'ordine pubblico, per la protezione della salute pubblica". "Le seguenti strategie sono state impiegate per rendere più agevole l'introduzione al PE." Legittimazione: fare qualcosa per "ottenere", "creare", "influenzare", "promuovere", "facilitare". Delegittimazione: fare qualcosa per "ingombrare", "ostacolare" — "A maggio sarà pubblicata la prima roadmap completa per l'intero settore energetico globale da seguire per arrivare a zero emissioni entro il 2050." [La Repubblica/Energia e clima , Italia non deve perdere questa occasione p. Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 27/06/2022 10:11; Punteggio del peso: 0]	140	6.6%	Van Leuween 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak 1999.
Top Category 3: Moralisation (Doudaki & Bouboula, 2020)	Language evoking moral codes and values is used to describe a situation or phenomenon; value-laden language is aimed at creating positive or negative moral connotations for people, actions, and decisions (Doudaki; Bouboula, 2020, p. 57)	"is a good way to, "is a strategy to", where the moralised activity is the complement of the tool, method, strategy; the activities to be legitimated are the subject of a "need", it "necessitates, "requires", with the moralised activity as the object	the solution regarding the debt decided by the Eurogroup may not be that bold, but this should not be a cause for concern, because Europe will take care of Greece, if necessary, since it is a member of the family (Doudaki&Bouboula, 2020, p 80). Transition is a necessary stage in the young child's experience. IT: "è un buon modo per," è una strategia per"+ attività moralizzata dello strumento, metodo, strategia; -le attività da legittimare sono oggetto di un "bisogno", (soggetto legittimante) "necessita, "richiede". — "la fissazione del prezzo del carbonio può essere uno degli strumenti per accelerare la transizione verde». [La Stampa/Clima , Draghi: "Un emergenza come la pandemia: bisogna agir; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 23/06/2022 16:53; Punteggio del peso: 0]	97	4.5%	Van Leuween 2007; Van Leuwen and Wodak 1999; Doudaki&Bouboula, 2020.

Category	Definition	Description	Example	Count	%	Reference
Top Category 4: Nominalisation	Nominalisation is, grammatically speaking, the way a clause is transformed into a nominal or noun entity by eliding the agent that is responsible for the action. The result of it is syntactic reduction (Fairclough, 2003; Machin&Mayr,2013)	Use of passive verbs, passive adjectives, humanising inanimate objects instead of addressing the responsibility to animated ones, use of metaphor, impersonality: "the majority of cases", re-lexicalisation	The civilians were killed during a bombing raid (by American bombers). The student lost his course work and was rather upset (responsibility of the verb lost) vs. The student was upset about the loss of his course work (the loss - nominalisation of losing, absence of responsibility)IT: I civili sono stati uccisi durante un bombardamento (da parte di bombardieri americani). Lo studente ha perso il suo LAVORO ed era piuttosto sconvolto (responsabilità del verbo perso) vs. Lo studente era arrabbiato per la perdita del suo LAVORO (la perdita - nominalizzazione della perdita, assenza di responsabilità)	26	1.2%	(Fairclough, 2003). (Machin&Mayr,2013)
Subcategory 1: Responsibility of human actions eluded	It is a consequence of nominalisation, where the main causes of climate, human actions, are eluded, by blaming the climate itself	blaming the climate or extreme climatic disasters that drive the attention away from human actions' responsibility	"crisis caused by climate change"	""Crisi idrica: colpa del clima e delle perdite" [Il Resto del Carlino/«Crisi idrica: colpa del clima e delle perdite»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 21/06/2022 18:03; Punteggio del peso: 0]	79	3.7%	Inductive
Subcategory 2: Human centrism concerning the consequences of the climate crisis	It is a consequence of nominalisation, because the human activity causes are again hidden to point the focus on consequences harming humans. Humans are apart from nature which causes them harm with dangerous consequences	Focus on harming consequences rather than causes	"the most important thing is the consequences on human nature"	"Quando si parla di cambiamento climatico, una delle previsioni più preoccupanti riguarda l'impatto che avrà sulla vita delle persone e sui loro spostamenti" [La Repubblica/Laurence Hart, Oim: "Il cambiamento climatico è un'emergenza; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 24/06/2022 12:20; Punteggio del peso: 0]	69	3.2%	Inductive
