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Comparative Analysis of Climate Change Conference Coverage in India and UK Newspapers: Framing Differences

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Abstract

Newspapers from India, a developing nation, and the UK, a developed one, are the focus of the investigation. These nations stand for a variety of social, political, and cultural situations that will undoubtedly have an impact on how the climate change conference is depicted. The thesis adds to an improved comprehension of the role played by the media in shaping climate change rhetoric and communications in various cultural and socioeconomic settings via this comparative examination. Considering the cultural differences between the two countries (developed vs. developing), there were similarities in the framing choices, which highlights the influence of the dominant global media narratives on how climate change is covered. It is acknowledged that this dominant position is essentially the result of fundamental historical inequalities that have led to an accumulation of political and economic power in the West. this was accomplished by examining five distinct frameworks to comprehend how they were used in the four newspapers' coverage of COP27.

Keywords

Climate Conference, Media Framing, Comparative Analysis, World System Theory, Cultural Imperialism

Abstrakt

Předmětem zkoumání jsou noviny z Indie, rozvojové země, a Spojeného království, vyspělé země. Tyto národy představují různé sociální, politické a kulturní situace, které budou mít nepochybně vliv na to, jak bude konference o změně klimatu zobrazována. Práce prostřednictvím tohoto komparativního zkoumání přispívá k lepšímu pochopení role, kterou hrají média při utváření rétoriky a komunikace o změně klimatu v různých kulturních a socioekonomických prostředích. Vzhledem ke kulturním rozdílům mezi oběma zeměmi (rozvinuté vs. rozvojové) byly zjištěny podobnosti ve výběru rámců, což poukazuje na vliv dominantních globálních mediálních narativů na to, jak se o změně klimatu informuje. Uznává se, že toto dominantní postavení je v podstatě výsledkem zásadních historických nerovností, které vedly k nahromadění politické a ekonomické moci na Západě. toho bylo dosaženo zkoumáním pěti různých rámců, aby bylo možné pochopit, jak byly použity ve zpravodajství čtyř novin o COP27.

Klíčová slova

Konference o klimatu, mediální rámcování, komparativní analýza, teorie světového systému, kulturní imperialismus

Range of thesis: 53 pages and 78252 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 on the 1^{st of} August 2023 Yoheswari Devaraj

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The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the guidance and support of my advisor. M.Sc., Jan Miessler. I express my gratitude to him for all the guidance, support, and instruction he provided me throughout my master's studies. I am extremely grateful to all my professors for their insights and knowledge ever since joining the program. To my amma and appa, Gomathi and Devaraj, thank you for giving me the world. Finally, my friends Priyanka, who helped me write this thesis from continents away and Nivedita for being my partner in this journey.

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Main research question (max. 250 characters):				

How do newspapers from developed (the UK) and developing countries (India) differ in their coverage and framing of COP27

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

Previous research has conducted comparative analyses of the media's coverage of climate change conferences in different countries. For example, Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) analyzed the coverage of the 2001 climate change conference in newspapers from the US, UK, and Australia. They found that the media in each country framed the issue in different ways, with the US media focusing more on economic costs and the UK and Australian media focusing more on the potential benefits of taking action.

Similarly, Painter and Ashe (2012) conducted a comparative analysis of the media's coverage of the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen in newspapers from the UK, US, China, and India. They found that the media in each country had a different focus and framing of the issue, with the US media focusing more on the politics of the negotiations and the Chinese media focusing more on the impacts of climate change.

Overall, previous research has demonstrated that the media's coverage of climate change conferences can have a significant impact on public perceptions and attitudes towards the issue. Framing theory and agenda-setting theory have been used to analyze the way in which the media frames climate change, and comparative analyses have been conducted to examine how this framing differs between countries. In this study, we will conduct a comparative analysis of climate change conference coverage in newspapers from India and the UK to gain insights into the factors that shape public attitudes towards climate change in these two countries.

While there have been studies on the framing of climate change in developed and developing countries separately, there is a need for a comparative analysis to understand whether there are differences in how the issue is framed in these two contexts. By comparing the coverage of climate change in newspapers from India and the UK, this study aims to fill this research gap by providing insights into potential differences in the framing of the issue and identifying the factors that shape public perceptions and attitudes towards climate change in different parts of the world.

Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):

The theoretical framework for this study could draw upon media framing theory, which examines how news media construct and present information in ways that influence public perception and understanding of issues. Specifically, the study could use Entman's (1993) framing model, which posits that media frames consist of selection (what aspects of an issue are highlighted), emphasis (what aspects are given more or less attention), and exclusion (what aspects are left out).

The study could also draw on world systems theory, which examines how economic and political structures and power dynamics shape global relations and influence the distribution of resources and opportunities. This theory could help to explain how the differing levels of development and economic status between developed and developing countries impact their approaches to and coverage of climate change.

Additionally, the theory of cultural imperialism (Schiller, 1976) could be relevant, as it argues that dominant countries and cultures often shape the media discourse on global issues. Finally, theories of power and inequality (Foucault, 1979) could be useful in analyzing how power dynamics influence the framing and coverage of climate change in developed and developing country newspapers.

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

characters):

The qualitative content analysis research focuses on the properties of language as communication, with an emphasis on the text's content or contextual meaning. Text data has been gathered in electronic form from media articles. The goal of qualitative content analysis is to classify vast volumes of text into an efficient number of categories that represent related meanings, rather than just counting words. These classifications can represent either explicit or inferred communication.

This study will employ a qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles from developed (the UK) and developing countries (India) that cover COP27. The research will focus on the language, themes, and perspectives used in the articles to identify any differences in the framing of the issue.

The Hindu - The Hindu is a widely respected newspaper that has a center-left editorial stance. It is known for its in-depth coverage of politics, the economy, and social issues.

The Times of India - The Times of India is the largest English newspaper in India and is known for its right-of-center editorial stance.

The Guardian - The Guardian is a liberal newspaper that covers news, politics, and current affairs. It has a reputation for a progressive and left-leaning editorial stance.

The Daily Telegraph - The Daily Telegraph is a conservative newspaper that covers news, politics, and opinion. It has a reputation for its right-wing editorial stance.

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

The Hindu - The Hindu is a widely respected newspaper that has a center-left editorial stance. It is known for its in-depth coverage of politics, the economy, and social issues.

The Times of India - The Times of India is the largest English newspaper in India and is known for its right-of-center editorial stance.

The Guardian - The Guardian is a liberal newspaper that covers news, politics, and current affairs. It has a reputation for a progressive and left-leaning editorial stance.

The Daily Telegraph - The Daily Telegraph is a conservative newspaper that covers news, politics, and opinion. It has a reputation for its right-wing editorial stance.

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

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Rationale
- 3. Research Questions
- 4. Research Objectives
- 5. Conceptual Framework
- 6. Definitions
- 7. Limitations
- 8. Literature Review
- 9. Research Gap
- 10. Research Method
- 11. Findings
- 12. Discussions
- 13. Conclusion
- 14. Scope for further research
- 15. References
- 16. Annexures
- 16.1. Code Book

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):

Kumar, K. Rupa, et al. "High-Resolution Climate Change Scenarios for India for the 21st Century." Current Science, vol. 90, no. 3, 2006, pp. 334–45. JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24091867. Accessed 13 Feb. 2023.

N. G. Rogozhina, 2023. "The Role of China and India in Global Action to Prevent Climate Change," Outlines of global transformations: politics, economics, law, Center for Crisis Society Studies.

Jean-Marie Kayembe Ntumba, Laurie Laybourn-Langton, Joy Muhia, Arash Rashidian, Maha El-Adawy, Siaka Sidibé, Chris Zielinski, COP27 Climate Change Conference: Urgent Action Needed for Africa and the World: Wealthy nations must step up support for Africa and vulnerable countries in addressing past, present and future impacts of climate change, Alcohol Alcoholism. Volume 58, Issue January and 1, 2023, Pages 1 - 3. https://doi.org/10.1093/alcalc/agac055

Emerging Indian Partnerships in Climate Change with Special Reference to COVID-19 Era Aditi Basu

Politics of Climate Change. February 2023, 235-252

Hassan, I., Musa, R. M., Latiff Azmi, M. N., Razali Abdullah, M., & Yusoff, S. Z. (2023). Analysis of climate change disinformation across types, agents and media platforms. Information Development, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/026666669221148693

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):

Sources and framing: a comparison of media coverage of climate change across the world

Author: McCauley, Amina Rhyl

Date / Signature of the student: 15th March, 2023

Yoheswari Devaraj

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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.

.....

Surname and name of the supervisor

Date / Signature of the supervisor

Further recommendations related to the topic, structure and methods for analysis:

Further recommendations of literature related to the topic:

The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry (podatelna) in two copies, before the deadline. This deadline is published in the current academic year schedule. Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Department of Media Studies secretariat. 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 THE MARS STUDY PROGRAM.

Contents

INTRO	INTRODUCTION	
1.	LITERATURE REVIEW	5
1.1.	Role of Mass Media	5
1.2.	FRAMING IN MEDIA	6
1.3.	MEDIA COVERAGE AND CLIMATE CHANGE	7
	1.3.1. Global North vs Global South	8
1.4.	CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCES	9
2.	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	11
2.1.	Cultural Imperialism	
2.2.	Media Imperialism	
2.3.	World Systems Theory	14
2.4.	THEORY OF POWER AND INEQUALITY	16
3.	METHODOLOGY	
3.1.	INTRODUCTION	
3.2.	FRAMING	
	3.2.1. Issue attention cycle	20
3.3.		
	3.3.1. Data Collection	
	3.3.2. Data Analysis	23
	3.3.3. Frames and Measures	
	3.3.4. Limitations	29
4.	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	
4.1.	FINDINGS	
	4.1.1. United Kingdom	
	4.1.2. India	
4.2.	DISCUSSION	
	4.2.1. Conflict frame	40
	4.2.2. Human Interest frame	41
	4.2.3. Economic Consequences frame	
	4.2.4. Morality frame	
	4.2.5. Attribution to Responsibility frame	
CONC	LUSION	
REFEI	RENCES	

Introduction

The news media is a vital channel for delivering, negotiating, and formulating climate change consequences and reaction alternatives. With the majority of people getting their information from television, newspapers, and online sources, the media's portrayal raises awareness of climate change obstacles and regulates specific solutions as practical while others are not. As a consequence, the media has an immense effect on the public's opinion of climate change. Though this relationship is complicated and constantly shifting, coverage in the media has been seen to facilitate and guide discussions for policymaking in a number of circumstances. The general public influences how lawmakers evaluate and react to challenges (Ford & King, 2015).

Additionally, significant factors that influence the depth of coverage and readability of publications about climate change are framing and story narration. The majority of media outlets in developing nations get their data from international news sources headquartered in developed nations. While developing nations rely on reputable climate change organizations to report on climate change information, developed countries' media appear to establish and drive the climate change campaign (Tagbo, 2010). As a result, news reports about climate change in developing nations commonly are just copies of those in affluent nations, missing both local relevancy and connection. In general, the plethora of information produced by global climate change conferences, past research, and major national and worldwide tipping points in the development of scientific expertise and climate change-related legislation is what led to the accessibility of this knowledge (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007).

Framing indicates how journalists comprehend, examine, and assess climate change news as well as how they place themselves amid the ongoing discussions. When journalists have the necessary abilities, they can absorb and address material from a variety of sources, as well as create thematic frameworks that are clear and pertinent and convey more general climate change concerns. Therefore, skills have an impact on the thematic frameworks, which constitute the most comprehensive collection of interpretative categories for issues reported in media (Elia, 2018).

In addressing topics like climate change, which people (believe are not commonly dealt with in daily life), the press plays an especially significant part. By extrapolating individual experiences and presenting them in certain ways, the media has a significant impact on how the public perceives potential dangers associated with climate change. It is feasible for the public to quickly understand why a topic is vital, who is accountable, and what can be the repercussions thanks to frames, which implicitly or directly highlight particular parts of complicated subjects, like climate change. To assess framing effects in future research, media frame analyses like the one conducted in this article are required. Studies have revealed that the manner news is presented may impact how seriously the public takes potential risks (Dirikx & Gelders, 2010).

While there have been studies on the framing of climate change conferences in developed and developing countries separately, there is a need for a comparative analysis to understand whether there are differences in how the issue is framed in these two contexts. By comparing the coverage of climate change in newspapers from India and the UK, this study aims to fill this research gap by providing insights into potential differences in the framing of the event and identifying the factors that shape public perceptions and attitudes towards climate change in different parts of the world.

This study is guided by the research question: how do newspapers from developed (the UK) and developing countries (India) differ in their coverage and framing of 27th Conference of Parties?

3

Additionally, the study seeks to analyse the power dynamics, cultural influences, and potential structural factors that shape the framing choices made by media organizations in both countries.

Following the Introduction, in the first chapter this research will give an overview of existing scholarship of mass media's role in tackling climate communication, media's portrayal of climate change,

The second chapter will expand on the theoretical framework that will be used in this study-Cultural Imperialism, World System Theory and Theory of Power and Inequality.

The third chapter of Methodology will contain a justification about the structural framework-Media Framing Analysis upon which the study will be conducted, rationalization of qualitative content analysis, data collection method, the steps involved in data analysis, the list of frames and measures and limitations of the study.

The fourth chapter will contain the findings and discussion of this study following the comparative analysis of the data collected through purposeful sampling.

The last chapter will entail the conclusion of this study.

1. Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to close the information gap about how climate change conferences are covered and framed in various geographical situations. The primary concerns regarding the function of the media, media framing, media coverage of climate change, the global north vs the global south perspective, and climate change conferences are also explored. In addition, the literature study will look at the differences in media coverage between developed (global north) and developing (global south) nations and how they relate to climate change. The assessment will also look at the importance of conferences on climate change, such as COP27, as vital venues for international cooperation and climate decision-making.

1.1. Role of Mass Media

As the main interpretive system in contemporary cultures, the news media are vital for people's comprehension of climate change and environmental politics (Peters & Harald, 2005). First and foremost, journalists serve as primary sources of information. Considering most people's lives and biographical boundaries are outside the scope of global climate change, public communication is the primary means of disseminating information about it (Moser, 2009). With the majority of people getting their information from television, newspapers, and online sources, the media's portrayal raises awareness of climate change obstacles and regulates specific solutions as practical while others are not.

Mass media play a major role in this context due to their widespread distribution and popular readership. Therefore, numerous research studies have demonstrated that the general public mostly obtains information about the topic through media coverage (Anderson, 2011). On one hand, some experts contend that press reporting on international subjects and incidents is

very similar across nations as a consequence of the globalization of data that passes through media organizations as well as the prevailing ethical norms and principles among reporters in Western countries (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). While other critics assert that local political dynamics across the country and the variety of views among the country's political elite specifically have a significant impact on the country's media reporting of international topics (Entman, 2004).

1.2. Framing in Media

Researchers from a variety of disciplines have utilised the notion of framing to examine how media outlets and viewers create, form, and perpetuate certain impressions of news events, with various studies examining media framing of climate change via literature (Schmidt, Ivanova, & Schafer, 2013, Brossard, Shanahan, & McComas, 2004). One way of understanding the role of the media is the fact that it actively shapes the lenses through which viewers experience the world. ideally, Media frames make viewers aware of the core of a problem, however, it has to be noted that media outlets often tend to engage in propaganda. Framing is all about recognizing how the chosen style of communication necessitates highlighting certain aspects of an issue at the expense of others. (Entman, 1993). Knowing framing is understanding how a communication technique compels certain aspects of a problem to be highlighted and included while exploiting others. (Boykoff, 2007). However, if certain frames take hold and are not contested, they may restrict the involvement of other participants in a discussion in addition to the degree to which media attention an issue attracts (Shehata & Hopmann, 2012).

1.3. Media Coverage and Climate Change

The role of the media in presenting environmental concerns, raising awareness, fostering understanding, and guiding policy decisions about climate change mitigation is crucial (Gkiouzepas & Botetzagias, 2017). In his paper, Emmanuel Elia proves that climate change effects and alteration, the UN Climate Conference, rainfall and weather conditions, politics, policy, and socioeconomic growth were all major determinants of how climate change news was covered. Due to their expertise and commitment to reporting on climate change news, climate change-focused journalists have played a crucial role in shaping the knowledge around this issue (Elia, 2018).

The comparison of factors that don't actually connect to one another limits the comparability of certain study findings. The total number of newspaper articles on climate change not only reflects the amount of national interest in the topic, but also depends on the size of a particular newspaper, among other things (Eskjær, 2013). This is problematic since newspaper coverage regions differ significantly throughout the world due to differences in journalistic culture or financial limitations. It is impossible to tell whether the stated coverage variations between Asia and Europe are as significant as they claim to be due to different newspaper sizes or to the different relevance that each media outlet gives to the subject (Schmidt, Ivanova, & Schafer, 2013).

Climate change is a major topic of reporting in newspapers all around the world. Furthermore, climate change has been an issue of contention in the news for a while now and has gained importance over time. At first glance, media coverage in highly vulnerable nations does not deviate significantly from the norm. We may identify disparities between less and more susceptible nations when we narrow the emphasis to non-Annex B countries (which are mainly located in the global South) where media coverage is often less broad. Issue attention is obviously at a greater level in those nations with severe expected climate ramifications (Schmidt, Ivanova, & Schafer, 2013). Schmidt et al note the lack in evidence to support Boykoff's claim that there is a widespread "information gap," despite the fact that the media's capacity for information and discussion about potential hazards and adaptation alternatives is not significantly higher in the nations that are likely to be most affected (Boykoff, 2011).

1.3.1. Global North vs Global South

On average, media coverage is more widespread in nations with Kyoto Protocol responsibilities than in other nations. It appears that climate change and politics are heavily debated in carbon-intensive cultures, which are under special pressure to modify lifestyles and methods of generating economic prosperity. High levels of media coverage in the nations with the biggest climate change responsibilities might be seen as a good indicator of global climate politics (Schmidt, Ivanova, & Schafer, 2013).

The "Global South" is a term that is regularly used to describe developing countries. The "Global North," in contrast, is said to be made up of more developed countries like Australia, the UK, and the US (Koch, 2021). However, the manner and extent of coverage of climate change varies significantly among nations (Grundmann & Scott, 2014). Schafer and Painter contend that these distinctions are more pronounced when the Global North and South are contrasted (Schäfer & Painter, 2020). The latter is frequently overlooked, though, since the Global North dominates climate change policies, studies, and communication (Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014).

Regarding issue awareness, Barkemeyer et al. claim that "climate change has emerged as a really global concern that is not only restricted to rich or well-educated parts of the global North" (Barkemeyer, et al., 2017). Despite the shortage of comparative studies that include the Global South, evidence suggests that the Global North continues to receive more

attention. This could be because the Global South lacks funds for research and, in specific, climate journalism (Schmidt, Ivanova, & Schafer, 2013). The Global North has a greater emphasis on climate science and more regular coverage of climate change. The issues and repercussions for society as a whole, particularly how climate change affects people and their everyday lives, were highlighted more powerfully when compared to nations from the Global South (Hase, Mahl, Schäfer, & Keller, 2021).

1.4. Climate Change Conferences

Lück et al. anticipated that the composition of the reportage in each nation would be influenced to varying degrees by the international nature of the climate change talks. While narratorial differences might be linked to a country's journalistic cultural relevance, the prominence of a certain narrative form is more likely a reflection of specific notable national viewpoints on climate politics and change. On the other side, narrative positions tend to reflect a nation's tactical place in international climate political thought, including how it is seen when compared to other nations, its economic standing, and its historical legacy as a cause of climate change. Framing also crosses international boundaries more readily, as we have shown. It crosses cultural boundaries, particularly in situations like the Conference of Parties, which serve as a catalyst for international attention to a problem and provide journalists with comparable working circumstances along with access to data (Lück, Wessler, Wozniak, & Lycarião, 2018).

International gatherings like the conferences on climate change provide an exceptionally conducive environment for these homogenising trends. The two different levels of culture that Mancini emphasises are at play when we look at narratives and issue frames in the press accounts of culturally diverse countries at the same time (Macini, 2008). On one side, we see

the (globalised) professional culture, where we can see a trend towards homogenising in the creation of content, and on the other, we see the more distinct national cultures, where the majority of journalists still operate. The integration of the issue framing that arises from a comparable access to the global event and the information rendered obtainable, which is what we understand to be a reflection of professional culture. But the specialised usage of narratives in news reporting more clearly reflects national specificities and helps make information relevant to a particular audience's culture (Lück, Wessler, Wozniak, & Lycarião, 2018).

Although certain entities strive to standardize news coverage internationally, others push it in the other way. At several levels of gatekeeping within the global information framework, climate change is affected by filtering procedures much like any other global concern. Both the quantity of media coverage given to COP 27 climate change and the way COP 27 climate change is portrayed in the news media are influenced by these filters (agenda building and frame building) (Entman, 1993). The topic of the relative impact of domestic elite players, global organizations, and intermediaries' institutionalization of foreign news on media content is at the core of this discussion (Shehata & Hopmann, 2012). The present research analyses the degree to which such political discrepancies are conveyed in news reports of COP27 in four major newspapers—two each from India and Britain. These publications were chosen because they are frequently regarded as top-tier works with comparable purposes in each nation.

2. Theoretical Framework

I will incorporate cultural imperialism theory, and world systems theory in this study. The thesis aims to unravel the framing differences in climate change conference coverage between India and the UK newspapers. These theories will aid in analysing the power dynamics, cultural influences, and potential structural factors that shape the framing choices made by media organizations in both countries.

2.1. Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism is most effectively understood as a conceptual framework, a set of ideas, theorized connections, and, most all, a perspective that seeks to identify and elucidate an extensive range of issues (Fejes, 1981). It refers to a worldwide scenario in which significant cultural sectors and participants are largely concentrated in Western nations, and influence other local, national, and regional cultures and players. This position of supremacy is recognized to be primarily an outcome of basic historical disparities that have culminated in an accumulation of economic and political influence in the West (Demont-Heinrich, 2011).

The old colonial powers were overthrown in the thirty years that followed after the conclusion of World War II, and notions of cultural imperialism may be seen as efforts to integrate fights for political and economic independence into the metaphorical sphere. Cultural conflicts featured a variety of concepts and factors, just like political conflicts did, and the rich diversity of tradition is a result of these intricacies (Sparks, 2012).

Approaches to cultural imperialism are primarily influenced by the theory of dependence and a core-periphery paradigm of global political-economic interactions, as well as Marxist theories of society and development (Fejes, 1981). Cultural imperialism pertains to more than just inconsistent cultural exchanges between nations that are both wealthy and developing. It also underlines disparities in cultural exchange between advanced nations. According to Schiller, the world's main political, economic, the armed forces, and cultural participants, especially the United States, shape the global order. The overall control of the capitalist system and its concomitant economic, political, and ideological logic sits above American hegemony (Schiller, 1976).

While American global cultural supremacy has frequently been the primary subject of scholarship based on a cultural imperialism method, regional and even intra-national inequalities in cultural production, export, dispersion, and utilization are effectively within its conceptual and empirical factors as well. In brief, cultural imperialism cannot be confused with Americanism, which is a sort of cultural imperialism in its own way. Much cultural imperialism-oriented literature relies on the inherent imbalances in the capitalist society (Demont-Heinrich, 2011).

Cultural imperialism, according to Kenechukwu, is the deliberate infiltration and subjugation of a certain race's lifestyle by another culture which asserts authority. Ethnocentrism is the method of using one's own cultural or racial background as a starting point when evaluating other societies. It suggests that cultural imperialism transpires when one culture influences another to a degree where the culture under its control becomes obsolete over time. The news media has an enormous influence on culture, which can at times contribute to cultural imperialism (Kenechukwu, 2014).

McQuail outlines cultural imperialism as the inclination of global media sector exporters to monopolize the use of media in other less prosperous and lower-income countries, projecting their own customs and beliefs on consumers overseas (McQuail, 2005). The mass media is an essential tool of cultural imperialism. By influencing the media system in developing

countries, advanced nations not only offer media technology but also impose the developing countries' output standards. As they rely on developed countries for media infrastructure and material, developing countries are mainly consumers of media. As a result of this, emerging countries' cultural norms have come to dominate, which they frequently label as "out of date." The objective of cultural imperialism is to supervise, penetrate, or impede the cultural sphere of others (Ike, 2005).

The term "cultural imperialism" accurately amounts to the processes that a society goes through to become a part of the contemporary global structure, in addition to how its dominant stratum is subjugated to, coerced, mandated, and occasionally persuaded into influencing social institutions that complement or even foster the principles and frameworks of the system's dominant centre (Schiller, 1976).