Top Category 5: Abstraction	Straightforward definition of what is going on, while hiding a legitimatory argument, it is the least explicit form of legitimation discourse.	A way of expressing moral evaluations is by referring to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that 'moralize' them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values. (Van Leeuwen, 2007)	Instead of 'the child goes to school for the first time', we might say 'the child takes up independence', so that the practice of schooling is legitimized in terms of a discourse of 'independence'. IT: Invece di 'il bambino va a scuola per la prima volta", potremmo dire "il bambino è indipendente", così che la pratica della scolarizzazione è legitimata in termini di un discorso di "indipendenza".	"è una cartina di tornasole della tropicalizzazione." [Il mattino/Mediterraneo, il grande malato pesci tropicali nel mare bollenti; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 03/07/2022 13:56; Punteggio del peso: 0]	5	0.2%	VanLeeuwen, 2007
Top Category 6: Mythopoesis	Legitimation is achieved through Storytelling (VanLeeuween&Wodak, 1999). It is the most effective strategy for discourses in non-official contexts transmitting racist and antisemitic ideologies. The most used to portray an adverse and delegitimised action are negative stories.	The main character follows socially legitimated practices, and it is rewarded with a happy ending; for cautionary tales, the opposite happens.	"immigrant left turkey and abandoned his family; he has not attempted to build a family in his country of origin". IT: "L'immigrato ha lasciato la Turchia e ha abbandonato la famiglia; non ha tentato di costruire una famiglia nel suo paese di origine"	"Se non si farà nulla andiamo incontro a cambiamenti molto profondi del clima globale." [Il Resto del Carlino/«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 20/06/2022 19:40; Punteggio del peso: 0]	13	0.6%	(VanLeeuween&Wodak, 1999)
Top Category 7: Presupposition	Prepositions are taken by the producer of the text as already established or given. The primary purpose of this sentence is to take something for granted (Fairclough, 1992) presupposition is used for liberal discourses to "represent the world in a way which abstracts away from anything remotely concrete" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 132).	A sentence introduced by that, followed by verbs such as forget, regret, realise; definite articles cue prepositions which have existential meanings; it: Una frase introdotta da verbi come dimenticare, rimpiangere, realizzare e seguita da "che, il quale". Articoli determintivi che fanno riferimento a significati vaghi, esistenziali, una metonimia	the soviet threat, this "new" model of the organisation; the "real issue" is; we need to discuss the underlying issue (used by Tony Blair to legitimise his agenda and sideline other questions that play a relevant role in the problem), we should take this opportunity coding rules for delegitimising presupposition: "any fair observer does not really dispute". IT: la minaccia sovietica; questo "nuovo" modello di organizzazione"; il "vero problema" è; dobbiamo discutere la questione di fondo (usata da Tony Blair per legittimare la sua agenda e mettere da parte altre questioni che giocano un ruolo rilevante nel problema), dovremmo prendere questa opportunità	"il clima è un sistema complesso" [Il Resto del Carlino/Allarme clima, aspettiamoci eventi estremi; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 21/06/2022 18:19; Punteggio del peso: 0]	88	4.1%	Fairclough, 2003, 1992

145

Category	Definition	Description	Example	Count	%	Reference
Top Category 8: Assumptions	It is the text's implicit meaning, something taken for granted. 1.existential: assumptions about what exists 2.propositional: assumption about what is or can be the case 3.value: assumption about what is good or desirable (Fairclough, 2003)	1.existential: are introduced by markers of definite reference such as definite articles and demonstratives: the, this, that, these, those 2.factual: assumption triggered by factive verbs such as help and contribute, realise, forget, remember 3.value: triggered by verbs such as help and contribute. Example: a good training programme can help develop flexibility IT:introdotto da articoli determinativi e dimostrativi: il, questo, quello, questi, quelli. Attivato da verbi fattuali come realizzare, dimenticare, ricordare o da verbi come aiutare e contribuire. Esempio: un buon programma di formazione può aiutare a sviluppare la flessibilità	"Economic progress has always been accompanied by destruction of obsolete activities and creation of new ones." "There is a risk of a disjunct between the hopes and aspirations of people and demands of a global economy"(Farilough, 2003). IT:c	"Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro rischi climatici" [Il Sole 24 ore\Draghi: Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 30/06/2022 13:22; Punteggio del peso: 0]	33	1.5%	Fairclough, 2003, 1992