I will investigate if the framing, storylines, and priorities depicted in Indian media coverage coincide with or diverge from the mainstream cultural attitudes of the United Kingdom.

2.2. Media Imperialism

This broad description of media imperialism is occasionally juxtaposed with the much more specific assertion of media imperialism, which, according to Oliver Boyd-Barrett, is a procedure whereby any aspect of the ownership, organisation, distribution, or substance of the media in a particular nation is vulnerable to significant external forces from the media industries of a different nation or nation-states without a corresponding exchange of influence by the nation that is so affected (Boyd-Barrett, 1977).

The expansive area of media studies has never shied away from critical or potentially radical thought. More specifically, the phenomena of media privatisation, agglomeration, consolidation, and internationalisation have received a considerable lot of interest. These events are frequently seen as being extremely detrimental to the continued existence of a media and entertainment distribution system that can be relied upon to supply facts and opinions that hold decision-makers liable, is inclusive in terms of its portrayal of both the majority and minority demographics and ethnic divisions common to any society and provides its audiences inspiration as well as information that strengthens their capacities as citizens (Boyd-Barrett, 2015). This concept is pertinent to identifying how framing decisions in Indian newspapers reporting COP27 may be influenced by media narratives from the UK, a developed country with a significant media presence.

2.3. World Systems Theory

Immanuel Wallerstein developed the concept of world systems theory (WST) in the 1970s, albeit previous Marxist theories had initially advanced comparable concepts. According to WST, wealthy core capitalist societies are thriving by taking advantage of weaker periphery counterparts. Semi-peripheral nations and a weak global middle class exist in between. Consequently, the only way for the periphery to progress is through a world revolution that eliminates the capitalist system. The comprehensive strategy used by WST, which examines cultures about one another rather than in solitary existence, is beneficial (Chirot, 2015).

Wallerstein maintains that there has consistently been a multi-national distribution of labour under capitalism. The capitalist global system initially developed in Europe around 1500, and as a result of the buildup of capital during the next centuries, it spread to encompass the whole planet. The capitalist world system evolved by absorbing compact mini-systems, societal power structures, as well as rival global economies. The emergence of long-distance commerce in products and the globalisation of manufacturing processes led to the creation of the capitalist world economy and the enormous concentration of resources in Europe (Wallerstein, 1974).

However, these business ties weren't developed in a void. To benefit and defend the purposes of the capitalists, the nation-state today was developed in Europe alongside capitalism. The creation of a global economy based on a highly uneven division of labour between European governments and the rest of the global economy was in the best interests of early European capitalists. The growth of powerful European nations with the political as well as military strength to implement this disparity was also in the most favourable interests of early European entrepreneurs (Elwell, 2023).

According to Wallerstein, the capitalist global economy is a nimble and effective system of resource appropriation. It is dependent on producing excess through steadily rising production. Through the generation of revenue, it appropriates this surplus for the advantage of the privileged. The capitalist world system has its foundations on a dual division of labour, wherein distinct social classes and social groups are given prejudiced access to commodities within the member countries and the various nation-states are granted differentiated access to commodities and services on the global marketplace. Power has a significant distorting effect on both intrastate and interstate markets. The least industrialised regions are the periphery, which the core takes advantage of for its cheap labour, natural resources, and output from agriculture. The semi-peripheral regions are in a middle position since they contribute to the exploitation of the peripheral areas as well as being pillaged by the core. They have recently increased their production processes, especially for goods that the core nations no longer find to be highly lucrative. The main states like Europe and North America are located in physically advantageous parts of the planet (Wallerstein, 1989).

These core states motivate internal wealth accumulation through taxation, expenditure by the government, assistance with technological advancement, funding for the construction of infrastructure, and upholding the social system to reduce class conflict. Furthermore, core nations encourage capital accumulation throughout the global economy. These regimes possess the military, political, and economic influence necessary to impose uneven tariffs on trade between the core and the periphery (Wallerstein, 1980).

The capitalist global system, which creates and sustains the glaring economic and political disparities inside and between countries, is based on the economic, political, and military supremacy of a small group referred to as the core. This authority enables significant wealth to amass into the control of a select few. This uneven control between nation-states remains undisputed much like capitalism within nation-states. It is a topic of conflict. Internal conflicts exist and over time they contribute to societal discontent, turmoil in politics, and economic instability. In the words of Wallerstein, a global economic catastrophe is inevitable, leading to the downfall of the capitalist world system and the possibility of revolutionary transformation (Elwell, 2023).

I will view this study through the lens of Wallerstein's World System Theory to analyse if, as an advanced country, the reporting in UK media demonstrates particular frames that connect with its economic and political objectives, thereby imposing control over the discourse and excluding the viewpoints of developing countries like India.

2.4. Theory of power and inequality

The power and inequality theory of Michel Foucault has relevance to media framing because it emphasizes how power acts through many processes and establishments, including the media, to form social reality and sustain preexisting power systems. Foucault's theory explains how media framing is impacted by the balance of power and works to promote dominant discourses and ideologies rather than being a neutral or objective process (Foucault, 1977).

In addition, Foucault's views on governmentality can help us understand how power works in the context of climate change conference coverage. Governmentality refers to the numerous methods by which power is exerted and sustained, including the formation of knowledge, norms, and practices. I will examine how newspapers in India and the United Kingdom report on climate change conferences can reveal the governmentality at work, highlighting the power linkages that shape framing and how power acts via media organizations (Dean, 1999).

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This study will employ a qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles from developed (the UK) and developing countries (India) that cover COP27. The research will focus on the language, themes, and perspectives used in the articles to identify any differences in the framing of the issue. The thesis employs "Framing" as the methodological concept for this study. I will elaborate the method for identifying news frames in print media thereby defining the news frames.

3.2. Framing

Framing in media entails choosing a few traits of an observed external reality and combining them in an argument that reinforces a specific view. Frames may accomplish as many as four objectives: "to define problems, to diagnose a course, to make value judgments, and to suggest remedies" (Entman, 1993, Entman, 2010). By priming, framing tries to influence and change audience members' perceptions and inclinations. Entman writes that 'frames,' in a nutshell, prove or improve the accessibility and seeming relevance of particular notions for appraising a political issue. Owing to the framing and priming of publications, all external control over 'what people think' originates from educating them 'what to think about'. When the media affects what consumers think about, they must naturally impact what individuals believe - i.e., their previously stated opinions (Entman, 2010).

The devising of media themes and frameworks is an essential element of journalism. An article's subject is the notion that combines the many semantic aspects of storytelling, such as

action details, quotes, and backstory specifics, into a logical unit (Kosicki & Pan, 1993). Goffman utilized the expression "frame" as a reference to the obvious fundamental components that every one of us adopts to intellectually arrange social events or occurrences (Goffman, 1974). The notion of framing presents an option to convey the persuasive nature of a piece of writing that is meant to interact, and frame analysis shows how the transfer of knowledge impacts awareness (Entman, 1993). Entman differentiates between two layers of media frames: mental standards for interpreting data and characteristics or devices of media text, such as significance judgements, authority, verification, classification, and generalization (Entman, 1991).

The framing concept's significance resides in its emphasis on processes of communication. Communication is an evolving procedure that includes both frame-building and frame-setting. Entman observed that frames may be found in many different places, such as the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the cultural context. These elements are essential to a framing process that includes three separate stages: frame-building, frame-setting, and framing implications at personal and communal levels (de Vreese, 2002, Scheufele, 2000, D'Angelo, 2002).

The connection between media frames and readers' existing knowledge and biases can be referred to as frame-setting. Frames in the media may influence our ability to acquire knowledge, comprehend, and assess problems and incidents. This component of the framing process has received the most study, generally intending to determine the extent to which and within what conditions consumers react and mirror frames made accessible for them in, say, the media. The repercussions of framing can be assessed both on a personal and societal scale. Personal repercussions could involve altering opinions about a topic as an outcome of exposure to specific frameworks. On behalf of society, frameworks can help form social

phenomena including the socialization of politics, making decisions, and collaborative action (de Vreese, 2005).

3.2.1. Issue attention cycle

There are a certain amount of newspaper pages or broadcast minutes, which limits the carrying capacity of news media, which means that they can only focus on a restricted number of topics at a time. It assesses how much attention is paid to one problem in comparison to other concerns that are receiving attention at the exact same time. It often spikes for very brief periods of time before receding. This might result in issue attention cycles with sequential attention stages ranging from initial or prolonged latency to their highest point to decrease, which could occur periodically over time. While issue attention is a fundamental feature of media coverage, it is also of the utmost significance since it indicates an issue's perceived value to the media's consumer (Schäfer, Ivanova, & Schmidt, 2012).

The prominence of one topic in comparison to others, i.e., its position on the press's agenda, has agenda-setting ramifications. The more focus a subject receives, the more significant it appears to the viewers. As a result, issue attention could affect how spectators react to these problems, especially measures taken by authorities and lawmakers in areas of public interest (Newig, 2004).

3.3. Qualitative Research

There are two approaches to conducting research – Quantitative and Qualitative method. I have chosen a Qualitative Content Analysis approach. Qualitative approaches are useful for understanding the nature of experience, specifically how individuals perceive and make meaning of their communication experiences. This includes understanding semantics and other unobservable aspects of communication (Wood, 2004). According to Du Plooy, "qualitative inquiry is analytical and interpretive." and "it aims to investigate holistically." However, the research methodology is determined by the nature of the data and the research question (Du Plooy, 1997).

I selected the two top print publications from each nation for the investigation; The Guardian and The Telegraph for the UK, The Hindu and Times of India representing India. I classified these publications as having a guiding social function. This was decided based on their readership, standing, or level of journalism. Print media were chosen because they provide a more straightforward way to carefully gather and analyse data on the regional and temporal scope of the study. However, print media could have less of an impact than television in some nations. For each nation, the top print media that are preferably published every day, cover the whole nation, have a sizable circulation, and adhere to high journalistic standards were chosen. To illustrate the many political stances and ideological cultures found in the majority of national media systems, I tried to select two newspapers from each nation. On the basis of a content analysis of climate change, I will look at source usage patterns and the existence of several issue-specific frameworks relevant to the climate change discussion. The findings are explored in relation to the body of work on agenda setting, frame setting, and global news flows. The qualitative content analysis research focuses on the properties of language as communication, with an emphasis on the text's content or contextual meaning. Text data has been gathered in electronic form the newspapers' websites. The goal of qualitative content analysis is to classify text into an efficient number of categories that represent related meanings, rather than just counting words. These classifications can represent either explicit or inferred communication. The qualitative research will follow the deductive approach and be led by the standard news frames identified in previous framing analyses.

3.3.1. Data Collection

In this section I narrate the steps involved in the collection of the Secondary Data. I used the paper by Linström and Marais, to guide me in the methodology (Linström & Marais, 2012).

In my search strategy, I employed a purposeful sampling of data. During this procedure, I first identified the data sources, then gathered useful data from the enormous quantity of data accessible, and then evaluated the data quality needs using scientific and research practices. I solely relied on the materials available on the internet. To aid in minimising the search, I used the news websites as the search engine- The Hindu: https://www.thehindu.com/, The Times of India: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/, The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/uk, The Telegraph: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/. I employed a technique to identify helpful information from the large but disorganised array of online material. To identify applicable news articles, search criteria including "COP27," "COP27" UK," and "COP27 India" were employed.

I chose the following print media houses based on their social stance, readership, standing, or level of journalism-

The Hindu - The Hindu is a widely respected newspaper that has a center-left editorial stance. It is known for its in-depth coverage of politics, the economy, and social issues.

The Times of India - The Times of India is the largest English newspaper in India and is known for its right-of-center editorial stance.

The Guardian - The Guardian is a liberal newspaper that covers news, politics, and current affairs. It has a reputation for a progressive and left-leaning editorial stance.

The Daily Telegraph - The Daily Telegraph is a conservative newspaper that covers news, politics, and opinion. It has a reputation for its right-wing editorial stance.

3.3.2. Data Analysis

An explanation of how to carry out an easy qualitative news frame analysis is provided in the section that follows. I am following the seven-step qualitative news frame analysis proposed by Linström and Marais as elaborated below-

Step 1: Choose a medium / topic

Choose the preferred media type for the research. This would undoubtedly be influenced by the research topic, for instance by comparing how two or more publications, or even two or more media, have framed a certain event, group, action, etc.

I have chosen four print media news houses that has online publications as well. Two media houses from the UK – The Guardian and The Telegraph was chosen. Two media houses from India – The Hindu and The Times of India was chosen.

Step 2: Determine a time-frame

A timeline needs to be chosen by the researcher. It's crucial to clarify why this particular time period is significant.

I chose a time period of three months from October to December 2022 as the main event-27th Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC was held from November 6 until November 20, 2022 in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt.

Step 3: Draw a sample

The conditions for determining the universe from which a sample is to be drawn are formed by the time frame.

The chosen time frame allows the researcher to address the issue-attention cycle about how news media reports leading up to, during and after the event has been concluded.

Step 4: Identify a unit of analysis

Individual news stories that were published in the chosen newspaper during the chosen research period are frequently used as the analysis unit in frame analysis.

I employed search criteria including "COP27," "COP27 UK," and "COP27 India" to distinguish news articles pertaining to the study.

Step 5: Selection of a frame typology

Both inductive (where frames emerge as the research progresses) and deductive (standard news frames identified in previous framing analyses) methods might be used to choose the frames.

I have chosen deductive frame analysis for this study using frames already determined by previous scholars as this would aid in comparing studies in the future.

Step 6: Operational definitions

Specified news frames must have operational definitions provided by the researcher. It is advisable to take into account the definitions of the ideas if they have been explored by other scholars. As a result, the findings of many researchers may be compared and connected since different researchers can employ concepts in the same manner.

Semetko and Valkenburg have identified five frames for news analysis which I've decided to adopt for my thesis-

- ♦ the conflict frame
- ♦ the human-interest frame

♦the attribution of responsibility frame

- ♦ the morality frame
- ♦ the economic consequences frame

(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

Step 7: Identifying news frames

The researcher must be aware of both "what" to look for when identifying frames and "how" to seek for frames in order to identify news frames.

I applied Technical Devices suggested by Tankard in this study to identify news frames-

- ♦ headlines
- ♦ subheadings
- ♦ leads
- ◆ source / quote selection
- concluding statements

(Tankard, 2001)

3.3.3. Frames and Measures

Semetko & Valkenburg developed further on these frames from Neuman, Just and Crigler's framework (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992). I applied five news frames developed by Semetko & Valkenburg in this study namely: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The definitions are as follows-

"Conflict frame: This frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest.

Human interest frame: This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or "emotionalize" the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest.

Economic consequences frame: This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country.

Morality frame: This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Because of the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make reference to moral frames indirectly—through quotation or inference.

Attribution of Responsibility frame: This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group." (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

How to measure the frames? As proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg. each question was designed to gauge one of five news frames: human interest, conflict, morality, attribution of responsibility, and economic consequences.

If the answer to these questions is a yes then they can be denoted a certain news frame as stated below-

To denote a Conflict frame:

"Does the article reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups?"

"Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?"

"Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?"

"Does the story refer to winners and losers?"

To denote a human-interest frame:

"Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?"

"Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?"

"Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?"

"Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?"

"Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?"

To denote an Attribution of Responsibility frame:

"Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?"

"Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?"

"Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?"

"Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is resp. for the issue-problem?"

"Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?"

To denote a Morality frame:

"Does the story contain any moral message?"

"Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?"

"Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?"

To denote an Economic Consequences frame

"Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?"

"Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?"

"Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?"

3.3.4. Limitations

Scholars do not agree on how to assess the quality of qualitative research, which is sometimes a problematic characteristic of the method (Hannah & Lautsch, 2011). Qualitative frame analysis' validity is threatened by the operational definition of the frames. Scholars frequently "reinvent the wheel" when determining news frames, argue D'Angelo and Kuypers. When distinct classifications are not readily apparent and "no simple coding system into which textual units might be grouped is evident," a qualitative approach can prove to be difficult (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Frame analysis presents difficulties for Klandermans and Staggenborg with regard to of data gathering, processing, and conclusion presentation. Because the lines between different news frames are usually blurry, the first problem is defining terms and concepts. The second challenge is demonstrating facts (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002). The subjectivity of the technique and the absence of a general agreement on a standard frame typology are still areas of concern with this approach. Studies continue to reveal several variants as well as whole new frames. Due to this, it is challenging to identify qualitative news frame analysis as an approach to study that is particularly relevant to the field of journalism (Linström & Marais, 2012).

In conclusion, the methodology chapter of this thesis outlined the detailed implementation of Linström and Marais' proposed qualitative news frame analysis in order to undertake a thorough comparative analysis of climate change conference coverage in Indian and UK newspapers (Linström & Marais, 2012). By using this analytical method, I aim to find differences in the framing variations between the two nations, highlighting the impact of cultural, political, and media aspects on how climate change is portrayed in the media. I will discuss the empirical results of the comparative analysis in the upcoming chapters.

4. Findings and Discussion

In this findings and discussion chapter, I will examine how the 27th United Nations Climate Change conference (COP27) was covered by Indian and British media in an effort to better understand how framing varied between the two countries. I will do this by using Linström and Marais' Qualitative News Frame Analysis. This chapter tries to clarify the intricate interactions of media, power structures, and cultural influences in the development of climate change narratives by drawing on theoretical views such as cultural imperialism, global systems theory, and the theory of power and inequality.

This analysis examines how two important British newspapers, The Guardian and The Telegraph, and two semi-peripheral Indian newspapers, The Hindu and The Times of India, framed their coverage of the historic Conference of Parties 27 held from November 6 until November 20, 2022 in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt. The purposeful sampling of news stories gives us broad perspectives on the framing tactics used by media sources in both countries, which are distinguished by distinct cultural, political, and media settings.

The main aims of the study were to track any significant differences in framing of news both between countries and within the online media of the same country. The study also explores whether there was a correspondence between the prevalence of sceptical voices and the political leaning of a newspaper, an example of a left leaning and a right-leaning newspaper were selected in both countries. In the UK, The Guardian is a left-leaning paper while The Telegraph is thoroughly on the right. In India, The Hindu is center-left but the Times of India is more centrist or liberal.

4.1. Findings

4.1.1. United Kingdom

The news articles were collected over the time frame of two months- October and November in 2022 focusing on the reportage surrounding the event Conference of Parties 27 was held from November 6 until November 20, 2022 in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt. In the month of October leading up to the event there were few news articles dedicated on the 27th COP while the majority of news stories focused around the event in the month of November. This was noticed in both the chosen news outlets in the UK i.e., The Guardian and The Telegraph. The Conflict frame was found mostly in the right leaning Telegraph over the left leaning Guardian with several of the stories emphasising on polarisation between the involved parties, creating a villain-victim dynamic often highlighting extreme views and painting to seek sensationalism with the readers.

"King Charles to support Cop27 'from afar' after decision not to attend" was published by The Telegraph in the month before the event was scheduled to take place that reflected the domestic turmoil occurring in the homeland. The news piece declared that both King Charles III and the Prime Minister Mr Rishi Sunak would not be attending the historic COP27 calling Sunak's non-attendance "a failure of leadership". While the media framing of this story is neutral, the body of the content criticises the country's leader for not taking the "reins" at a global event (Furness & Diver, 2022). While one news story criticises Sunak for not attending the 27th COP, another story applauds his decision calling it "completely right and sensible" to prioritise sorting out domestic issues over attending a greenwashing event (Strimpel, 2022).

The left leaning Guardian had fewer articles with sceptical voices than the right leaning Telegraph. In the editorials and opinion articles, the contrast is considerably more obvious.

The Telegraph published far more uncontested sceptical editorials and/or opinion articles than the Guardian.

Robert Tombs, a professor emeritus of history at the University of Cambridge and Allison Pearson, an award-winning journalist have written news stories in Telegraph that illustrates the influence of individual authors and their subjective interpretations of climate change. Tombs and Pearson have both vehemently opposed reparations that the developed countries have promised to developing and vulnerable economies even going so far as to state that Britain's Industrial Revolution is not responsible for the planet's climate problems. Tombs' piece on, "Climate change reparations are a toxic distraction" states that developing countries claim the victim status and are demanding reparations while he defends Britain's Industrial Revolution as the "root cause of almost all the advances in human society since the 1750s" (Tombs, 2022). Pearson's opinion piece reinstated the polarisation within the Conservation Party and their support of Sunak's decision to not go to COP27 initially and later their disagreement when Sunak agreed for the 'loss and damage' fund as "it was morally the right thing to do" (Pearson, 2022). An opinion piece titled, "We don't owe developing countries 'climate reparations' – they owe us" by an individual without scientifically backed facts can perpetuate polarization and overlook moderate or conciliatory voices.

While Telegraph's opinion articles and editorials gave sceptics a lot of space. The Guardian, a left-leaning publication, had the fewest editorials and opinion pieces that were left unchallenged and the fewest editorials that quoted sceptics. The Guardian published an editorial on Sunak's "shameful decision not to attend Cop27" stating that "Britain started this crisis; it should be helping end it" where the article was backed with evidence related to climate change and its urgency (The Observer, 2022). The media framing of Attribution to Responsibility here stresses the importance of swift and decisive action to mitigate the effects

of climate change and emphasising the need for global cooperation and responsibility in addressing climate challenges.

The right-wing Telegraph newspaper particularly stood out for including sceptical voices a greater number of sceptical voices quoted or mentioned in the news reporting with a greater number of direct quotes from sceptics and a greater number of editorials questioning mainstream consensus. For example, Tom Harris is a former Labour MP who founded his own lobbying company, Third Avenue Public Affairs. As stated in news website, he "delivers his independent, no-nonsense insight every weekday" (Harris, 2022). Harris wrote an editorial piece titled, "What is Nicola Sturgeon doing at Cop27? Don't ask, just ignore" about the Scottish politician's commitment to £5m pledge in climate change reparations to developing nations calling it as "publicity-seeking antics" (Harris, 2022).

The Telegraph employs journalists with diametrically opposed viewpoints, which is consistent with its use of sharply opposing Conflict frame and Attribution to Responsibility. While Bjørn Lomborg and Jordan Peterson co-authored an article that suggesting capitalist investment and improve today's technologies might be the solution to fighting climate change rather than "Pushing the same old climate policies at COP27 is simply insane" (Lomborg & Peterson, 2022). The news outlet also published an article on British Petroleum's role in polluting Red Sea and coral reef for decades where an "oil terminal is illegally flushing vast quantities of contaminated water into the Red Sea – and is believed to have done so for decades under the joint-ownership of BP, the British energy giant, and its partner, Egyptian General Petroleum Corporation" (Acland, 2022).

The websites of respectable, mainstream publications like the UK's Telegraph occasionally boil and froth with hostile climate denial. It is not a surprise that The Guardian receives the most coverage given its positioning as "the world's leading liberal voice" (Guardian, 2010).

The left leaning Guardian often times takes the media framing of Economic Consequences and Attribution to Responsibility to amplify the voices of climate activists, stressing the importance of global cooperation and multilateral approaches to tackle climate change. It may also be the fact that media organisations, as part of their news media business strategy, make an effort to cater to different points of view within their readership. Nevertheless, Guardian has substantiated its stories with quotes ranging from diplomats, delegates, NGOs, civilians etc. In the story about, "A deal on loss and damage, but a blow to 1.5C – what will be Cop27's legacy?", journalist Fiona Harvey has quoted Mohamed Adow, director of the thinktank Power Shift Africa, Frans Timmermans, vice-president of the European Commission, Alok Sharma, the UK president of last year's Cop26 talks in Glasgow, Ashwini Prabha, of the Global Gas and Oil Network, a climate campaigning group, Sameh Shoukry, the Egyptian foreign minister and Cop27 president, Seve Paeniu, finance minister of Tuvalu, Teresa Anderson, global lead for climate justice at ActionAid International and Bernice Lee, director for futures at the Chatham House thinktank (Harvey, 2022).

In the lead up to COP27 editorials and news stories frequently took aim at other countries that they saw as not pulling their weight compared to the UK. China – currently the world's largest emitter – is the nation that is most frequently singled out. For example, a news story published on the 'historic' pact established by the developed and the developing world where the rich countries agreed on a new fund, dedicated solely to loss and damage, that would be able to disburse funding quickly when countries were struck by disaster. However, the donor base for any such fund has to be widened to include nations that were considered developing at the time the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change was signed in 1992 and do not, therefore, have duties under the treaty, but which have subsequently seen rising emissions and quickly expanding economies (Harvey, 2022).