Subcategory 1: Paternalistic assumption towards developing countries	North's paternalism, defined by JP Singh as a patronising, seemingly 'benevolent' discourse resulting from a position of economic and political strength and cultural distance	North and leading countries depicted as benevolent in the treaties towards the underdeveloped south world		"Paesi emergenti, che vranno aiutati ad avviare uno sviluppo diverso dal percorso che abbiamo seguito noi. È vero che in questi Paesi bisogna risolvere il problema della povertà energetica, ma l'energia non deve provenire da combustibili fossili." [Il Resto del Carlino\«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 17/06/2022 17:13; Punteggio del peso: 0]	10	0.5%	Singh, 2017
Top Category 9: Metaphorical representations	It is a way to present a concept in terms of another. To analyse the use of the metaphor is to understand what ideological and cultural factors determine its choice.(Machin & Mayr, 2012;Fairlcough, 1992, 2003)	they can be introduced by formulas such as "metaphorically speaking", "so to speak", "as it were", and "literally". In George Bush's speech after September 11, 2001, "metaphors are used to abstract the reasons and nature of the conflict, simplifying the nature of the response" (Machin & Mayr. 2012, p 173). IT: Le metafore possono essere introdotte da formule come "metaforicamente parlando", "per così dire", e "letteralmente".	The house price market is sinking. Referring to terrorism as a dark threat (Bush, 2001), "let's mend our broken society"(Cameron, 2010) IT: Il mercato dei prezzi delle case sta affondando, il terrorismo come una minaccia oscura (Bush, 2001), "ripariamo la nostra società distrutta" (Cameron, 2010)	"Siccità infernale" [Il Resto del Carlino\« Crisi idrica: colpa del clima e delle perdite»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 21/06/2022 18: 03; Punteggio del peso: 0]	99	4.6%	(Machin & Mayr, 2012), (Fairlcough, 1992, 2003), (Bush, 2001), (Cameron, 2010)
Subcategory 1: Climate as challenge	The misuse or excessive use of rhetoric leads to give a perception of the climate as a challenge, rather than a real problem	Simplified and rhetoric perception and narration of the climate crisis		"Cambiamento climatico, una sfida al limite" [Il Resto del Carlino\Cambiamento climatico , una sfida al limite; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 30/06/2022 17:31; Punteggio del peso: 0]	14	0.7%	Inductive

Category / Subcategory	Definition	Operationalisation	Theory / Note	Example	n	%	Reference
Subcategory 2: Militarised discourse	Arguments are metaphorically constructed as war: "many of the things we do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war (Lakoff & Johnson. 1980, p. 4). The militarisation of discourse risks resulting in the militarisation of discourse and practice (Chilton, 1988; Fairclough. 1992: p. 195)."	Using terms such as "war, fight" concerning the climate crisis.		"La lotta contro il riscaldamento è una corsa contro il tempo." [Il Sole 24 ore/L'intervista. Patricia Espinosa.. Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria: 30/06/2022 12:40; Punteggio del peso: 0]	45	2.1%	Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, Chilton, 1988. Fairclough, 1992
Subcategory 3: Personification	Charteris-Black (2011, p. 61). personification is a 'linguistic figure in which an abstract and inanimate entity is referred to using a word or phrase that in other contexts would be used to describe a person."	The climatic crisis is embodied and performed by a humanised planet. The humanising of inanimate subjects, with personification also the actions of a subject can acquire agency		"Le conclusioni sullo stato di salute della terra" [Il Resto del Carlino/Rimini sommersa, è allarme clima; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 20/06/2022 10:02; Punteggio del peso: 0]	70	3.3%	Charteris-Black (2011)