The Guardian's morality frame stresses upon how the consequences of global warming disproportionately affect vulnerable communities, particularly in developing countries, the historical responsibility of developed nations in causing climate change and the corresponding obligation to support climate adaptation and mitigation efforts in developing nations (Evans, 2021). According to a poll, a substantial proportion of people in the UK believe that the nation should foot the bill for climate action in less developed and vulnerable economies (Omnisis, 2022). According to the poll's findings, 49% of respondents believed the UK had a duty to finance climate change, 31% disagreed, and 20% were unsure. However, individuals between the ages of 18 and 34 demonstrated far more support for climate payments to vulnerable nations, with 65% in favour, than those between the ages of 65 and 74, with just 37% in favour (Carrington, 2022). The Guardian appeals to ethical responsibility of current generations to take action against climate change for the sake of future generations.

4.1.2. India

However, it appears that in India, conflict about climate change scepticism is notably missing from politics, popular discourse, and the media. In recently rising economies like India, climate scepticism is rarely seen or expressed in the media. The media's coverage of climate change in India appears to be the complete antithesis of that in several UK media outlets. The media framing in both the newspapers- The Hindu and The Times of India- focus on Economic Consequences and Attribution of Responsibility with a few stories underneath the Conflict frame.

One of the earliest news stories in The Hindu leading up to the 27th Conference of Parties talks about how similar to other major polluters, India has historically been hesitant to take

action on climate change. The country has the opportunity to strongly support ecologically sustainable development in its interest at COP27 (Thomas, 2022). The news outlet credits the story to Vinod Thomas, a former senior Vice-President at World Bank, and Director General at Asian Development Bank.

The majority of Indian media's coverage is nationalistic and places the responsibility for action on developed countries. The Times of India news article titled, "BASIC nations call out double standards of rich countries, send strong political message" pointed out that developed nations have also significantly increased their production and use of fossil fuels during the previous year due to European Union's energy crisis, despite their ongoing pressure on poorer nations to abandon these resources (Mohan, 2022). In addition, BASIC nations stated that wealthy countries must uphold their pre-2020 promises to mitigate, adapt, and provide means of implementation and assistance, without shifting any weight or accountability on poor nations. Along the same lines, The Hindu article, "India thwarts attempt to club it with historical polluters" stated that during deliberations on the "Mitigation Work Programme," India prevented wealthy countries from concentrating on all 20 of the world's largest carbon dioxide emitters rather than simply those that had historically contributed to climate change (Press Trust of India, 2022).

There have been two main narratives in the Indian media's coverage of climate change: the first pits India's development needs against global environmental concerns, and the second is an "equity debate" about who should bear the greater burden of reducing GHG emissions— the West or the Rest. For example, in the Hindu's "India opposes draft text on agriculture" India has rejected efforts by the developed world to include agriculture in the scope of mitigation, claiming that wealthy countries do not want to alter their lifestyles in order to cut emissions and instead are looking for less expensive alternatives overseas (Press Trust of India, 2022). The other story the Attribution of Responsibility frame takes a stand is titled,

"The real issue at COP27 is energy equity" where the issue of the global South's energy poverty and the stark disparities in access to energy must be at the forefront of all conversations (Kanitkar & Ranjan, 2022). The news piece also talks about the 'hypocrisy of the Global North' for consuming fossil fuel and the level of decarbonisation in the global North being minuscule.

As a developing country, India takes responsibility for fighting climate change in this article titled, "India fighting climate change despite accounting for less than 4% of total emissions: Environment Minister" where the Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav was seen addressing COP27 (Press Trust of India, 2022). "India, home to 1.3 billion people, is undertaking this arduous effort despite the reality that our contribution to the world's cumulative emissions so far is less than 4 per cent and our annual per capita emissions are about one-third of the global average," Mr Yadav said.

Focus on scientific consensus on climate change, the need for global cooperation, and the importance of finding sustainable solutions to mitigate its effects. As a left-centrist publication, The Hindu's reporting on climate change events is expected to provide a balanced and comprehensive view of the proceedings, highlighting both challenges and opportunities in addressing climate change. The news outlet reported a story that the Glasgow climate pact's objectives of reducing the dominance of fossil fuels have become increasingly challenging due to the ongoing energy crisis. India urged for the COP27 talks to proceed with the full awareness that fossil fuels will remain a significant part of the world's energy mix. They must be phased out gradually, with developed nations taking the lead so that underdeveloped nations can adjust more slowly. This is essential for a just transition away from the fuels that are causing climate change (Press Trust of India, 2022).

Addressing the importance of collective global efforts to address climate change, while also considering different viewpoints and policy approaches to tackle environmental challenges, Times of India reported a story that falls underneath the Economic Consequences and Attribution to Responsibility frame on "Action plan for universal early warning coverage launched at COP27, India joins the move" At the COP27, the UN Secretary-General revealed an action plan to achieve "early warnings for everyone" within the following five years. India has been trying to enhance end-to-end early warning systems for all hydro-meteorological hazards, according to Yadav, who was speaking about the country's efforts in this regard to have a strong early warning system. The Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure, which is striving to create applications of climate prediction and early warning for decreasing infrastructure losses and interruption in essential services, has been pioneered by India, Yadav informed the crowd (Mohan, 2022).

In this purposeful sampling of news stories from India I noticed that news coverage related to climate change and environmental issues often transcends traditional left-right political divisions and focuses on the scientific, social, and economic aspects of the subject matter. The framing of this news takes responsibility for the state the planet is in and the need to take action that is beneficial in the long run. The article written by Jacob Koshy who is a Deputy Science Editor with The Hindu talks about "India's long-term strategy to transition to a 'low emissions' pathway involves more nuclear power, more ethanol" where in addition to being an international centre for creating green hydrogen and boosting the quantity of ethanol in fuel, it is predicated on raising its nuclear power capacity by at least three times over the course of the next ten years (Koshy, 2022).

4.2. Discussion

This study was conducted with the aim to answer the question- How do newspapers from developed (the UK) and developing countries (India) differ in their coverage and framing of COP27? and to analyse the power dynamics, cultural influences, and potential structural factors that shape the framing choices made by media organizations in both countries. The research looked at five different frameworks to understand how they were applied in the four newspapers' coverage of COP27: the conflict frame, the human-interest frame, the economic consequences frame, the morality frame, and the attribution of responsibility frame. The discussion will also look at how these framing techniques intersect with theories of cultural imperialism, world systems theory, and the idea of power and inequality.

4.2.1. Conflict frame

Both the Indian newspapers, The Hindu and Times of India exhibited a tendency towards conflict frame during disagreements and tensions between India and the developed countries during the climate negotiations while safeguarding its interests as a developing nation (Press Trust of India, 2022). The conflict framing showed COP27 as an arena of conflicting interests, focusing on the difficulties in coming to an agreement on the 'loss and damage' fund for climate action in the form of reparations by the wealthy nations and emission cuts by major emitters (Mohan, 2022).

In their coverage of COP27, the UK publication The Telegraph notably used the conflict framing. This framework highlighted the ideological conflicts and differences between industrialised and poor nations during climate reparation discussions, emphasising the difficulties in coming to international climate commitments (Pearson, 2022). The Telegraph's storylines frequently avoided labelling a developed country like the UK—a history polluter—

responsible, even going so far as to label the COP27 a hypocritical "greenwashing" event (Strimpel, 2022). In the guise of fair reporting, Telegraph is attracted to controversy and debate, which some claim can amount to prejudice (Evans-Pritchard, 2022). The Guardian has fewer opinion pieces / editorials as compared to its counterpart where the writers' can be seen putting across personal bias in the publications (Harris, 2022).

There were parallels in framing choices despite the cultural differences between the two nations (developed vs developing), which shows the effect of the main global media narratives on how climate change is reported. This position of supremacy is recognized to be primarily an outcome of basic historical disparities that have culminated in an accumulation of economic and political influence in the West (Demont-Heinrich, 2011).

4.2.2. Human Interest frame

Although the four newspapers employed the human-interest frame to emphasise the human impact of climate change, they were far too few in between the narratives for climate action. The delegates of vulnerable and affected economies put forth their cases of real-life consequences of environmental degradation and extreme weather events (Harvey, 2022). However, this narrative often falls in between Conflict framing and Attribution to Responsibility during climate negotiations to push historical polluters to pay for the damage cause to the planet (Harvey, 2022). The scientific basis of climate change are still occasionally covered in the media, but notably in Anglo-Saxon nations, their relative significance has diminished as politics, economics, and social issues have supplanted the scientific aspects of the issue. Media coverage of climate change is increasingly focusing on issues like the political push for a global agreement on emissions reductions, the economic costs of transitioning to low-carbon societies, or the humanitarian and security ramifications

of potential escalating resource conflicts and migration brought on by climate change (Schafer, 2015).

4.2.3. Economic Consequences frame

The Hindu and The Times of India periodically used the economic repercussions framing to delve into the financial effects of initiatives and agreements related to climate change (Press Trust of India, 2022). Bhupender Yadav, the Union Environment Minister, emphasised that the speed of global climate mitigation is insufficient to slow the pace of climate change especially with climate finance so scarce (Press Trust of India, 2022). In particular, in the renewable energy and carbon-intensive industries, this framing highlighted possible economic advantages and losses linked with climate action efforts (Koshy, 2022). The COP27 also established a four-year work plan on fair transition for energy usage as well as climate action in agriculture and food security. However, this would bear implications for Indian farmers whose main livelihood is farming and thus would be hard hit by the mitigation responsibilities (Mohan, 2022).

While both UK newspapers occasionally emphasised the financial ramifications of climate policies and agreements by using the economic consequences framing. When compared to the Telegraph, who treated it as a voluntary weight to bear, the Guardian treated it with greater neutrality (Tombs, 2022). This framework included debt payment deferrals for countries hit by climate disasters, "climate resilient debt clauses" and climate reparations (Carrington, 2022). In his paper, Schafer says that while political action must be taken industrialised, affluent nations cannot shoulder all of the burden of combating climate change. It needs a worldwide effort involving nations like China, India, Brazil, and others in order to be as successful as possible (Schafer, 2015).

The capitalist global system, which creates and sustains the glaring economic and political disparities inside and between countries, is based on the economic, political, and military supremacy of a small group referred to as the core (Elwell, 2023). According to World System Theory, wealthy core capitalist societies are thriving by taking advantage of weaker periphery counterparts. Semi-peripheral nations and a weak global middle class exist in between (Chirot, 2015). As advocates of wealthy nations, the UK media tended to place more emphasis on international climate discussions and other countries' obligations. The Indian media, which are representative of emerging economies, on the other hand, focused on climate justice and the effects of climate change on vulnerable people.

4.2.4. Morality frame

Both Indian publications occasionally utilised the morality framework to talk about the moral implications of climate discussions and adaptation. This perspective called for international collaboration for climate action emphasised the moral obligation of wealthier countries to help efforts at climate adaptation in nations that are developing (Koshy, 2022). While the UK has only published a 'handful' of stories on wealthy nations' moral responsibility to assist developing countries with climate adaptation and mitigation (Adu, 2022). However, the Telegraph has polarising views about climate justice in the form as climate reparations (Tombs, 2022).

4.2.5. Attribution to Responsibility frame

In certain cases, The Hindu and The Times of India displayed the attribution of responsibility framing by criticising the developed nations for their promises of contributions to climate change action and their attempts to address it (Kanitkar & Ranjan, 2022). The accountability

of significant players in the climate change debate and the line between victim and perpetrator was emphasised by this framing (Sridhar & Srivatsava, 2022). In the same week when the Telegraph was reporting about polarising views on climate scepticism (Lomborg & Peterson, 2022), newspapers in India were reporting about the "Action plan for universal early warning coverage" when India joined the move (Mohan, 2022). The increasing "domestication" of the issue coincides with the increased emphasis of climate change coverage on societal effects. Postcolonial ideas can be found in nations other than the Western world, such as India or Bangladesh, that see climate change as essentially a Western problem (Billett, 2009).

Foucault's theory of power and inequality explains how media framing is impacted by the balance of power and works to promote dominant discourses and ideologies rather than being a neutral or objective process (Foucault, 1977). The existence of several frames in the four newspapers illustrates the unequal distribution of power in the world's media. The UK media, as representatives of a developed nation, were more inclined to highlight their country's status as a pioneer in climate action and push for ambitious goals. As representatives of a developing nation, Indian media were more likely to emphasise the need for support from rich countries and fair burden-sharing in comparison.

Conclusion

This thesis focused on framing disparities in the reporting of COP27 and conducted a comparative analysis of the climate change conference coverage in Indian and UK publications. The research question examined the differences in the coverage and framing of the conference in newspapers from developed (the UK) and developing (India) nations. The study also sought to explore the power relationships, cultural influences, and other structural effects that influence the framing decisions made by media organisations in both nations. For a thorough understanding of media framing and its effects on climate change discourse, the research used framing analysis and included theories of cultural imperialism, world systems theory, and the Theory of power and inequality.

The comparative analysis of sixty selected news articles from The Guardian, The Telegraph, The Hindu, and The Times of India published in the months of October and November of 2022 surrounding the 27th Conference of Parties in Egypt revealed distinct framing patterns in the coverage of the event. The identified frames included conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and attribution of responsibility frame. In the Indian newspapers, The Hindu and The Times of India, the conflict frame was prominent, emphasizing the challenges and disagreements during climate negotiations between the developed countries (the UK, in this case) and developing countries (India). The economic consequences frame and attribution of responsibility frame extensively highlighted in the Indian media with almost no space given to climate scepticism. Indian media took more initiative than the UK media to discuss climate change in terms of solutions and to report on actions taken to combat it. The human-interest frame was observed in limited instances while reporting on the consequences the vulnerable nations face due to climate change. The framing of Morality was often used to push the developed nations to take action towards combating climate change and burden sharing. The conflict framing was also heavily used in the UK newspapers The Guardian and The Telegraph, concentrating on the ideological differences during climate discussions. While the Economic consequences framing was predominant in the news, attribution to responsibility perception was divided between the right leaning and left leaning newspaper i.e., Telegraph uses frames that states that developed countries are not responsible for developing countries' climate consequences.

Both nations frequently used the conflict framing, which reflected the complexity of international climate discussions. Each newspaper had a different take on economic implications, morality, and who should be held accountable.

When the notion of cultural imperialism was applied, it became clear how dominating global media narratives shaped framing practices (Demont-Heinrich, 2011). Despite the cultural contrasts between India and the UK, several framing decisions were common, highlighting the influence of Western media.

World systems theory offered insight into how framing differences correlated with nations' development levels (Wallerstein, 1989). The UK press highlighted international climate discussions and obligations, representing the viewpoint of a developed country. Indian media, on the other hand, emphasised climate justice and its effects on disadvantaged populations, in line with the priorities of a growing nation.

The theory of power and inequality brought attention to how power was distributed unevenly throughout the global media landscape, which had an impact on how newspapers chose to frame stories (Foucault, 1977). The UK newspapers, which stand for developed countries, have shown leadership and ambition to tackle climate change. The Indian media, speaking for poor countries, placed a strong emphasis on aid and fair burden-sharing.

The use of theories from world systems theory, the theory of power and inequality, and cultural imperialism gave us a significant new understanding of the variables affecting framing decisions in both nations. The study demonstrated how structural elements, cultural influences, and power relations affect how the media frames the discussion on climate change.

In general, this study advances knowledge of how media framing affects public views of and reactions to climate change. It emphasises the need of analysing media narratives critically and taking into account the larger context of framing decisions.

Theoretical implications of these framing patterns might be taken into account to enhance climate communication initiatives and promote a more educated and inclusive climate debate on a global scale.

Limitations and Future Research:

While this study gives useful insights, it is not without limits. Two newspapers from each nation made up the sample, which concentrated on a particular climate conference during a set period of time. In order to capture changing framing patterns, future study might examine a wider range of newspapers over a longer time period. It could also examine the variations in media coverage of climate change across developed and developing countries, as well as between the Global North and South.

As a whole, this thesis gives an in-depth analysis of COP27 coverage in Indian and UK newspapers, adding to the expanding body of knowledge on how the media portrays climate change.

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Country	News media	Headline	Subheadings	Lead	Quote/Source Selection	Concluding statement	Framing	Reference
United Kingdom	The Telegraph	Climate change reparations are a toxic distraction	Blaming all the planet's problems on Britain's Industrial Revolution is irrational buck passing	When climate change is mentioned, vast amounts of money are soon an inevitable topic of conversation. Who will pay and who will receive? On what terms, and who decides what happens to the cash? One does not have to be a cynic to recall adefinition of foreign aid as money transferred from poor people in rich countries to rich people in poor countries.	Robert Tombs is professor emeritus of history at the University of Cambridge	Yes, we must limit climate damage. Wealthy countries will pay more. Big polluters must cut back. But it is too important an issue to be left to Green utopians, virtue signallers and corrupt despots. Absurd demands for historic "reparations" are a distraction from the real issues, and a smoke screen (for noce the cliché seems appropriate) for today's major polluters. Can we be optimistic that sense will prevail? I fear not.	Conflict frame	07/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/11/07/climat e-change-reparations-toxic- distraction/
	The Telegraph	Cop27 deal to compensate developing nations for climate change nears	US and EU push China to pay up and there are concerns that rich economies such as Saudi Arabia could be eligible	A global agreement to compensate developing	"For people on the front lines of the climate crisis, this draft text offers hope that there will be a loss and damage fund to help them recover and rebuild in the aftermath of disasters," said Teresa Anderson, from ActionAid International, David Tong from campaign group Oil Change International said negotiations were "on the verge of a breakdown even more so than in other years"	The annual Cop summit often goes into extra time, but negotiators complained that this year's event in the resort town of Sharm el- Sheikh was particularly poorly organised.	Economic Consequences frame	19/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/11/19/cop27- agreement-compensate- developing-countries- verge-reached/
	The Telegraph	We don't owe developing countries 'cilimate reparations' – they owe us	We are on the hook for untold billions to countries experiencing adverse weather conditions, because we invented factories – and cars	with 24,000 diplomats and 13,000 observers who are deeply worried about everyone's	Allison Pearson	If the Conservatives are looking for new ways to guarantee electoral annihilation, asking skint voters to pay for "climate reparations" should work a treat.	Conflict frame	08/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/columnists/2022/11/08/c op27-dont-owe-developing- countries-climate- reparations-owe/
	The Telegraph	world knew about climate change, says	African state's British- born official says his birthplace should not be held responsible before the world first knew about global warming	Britain should only be held responsible for the damage it did to the climate after the world knew about global warming and not before, the environment minister of Gabon has said.	hands of people who are losing their lives and livelihoods due to	Several world leaders have suggested compensation could be funded by new internationally agreed taxes on the profits of oil and gas companies, or on aviation fuels. Grant Shapps, the Business Secretary, ruled out new aviation taxes in an interview with The Telegraph while in Sharm el- Sheikh. He said: "We don't want to get distracted into cul de sacs on this. We've got to face this globally. Specifically on aviation, there already are taxes."	Conflict & Economic frame	12/11/2022 https: //www.telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/11/12/dont- blame-britain-historic- climate-damage-savs- gabon-environment/
	The Telegraph		Amid the greenwashing in Sharm, UK energy policy is driven by hard-headed business	the much anticipated Cop27 in Sharm el-	Jeremy Warner, assistant editor of The Daily Telegraph, is one of Britain's leading business and economics commentators.	Amid the "greenwashing" of Sharm el- Sheikh, it's a relief to know that hard- headed commercial and security considerations still play some small part in UK energy policy.	Attribution of Responsibility	08/11/2022 https: //www.telegraph.co. uk/business/2022/11/08/brit ain-needs-us-gas-deal-end- reliance-russia-gatar/
	The Telegraph	Greta Thunberg is absolutely right about Cop27: it will be a haven of hypocrisy	Another backslapping jamboree – another opportunity for world leaders to escape domestic problems and spend time in five-star hotels	If Rishi Sunak does hold out and decline to travel to the Cop27 conference in Egypt he will be in good company. Greta Thunberg says she isn't going either. The only difference is that the people who bleat about Sunak's non- attendance seem to be a lot less vociferous about Greta's open condemnation of the event. "Cops are mainly used as anopportunity for leaders and people in power to get attention, using many different kinds of greenwashing," she said at the weekend.		And so she has been cast into the wilderness. I am not a great fan, but I do think it is shoddy how they have handled her; treated like royalty one minute and having the door shut on her the next. The best thing she could do now is to seek a bit of obscurity, learn a bit about engineering and the sheer difficulties of decarbonising the economy, work out what it would mean for the world's poor if the world were suddenly to abandon long established technologies in the vain hope they can all be replaced by zero-carbon alternatives – and then come back with a more measured message on climate change. She would earn a lot of respect if she did.	Human Interest frame	01/11/2022 https://www. telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/11/01/greta- thunberg-absolutely-right- cop27-will-haven-hypocrisy/

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	The Telegraph	pledges £5m in climate change reparations to		Nicola Sturgeon has announced she will pay £5 million of climate change reparations to developing nations damaged by global warming as she took credit for pressurising the world's wealthiest nations to follow suit.	Simon Johnson SCOTTISH POLITICAL EDITOR	Over the past month, they have signalled more openness to discussing compensation at Cop27, but remain wary of creating a fund amid fears of spiralling liabilities. But Ms Sturgeon argued there was an obligation on richer countries in the "global north" that have largely caused climate change to help those suffering the impact of it.		08/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/politics/2022/11/07/nicol a-sturgeon-claims-credit- cop27-climate-change- reparations/
	The Telegraph	climate policies at COP27 is simply	After decades of failure to curb emissions, let's accept that capitalist investment is not the problem: it's the solution	Insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results." This famous quote – often misattributed to Albert Einstein – might very well become the unofficial motto of the UN Climate Change Conference in Egypt, the 27th session of the Conference of the Parties (Cop27).	Dr. Bjorn Lomborg is President of the Copenhagen Consensus and Visiting Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution., Dr. Jordan B. Peterson is Professor Emeritus at the University of Toronto	Finding the breakthroughs that will power the rest of the 21st century could require a decade, or it could take four. But no other genuine solutions beckon, and we have already had three decades of spectacular failure pursuing the policies that are currently in place. We know that the world leaders gathered at COP27 won't solve the problems that beset us with the same empty promises offered twenty-six times previously. Are we doing the same thing yet again? Remember the definition of insanity But innovation beckons, as it has so reliably in the past. We have better options, and ignore them at the cost of our economy, our opportunity, and the environment.		04/11/2022 https: //www.telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/11/04/cop27 s-solutions-tackle-climate- change-insane/
	The Telegraph	climate reparations amid ongoing Cop27	PM claims UK is fulfilling our obligations' and said he would instead prioritise green investment that supports British jobs	Rishi Sunak has ruled out paying billions in climate reparations to developing countries, as a row over money grows at the Cop27 summit.	Yeb Sano, from Greenpeace South East Asia said, "All Rishi Sunak needs to do is listen to the demands of countries worst hit by climate change to know that the UK is not paying anywhere near its fair share to deal with theorisis, especially considering the amount of carbon they have pumped out for centuries", Xie Zhenhua, China's climate envoy said, "We strongly support the claims from developing countries, especially the most vulnerable countries, for claiming Joss and damage compensation, because China is also a developing country and we also suffered a lot from extreme weather events"	Plans announced by the US on Wednesday for a carbon credit scheme, where corporations pay developing countries engaged in renewable energy schemes, were met with scepticism.	Attribution of Responsibility	09/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/environment/2022/11/09 /rishi-sunak-rules-climate- reparations-amid-ongoing- cop27-row/it-:text=Rishi% 20Sunak%20rules% 20our%:-text=Rishi% 20ongoing%20Cop27% 20roparations%20amid% 20ongoing%20Cop27% 20row,-PM%20claims% 20Uk&ket=Rishi% 20Sunak%20has% 20ruled%20out,the%
	The Telegraph	What is Nicola Sturgeon doing at Cop27? Don't ask, just ignore		Nicola Sturgeon is an incredibly divisive figure in Scotland, in the literal meaning of the word. She regularly leads her party to, or near, 50 per cent of the popular vote in devolved and general elections, and among nationalist- inclined Scots she is not just admired, but loved, to the point where no admission of weakness or failing can ever be allowed. The other half of the electorate feels just as strongly	Tom Harris is a former Labour MP and sometime spinner who survived the heights and depths of the Blair-Brown era. After	Criticising Sturgeon and her cohorts is easy, but UK ministers need to be honest about its effectiveness so far. Subtlety is the name of the game now.	Conflict frame	07/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/11/07/what- nicola-sturgeon-cop27- dont-ask-just-ignore/
	The Telegraph	Rishi Sunak: fighting climate change is	Speaking before the Cop27 summit, Prime Minister says progress on environmental issues is vital for Britain's future prosperity and security	Fighting climate change is not just a "moral good" but central to future British economic success and resilience, Rishi Sunak has said on the eve of the Cop27 summit.	progress.said António Guterres, United Nations secretary-	John Kerry, US climate envoy, also urged wealthier nations to "step up" their efforts to help others transition away from fossil fuels, but admitted the war in Ukraine presented new "hurdles".	Morality frame	05/11/2022 https://www.telegraph.co. uk/politics/2022/11/05/rishi- sunak-fighting-climate- change-just-moral-good/
	The Telegraph		Though pessimists persist in seeing an empty glass, the Cop process has been a remarkable success	The alliance of "developing countries" calling for climate reparations at COP27 includes the Opec oil cartel and those states in Latin America and Southeast Asia most responsible for 21st Century deforestation.	Telegraph, "It is not just the Right and fossil industry that weaponises climate change: so does the Left, which	Though pessimists persist in seeing an empty glass, the Cop process has been a remarkable success. If it now becomes the plaything of Leftist culture warriors and anti- Western racketeering, it will die, and deserves to die.	Conflict frame	11/11/2022 https://www. telegraph.co. uk/business/2022/11/11/co p27-becomes-forum-anti- western-racketeering- deserves-die/