Top Category 10: Narratives			"For example. Glaser et al. describe four factors that narratives offer, which could improve knowledge acquisition about science compared with the traditional expository curriculum, namely dramatization, emotionalization, personalization, and fictionalization." (Dahlström, 2014)				
Subcategory 1: Dramatisation	Events/ facts / consequences are emphasised and accentuate to intensifying the discourse that could just be supported by scientific data	Use of superlative, adjective intensifying the discourse and/or use of hyperbolic vocabulary as a stylist choice		"eventi atmosferici sempre più violenti incidessero nelle cami vive della vita cittadina compromettendo il funzionamento stesso dei servizi. Così, all'arrivo di temporali e nubifagi, le stazioni della linea A della metropolitana vengono invase dall'acqua e chiuse, i convogli tirano dritto e i romani lasciati a piedi." [La Repubblica/"Facciamo presto": grandine e afa i segni del clima già cambi; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 24/06/2022 11:05; Punteggio del peso: 0]	49	2.3%	Dahlström, 2014
Subcategory 2: Alarmism	Content is warning/ alarming	Content induces fear and panic. sometimes not even explaining clearly what is happening. but with the firts aim to refer to the short amount of time that is left and heavy consequences are emphasized		"I dati del Po relativi all'inquinamento. secondo i dati riscontrati da Legambiente. sono in miglioramento, ma questo non può far abbassare la guardia" [Il Resto del Carlino/Po. allarme siccità: a rischio l' ecosistema»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da. Vittoria; 21/06/2022 18:35; Punteggio del peso: 0]	70	3.3%	Inductive
Subcategory 3: Feeling of helplessness	Facts not supported by data are excessively dramatised and rethoric. with the result of demoralising the reader	Referring to irreversible events, to which the human activity can't do anything		"I ghiacci della Groenlandia si stanno sciogliendo e continueranno a sciogliersi anche se riusciremo a limitare il surriscaldamento globale di temperature a 1.5°C" [Il Resto del Carlino/«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 17/06/2022 17:00; Punteggio del peso: 0]	31	1.5%	Inductive
Subcategory 4: Community	Transmitting the "We are all in this together" feeling	Content shows that something is relevant for the whole planet and all humans	"However, when people consider themselves as part of a global society, proximising may not be necessary as people perceive the relevance of distant impacts. From a practical perspective, both proximising climate change and communicating global connectedness might be useful means of climate change communication." (Loy&Spence.p. 5)	"Compriamo solo energia da fonti rinnovabili. prodotti biologici. mangiamo meno carne. sprechiamo di meno. Si può fare. Ma bisogna fare presto»." [Il Resto del Carlino/«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria. 23/06/2022 16:45; Punteggio del peso: 0]	112	5.2%	Loy, L., Spence. A. (2020)
Top Category 11: Symbolic annihilation							
Subcategory 1: Condemnation of other countries	Governments and businesses suggested being responsible for the climate crisis			"Gli Accordi di Parigi. per la salvaguardia del clima spesso non vengono rispettati. perché subentrano gli interessi economici dei Paesi." [Il Resto del Carlino/Cambiamento climatico: una sfida al limite. Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria. 03/07/2022 23:25; Punteggio del peso: 0	135	6.3%	Inductive

Category	Definition	Operationalisation	Example	N	%	Approach / Sources
Subcategory 2: Condemnation of human actions	Human actions are the first responsible for the climate crisis		"«Il cambiamento climatico c'è sempre stato, ma sappiamo benissimo che questa volta è dovuto agli esseri umani." [La Stampa\"I ghiacci si stanno sciogliendo, le emissioni sono come un v"; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 23/06/2022 15:25; Punteggio del peso: 0]	53	2.5%	Inductive
Subcategory 3: Condemnation of youngsters	Condemnation of youngsters, mainly young activists		Quanto ai giovani che rivendicano un mondo diverso, meno distruttivo degli equilibri naturali, non si è ancora capito come pensano di costruirlo: fanno affidamento sulle innovazioni tecnologiche che la macchina capitalistica globale (e chi altri?) sarà in grado di produrre ancora una volta o, diffidando radicalmente di quest'ultima, pensano di soddisfare il loro	4	0.2%	Inductive