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	The Telegraph	BP's latest dirty secret? Oil terminal has been polluting Red Sea and coral reef for decades	Across the water from the COP27 summit, an oil facility recently owned by BP is flushing contaminants into the Red Sea	As world leaders bicker in Egypt about repairing damage wreaked by fossil fuels on the climate, the Red Sea serves as a picturesque backdrop. Its coral reefs have been designated a 'hope spot' on account of their tolerance to rising sea temperatures, a rare cause for optimism amid the general gloom.	The Egyptian government's repression of journalists and activists is one reason that climate campaigner, Greta Thunberg, is not attending COP. BP said any enquiries should be directed to Gupco's current owners and did not respond to questions about pollution during its management of the terminal.	Dragon Oil has said it will increase oil production by around 11,000 barrels a day and spend more than \$1 billion on new drilling. The company aims to drill 13 new wells and improve oil ones, particularly in the region around Ras Shukeir. Other companies are exploring 100. Shell and Chevron have carried out seismic surveys in the Red Sea this year. Gupco, Dragon Oil and the Egyptian government did not respond to requests for comment.	Attribution of Responsibility	16 November 2022 https: //www.telegraph.co. uk/global-health/climate- and-people/how-bp-oil- terminus-has-polluting-red- sea-coral-reel/
	The Telegraph	Cop27 was a lot of hot air – again	The past fortnight's jamboree has been dominated less by arguments over carbon levels than by who will pay for the damage	The UN's Climate Change Conference in Egypt was the 27th such gathering since the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Then, the science of global warming was in its infancy, but world leaders were sufficiently alarmed to commit to a massive programme of financial transfers to countries likely to be worst affected. Thirty years on, a deal was struck at Sharm el-Sheikh on Sunday to establish a dedicated "loss and damage fund" of the sort that never materialised after Rio. It is a triumph of hope over expectation to think this agreement is any more likely to be fulfilled.	TELEGRAPH VIEW	As often happens with these meetings, the talks went to the wire, with last-minute negotiations concluding with an outburst of mutual back-slapping for what was dubbed a "historic" agreement. The same was said in Rio in 1992.	Attribution of Responsibility	21/11/2022 https://www. telegraph.co. uklopnion/2022/11/21/cop2 7-lot-hot-air/
		King Charles to support Cop27 'from afar' after decision not to attend	Downing Street sources deny government blocked monarch's attendance	The King will find a way to support Cop27 from afar after the Government ruled out his attending in person, The Telegraph has learned.	"I think many people would be expecting the Prime Minister of the UK, not just to attend Cop, but to use it as an opportunity to pull world leaders together to deal with the climate and to deal with energy," he said	On Thursday, the King is reported to have held a private audience with US Presidential climate envoy John Kerry at Windsor Castle. Mr Kerry has publicly said it would be 'wery powerful' if the King could attend the Cop27 UN climate summit in Egypt 'because he has credibility, because he has been a long-term leader'.	Human Interest frame	28 October 2022 https: //www.telegraph.co. uk/politics/2022/10/28/king- charles-support-cop27-afar- decision-not-attend/
		The eco-elites can't resist a good old knees-up	Rishi Sunak was right to give the Cop27 summit a miss; these events have become deeply hypocritical	Rishi Sunak is, to put it mildly, above averagely busy right now with Mission Hopefully Not Quite Impossible: saving Britain from complete ruin. It is therefore completely right and sensible that he refrain from attending the Cop27 summit in Egypt next month. Anyway, as he pointed out, Britain's green credentials and leadership are almost "unmatched" throughout the world. Therese Coffey, the new environment secretary also points out that Cop27 is unlikely to have any "big moments" this year.	Rebecca Newsom, head of politics at Greenpeace UK, fumed that it showed he does not take climate change "seriously enough".	The hypocrisy was outstanding. I'm almost beginning to wonder if perhaps the ultra- elite in politics, tech and entertainment, always so vocal in telling other people what to do and how to live, are blind to their true motivations: making sure their parties are the best in the world.	Conflict frame & Attribution of Responsibility	30 October 2022 https: //www.telegraph.co. uk/news/2022/10/30/eco- elites-cant-resist-good-old- knees-up/
United Kingdom	The Guardian	'Explosion' in number of fossil fuel lobbyists at Cop27 climate summit	Oil and gas industries have 636 representatives at Egypt conference – a rise of more than 25% on previous year	There are more than 600 fossil fuel lobbyists at the Cop27 climate conference, a rise of more than 25% from last year and outnumbering any one frontline community affected by the climate crisis.	Ruth Michaelson is a journalist based in Istanbul, "the influence of fossil fuel lobbyists is greater than frontline countries and communities. Delegations from African countries and Indigenous communities are dwarfed by representatives of corporate interests", group Kick Big Polluters out, "The explosion in the number of industry delegates attending the negotiations reinforces the conviction of the climate justice community that the industry views the Cop as a carnival of sorts, and not a space to address the ongoing and imminent climate crisis," Kwami Kpondzo from Friends of the Earth Togo	In response, the United States Council for International Business pushed back against any suggestion that there should be limits on corporate interests at the climate talks, saying this would 'damage and slow implementation [and] marginalise one of the most central constituencies in the UNFCCC process".	Attribution of Responsibility	10 Nov 2022 https: //www.theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 10/big-rise-in-number-of- fossii-fuel-lobbyists-at- cop27-climate-summit#:~: text=There%20are% 20more%20than%20600, Sharm%20el%2DSheikh% 2C%20Egypt.
	The Guardian	'Significant' moves on climate disaster funds lift Cop27 hopes			"Climate shocks are increasing in frequency and severity which is why we are supporting countries hit hardest," said James Cartildge, a UK Treasury minister. "Adopting these clauses in debt instruments is the single most impactful way of making the international financial system fitter for the new world of shocks and for international development. I cannot commend this initiative by the UK government enough" said Avinash Persaud, a special envoy to the Barbados prime minister, Mia Mottley		Economic Consequences frame	9 Nov 2022 <u>https:</u> //www.theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 09/cop27-egypt-climate- disaster-funds

Country	News media	Headline	Subheadings	Lead	Quote/Source Selection	Concluding statement	Framing	Reference
	The Guardian	A deal on loss and damage, but a blow to 1.5C – what will be Cop27's legacy?	Anger at western hypocrisy heated to boiling point in Sharm el Sheikh, but after intense talks the impasse was finally broke	On the eve of the Cop27 climate conference that has just finished in Sharm el-Sheikh, the UN secretary general, António Guterres, warned of the stark consequences of failure.	"There has been clearly, as in past times, a breakdown in trust between north and south, and between developed and emerging economies. This is no time for finger pointing. The blame game is a recipe for mutually assured destruction" said the UN secretary general. António fouterres. Frans Timmermans, vice-president of the European Commission, said: "It does not bring enough added efforts from major emitters to increase and accelerate their emissions cuts. It does not address the yawning gap between climate science, and our climate policies. The EU came here to get strong language agreed and we are disappointed we didn't achieve this." Sameh Shoukry, the Egyptian foreign minister and Cop27 president, stressed that this was an African Cop, focusing on those countries' needs. Teresa Anderson, global lead for climate justice at ActionAid International, said: "We've heard endless speeches from developed nations saying they care, but all they want to do is kick the can down the road when it comes to establishing a financing facility to address loss and damage."	This still leaves the question of what to do about China. Developed countries as a bloc are still in the top five emitters, taking historical responsibility into account, but individually they are eclipsed by rapidly growing emerging economies, such as China, Russia, Saudi Arabia and other petrostates, according to Paul Bledsoe, a former Clinton White House climate adviser, now with the Progressive Policy Institute in Washington DC.	Attribution of Responsibility	20 Nov 2022 https: //www.theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov. 20/deal-on-loss-and- damage-fund-at-cop27- marks-climbdown-by-rich- countries
	The Guardian	Britain arrives at Cop27 in disarray over the climate – and the world's leaders know it	After Johnson's weak energy plan and Truss's scepticism, we have Rishi Sunak, who didn't even want to attend	Unless we take urgent action, we will get 3C hotter," Boris Johnson told the UN climate talks in 2020. "As a country we must now act." The former prime minister's words were a rallying cry to galvanise the government into taking action on global heating.		It is now abundantly clear that we are not going to meet the 1.5C target for global heating agreed by western leaders with such conviction at the historic Paris climate talks in 2015. And, as David Attenborough said during his Cop26 speech, we have now reached a stage of "desperate hope".	Attribution of Responsibility	6 Nov 2022 https: //www.theguardian. com/commentisfree/2022/n ov/06/britai-cop27-climate- rishi-sunak
	The Guardian	Cop27 agrees historic 'loss and damage' fund for climate impact in developing countries	Deal is hailed as potential turning point that acknowledges vast inequities of climate crisis	Developing countries celebrated on Sunday morning as crucial climate talks ended with a "historic" deal on their most cherished climate goal: a global fund for "loss and damage", providing financial assistance to poor nations stricken by climate disaster.	Antonio Guterres, the UN secretary-general, said the fund was "an important step towards justice" for poor countries that have done little to cause the climate crisis, but are suffering its worst impacts.	"I welcome the decision to establish a loss and damage fund and to operationalise it in the coming period," Guterres said. "Clearly this will not be enough, but it is a much- needed political signal to rebuild broken trust. The voices of those on the frontlines of the climate crisis must be heard."	Conflict & Economic Consequences frame	20 Nov 2022 https://www.theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 20/cop27-agrees-to- historic-loss-and-damage- fund-to-compensate- developing-countries-for- climate-impacts
	The Guardian	Cop27 host accuses countries of making empty public pledges	Egypt has expressed frustration at leaders making positive statements that are abandoned in negotiations	Governments meeting for vital climate talks have been accused of making positive commitments in public but denying them later in the privacy of the negotiating rooms by the Eqyptian hosts of the summit.	Wael Aboulmagd, the Egyptian diplomat in charge of running the negotiations at the Cop27 UN climate summit, said: "Political statements and pledges are made in front of the cameras, but in the negotiating rooms it's back to the adversarial approach. These [publicly positive positions] will not be of value until translated into the negotiating rooms, and that has not been the case so far."	demonstration would be permitted in Sharm el-Sheikh, but that protesters would have to register and be accepted before joining the	Conflict frame	4 Nov 2022 https://www. theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 04/cop27-host-accuses- countries-of-making-empty- public-pledges
	The Guardian		cost of living crisis,the global picture is much	"We are getting more cash than we know what to do with," as one senior executive from BP	on international climate efforts for years, but ironically by cutting off gas supplies and sending prices spiralling, he's caused the	Christiana Figueres, the former UN climate chief who masterminded the Paris agreement, believes Cop27 can prove successful if countries seek honestly to address the glaring inequalities of the climate crisis that have become so apparent this year, and remember that this is an African Cop.	Human Interest frame and Economic Consequences frame	5 Nov 2022 https://www. theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 05/cop27-crucial-climate- talks-more-fragile-than- talks-more-fragile-than- talks-more-fragile-than- werty-f8-zbhts8L7_EqE HJ02giOJFID1yLfuFyyCcb G1U0umJqT0En- 16HkUYTp_pXo
	The Guardian	Cop27: Sunak says itis 'morally right'forUK to honour climate pledges	Prime minister tells summit Britain will honour commitments but makes no mention of reparations	Rishi Sunak has said it is "morally right" that Britain honours its climate change commitments in his speech at Cop27, but he made no mention of paying reparations after Boris Johnson said the country cannot afford to do so.	Ed Miliband, the shadow climate change and net zero secretary, said: "Rishi Sunak is a fossil fuel prime minister in a renewable age."	"People have drawn the conclusion that the whole project of net zero needs to be delayed, mothballed, and put on ice, and, for instance, we need to reopen coal-fired power stations and frack the hell out of the British countryside," Johnson said.	Morality frame	7 Nov 2022 https://www. theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 07/cop27-sunak-says-it-is- morally-right-for-uk-to- honour-climate-pledges
	The Guardian	EU reversal of stance on loss and damage turns tables on China at Cop27	China is responsible for more cumulative emissions than any country other than the US	Late on Thursday night in the Egyptian resort of Sharm el-Sheikh, the Cop27 UN climate talks seemed stuck in an irretrievable logjam. Rich and poor countries had reached deadlock, a "breakdown between north and south", according to the UN secretary general, António Guterres.	"The problem with the 1992 approach is that it divides the world in a way that is not the reality any more," said Eamon Ryan, Ireland's environment minister. "If you look at the historical emissions since the industrial revolution, there are lots of emerging economies [with a high proportion]. China and India would have significant responsibilities on that basis."	Timmermans said the EU's offer was not tactical, or intended as divisive, but made in good faith to forge a workable deal. "I'm thinking about my kids. We can't afford to have a failure here," he said. 'If our steps forward are not reciprocated by others, there will be a failure. I hope that can be avoided.	Attribution of Responsibility	18 Nov 2022 https://www.theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 18/eu-reversal-stance-loss- damage-china-cop27