Top Category 12: Neoliberal discourse	Neoliberal policies celebrate competitiveness and hyper-individualism, persuading us that prosperity is only possible through a free market. Neoliberalism blames the individual consumer for the production of carbon emissions, choosing to ignore the socioeconomic factors that propagate climate inequality in minority groups. This has resulted in environmental degradation and wealth inequality, preventing any possibility of collective action	Neoliberal discourse blames the individual, resulting in a sense of hopelessness, resignation ad deresponsabilisation	"È una questione culturale. Dobbiamo prima di tutto cambiare le nostre abitudini, il nostro modo di consumare e di alimentarci. Abbiamo due grandi strumenti per accelerare il cambiamento: da un lato il voto e dall'altro le scelte di acquisto. Compriamo solo energia da fonti rinnovabili, prodotti biologici, mangiamo meno carne, sprechiamo di meno" [Il Resto del Carlino\«IL PIANETA NON HA PIÙ TEMPO, DOBBIAMO ACCELERARE»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 17/06/2022 17:32; Punteggio del peso: 0]	35	1.6%	Inductive
Top Category 14: Sources						Inductive
Subcategory 1: People experiencing the crisis			"I cittadini hanno accolto la decisione di sospendere l'acqua con qualche indugio. Giuseppe del Moro, residente a Pagliare, è categorico: «Un provvedimento che ci aspettavamo» [Il Resto del Carlino\«Crisi idrica: colpa del clima e delle perdite»; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 21/06/2022 18:12; Punteggio del peso: 0]	9	0.4%	Inductive
Subcategory 2: Expertise (Doudaki & Boubouka, 2020)	The authority can also refer to an important author and researcher" (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Individuals /institutions recognised as possessing advanced knowledge, are used to present, support or contest decisions, actions (Doudaki&Boubouka, 2020)	'Verbal process clauses' or 'mental process clauses' (e. g. Expert/Professor so-and-so believes...') with the expert as the subject (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 95) — According to Foucault. 'This autumn', a bank executive stresses, 'we will be talking about a new banking system, as the two main concerns of the markets, the exposure to bonds and the status of loan portfolios will have been definitely addressed'." Definite statements about the future ("By the end of September [...] we will essentially have" or "This autumn we will be talking about a new banking system [...] as the concerns of the markets will have been definitely addressed") serve to rationalise predictions and elevate them to the level of (eventual) fact. IT. **Secondo Foucault. Secondo un dirigente di banca. Secondo il report di una istituzione. Secondo Mario Draghi**	"come ci racconta lo scienzato Antonello Provenzale, direttore dell'Istituto di geoscienze e georisorse del CNR a Pisa." [La Stampa\"Riportiamo in primo piano l'emergenza climatica"; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 22/06/2022 10:47; Punteggio del peso: 0]	181	8.5%	Van Leeuwen 2007; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; Doudaki&Boubouka, 2020.

Subsub category 1: Predictions of the future	Statements about the future serve to rationalize forecasts and raise them to the level of (if any) fact. More treated as news dissociated from human activity. This function is linked to reification	Lo scongelamento del permafrost è una grande incognita anche nel nostro secolo, e un diffuso rilascio di gas serra dalle regioni polari potrebbe accelerare fortemente il riscaldamento globale". ("Riportiamo in primo piano l'emergenza climatica". Pos 1)	47	2.2%	Inductive
Subcategory 3: Powerful greenwashed sources		"Il Wwf continua a ripetere: «Il pianeta Terra è solo uno»." [Il Resto del Carlino\Cambiamento climatico , una sfida al limite; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 21/06/2022 17:54; Punteggio del peso: 0]	98	4.6%	Inductive
Subcategory 4: Powerful sources		"Lo ha detto il ministro dell'Economia Daniele Franco all' Insurance Summit 2021 dell'Ania." [Il Sole 24 ore\Draghi: Aiutare le imprese a mettere in campo soluzioni contro; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 30/06/2022 13:30; Punteggio del peso: 0]	67	3.1%	Inductive
Subcategory 5: Grassroot organization, people fighting for the crisis		"«Ai candidati sindaco chiediamo un impegno concreto sull'ambiente – avverte Sarah Verzi, universitaria e attivista del movimento –." [La Stampa\Fridays for future" torna in piazza a Novara: oltre 200 ragazzi; Posizione: 1 - 1; Creato da: Vittoria; 22/06/2022 11:07; Punteggio del peso: 0]	23	1.1%	Inductive
TOT			2134	100	