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	The Guardian	UK should pay for	Exclusive: Funding from rich countries is critical issue at Cop27 and poll shows many think UK has duty to provide it	A significant majority of people in the UK think the country has a responsibility to pay for climate action in poorer and vulnerable countries, an opinion poll shows.	Damian Carrington is an environment editor at the Guardian, Omnisis is a member of the British Polling Council.	In all questions, younger people were markedly more in favour of climate action than older people. About 20-25% of those polled answered "don't know" to the questions. The poll questioned about 1,200 people on 11 November and is weighted to a nationally representative population.	Attribution of Responsibility and Morality frame	17 Nov 2022 https://www. theguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 17/uk-pay-climate-action- poor-countries-cop27-poll
	The Guardian	UK criticised for failing to pay \$300m in promised climate funds ahead of Cop27	sends 'strong negative signal' ahead of Egypt	sending a "strong negative signal"	Clare Shakya, director of the climate change group at the International Institute for Environment and Development Erika Lennon, represented the civil society organisations for developed countries at the GCF Global development is supported by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation	The UK has cut its overseas aid budget from 0.7% of GDP to 0.5%, with reports last weekend pointing to how a large proportion of the aid budget for poor countries is being spent inside the UK, much of it on housing refugees from Ukraine. The Foreign Office declined to comment on its climate finance commitments but is expected to update the GCF board on its payment schedule soon.	Economic Consequences frame	1 Nov 2022 https: //www.theguardian. com/global- development/2022/nov/01/u k-criticised-for-failing-to- pay-300m-in-promised- climate-funds-ahead-of- cop27
	The Guardian	World still 'on brink of climate catastrophe' after Cop27 deal	Experts say biggest economies must pledge more cuts to carbon emissions but hail agreement to set up loss and damage fund	The world still stands "on the brink of climate catastrophe" after the deal reached at the Cop27 UN climate summit on Sunday, and the biggest economies must make fresh commitments to cut greenhouse gas emissions, climate experts and campaigners have warned.	Mary Robinson, chair of the Elders Group of former world leaders, ex-president of Ireland and twice a UN climate envoy, said: "The world remains on the brink of climate catastrophe. Progress made on [cutting emissions] has been too slow. We are on the cusp of a clean energy world, but only if G20 leaders live up to their responsibilities, keep their word and strengthen their will. The onus is on them." Laurence Tubiana, one of the architects of the 2015 Paris climate agreement, now chief executive of the European Climate Foundation said, "The Egyptian presidency produced a text that clearly protects oil and gas petro-states and the fossil fuel industries."	In the end the responsibility will lie with everyone, as Meena Raman of Third World Network, an adviser to developing countries, points out. "Since the EU and Alok Sharma are disapointed that fossil fuel phase-out is not in the text, we would like them to take leadership and revise their NDCs (nationally determined contributions) and put into plans their fossil fuel phaseout urgently and stop expansion of fossil fuels including oil and gas. [It's] not enough to play to the gallery but act if they really want to save the planet and not hide behind 2050 net zero targets, which will bust the remaining carbon budget for 1.5C."		20 Nov 2022 https: //www.lheguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 20/world-still-on-brink-of- climate-catastrophe-after- cop27-deal
	The Guardian	Fear of backsliding on Glasgow pledges dominates Cop27	Tentative drafts are emerging but some countries appear to be seeking to water down commitments agreed last year	Fear of countries backsliding on their commitments to tackle the climate crisis dominated the Cop27 UN climate talks in Egypt on Tuesday, as the first tentative drafts started to emerge of key potential decisions.	Sweden's climate minister, Romina Pourmokhtari, queried the need for a new fund to direct money from rich to poor countries afflicted by climate disaster.	These attempts at watering down were "extremely worrying and unacceptable", said Friederike Roder at Global Citizen. "The \$100bn promise is left unmet for the second year in a row, but instead of pledging new money, the reference to striving to finally hit the target in 2023 is now completely gone," said Roder. She said: "While it's early days the first signs are far from promising. While efforts [described in the text] to increase transparency, to improve reporting and to agree on a common definition [of climate finance] are welcome, these cannot replace actual commitments. None of this excuses inaction – when will countries actually take responsibility?"	Economic Consequences frame	15 Nov 2022 https://www. toguardian. com/environment/2022/nov/ 15/fear-of-backsliding-on- glasgow-pledges- dominates-cop27
	The Guardian	Money talks: why climate finance at Cop27 is key to beating global heating	Funding urgently needed to cope with climate disasters – and to prevent distrust crashingUN negotiations	Money is likely to be a flashpoint at the UN Cop27 climate summit starting on Sunday in Egypt, where world leaders will attempt to tackle the climate crisis.	Madeleine Diouf Sarr, who will chair the Least Developed Countries group of 46 nations at Cop27, said: "We can no longer afford to have a Cop that is 'all talk'." "We cannot be good at rescuing banks but bad at saving countries," the Bridgetown Agenda, is being championed by Mia Mottley, the prime minister of Barbados	Huq is one of a handful of people in the world who have attended the UN's climate Cop every year since they began in 1995. He said: "I'm always optimistic because the UN climate summit, for all its faults, is the only place where we the vulnerable, poor, developing countries have a seat at the table and the opportunity to argue and convince the big countries.	Economic Consequences frame	7 Nov 2022 https://www. theguardian.com/global- development/2022/nov/07/ money-talks-climate- finance-cop27-global- heating-un
	The Guardian	Cop27 host Egypt warns UK not to backtrack from climate agenda	Unusual diplomatic intervention prompted by fears over Liz Truss's commitment to net zero	The Egyptian government, host of the next UN climate summit, has warned the UK against "backtracking from the global climate agenda", in a significant intervention prompted by fears over Liz Truss's commitment to net zero.		A spokesperson for the UK government said: "We have a proud record when it comes to Cop, [and] we are forging ahead with our plans for net zero. Fourty per cent of our power now comes from clean energy sources and we will continue to deliver on those promises."	Morality frame	3 Oct 2022 https://www. theguardian. com/environment/2022/oct/ 03/cop27-host-egypt- warns-uk-not-backtrack- climate-agenda

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	The Guardian	Rishi Sunak's	The prime minister's decision to shun the climate talks is a disgrace. Britain started this crisis; it should be helping end it	It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the Cop27 climate summit that is set to open in seven days in Sharm el-Sheikh, in Egypt. Soaring carbon emissions, set loose by humanity's unrestrained urge to burn fossil fuels, have brought the planet perilously close to achieving a 1.5C degree rise in global temperatures.	The nation's environment secretary, Thérèse Coffey, has also dismissed Cop27 as 'just a gathering of people in Egypt'	We should be clear. The UK cannot sideline the unfolding climate catastrophe on the grounds we have more important things to do. Britain began this whole grim story. We created the Industrial Revolution and were therefore the first to burn coal – and later on, oil and gas – in vast amounts to power our way to global domination in the 19th century. The first significant additions of man-made greenhouse gases to the atmosphere emanated from this country. For its leader to shun this responsibility is an embarrassment and a disgrace.	Attribution of Responsibility	30 Oct 2022 https: //www.theguardian. com/commentisfree/2022/o ct/30/observer-view-rishi- sunak-shameful-decision- not-to-attend-cop27
India	The Hindu	At COP27, move the needle on climate action	The climate summit, in Egypt, should focus on the economic benefits of decarbonisation; India should stop being a hesitant climate actor	India and other developing economies are justifiably worried about the damage to growth from COVID-19, Russia's war in Ukraine, and the global economy's downturn. But these troubles pale in comparison with the climate catastrophe already resulting from the current trajectory of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, whose effects hit developing economies and the poor hardest.	Vinod Thomas is a former senior Vice-President, World Bank, and Director General, Asian Development Bank.	India has historically been a hesitant climate actor, not unlike other big emitters. COP27, which will be held at Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt (November 6-18), is a chance for the country to strongly back environmentally sustainable development in its national interest.	Economic Consequences frame and Attribution of Responsibility	October 29, 2022 https: //www.thehindu. com/opinion/op-ed/at-cop27- move-the-needle-on- climate- action/article66066478.ece
	The Hindu	India will insist on action, clear framework at COP27	and technology transfer from developed countries,	India will insist on "action" and a clear pathway that developed countries must follow to deliver long-promised finance to developing countries for adapting to climate change threats, Bhupender Yadav, Minister for Environment, Forests and Climate Change, said on Thursday, ahead of the 27th edition of the United Nations Conference of Parties (COP) in Sharm-El-Shaikh, Egypt that begins on November 7.		There will be an India pavilion in Sharm-El- Sheikh themed on LIFE (Lifestyle for Environment), a theme frequently articulated by Mr. Modi. The pavilion will showcase India's leadership and achievements on climate action and will have at least 50 organisations hosting side events, the Environment Ministry said in a statement.	Attribution of Responsibility	November 03, 2022 https://www.thehindu. com/sci-tech/energy-and- environment/india-will- insist-on-action-clear- framework-at- cop27/article66091908. ece#-:text=India%20will% 20insist%20on%202%E2% 80%9Caction.edition% 20of%20the%20United% 20Nations
	The Hindu	The real issue at COP27 is energy equity	global South must put ne	In a starkly unequal world, what does the urgency of climate action imply? This has been a central question in the climate change the gotiations since the Rio Earth Summit the J92) and will also be at the root of contestations at the upcoming 27th Conference of Parties (COP27, beginning November 6, in Egypt) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).	Tejal Kanitkar is Associate Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru. Ankita Ranjan is a research scholar, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru	A developing country leadership at COP27 can ensure effective discussions, based on equity and common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, on the relative responsibilities and sharing of mitigation and adaptation burdens while coping with loss and damage.	Attribution of Responsibility	05/11/2022 https://www. thehindu.com/opinion/op- ed/the-real-issue-at-cop27- is-energy- equity/article66097006.ece
	The Hindu	Climate finance scarce; early warning systems key to saving lives, livelihoods: Bhupender Yadav at COP27	Union Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav stressed that the global pace of climate mitigation is not enough to contain the rate of climate change	With climate finance still scarce, climate adaptation in the form of early warning dissemination is key to safeguarding lives and livelihoods from cascading natural hazards causing substantial losses around the world, Union Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav said at the U.N. Climate Conference (COP27) in Egypt on November 7.		The U.N. climate summit this year is being held in the shadow of the Russian aggression in Ukraine and the related energy crisis, which has strained the capabilities of countries to urgently tackle climate change.	Economic Consequences frame	07/11/2022 https: //www.thehindu. com/news/national/climate- finance-scarce-early- warning-systems-key-to- saving-lives-livelihoods- bhupender-yadax-at- cop27/article66108752.ece
	The Hindu	COP27: India thwarts attempt to club it with historical polluters	In the run-up to COP27, India had said the MWP cannot be allowed to "change the goal posts" set by the Paris Agreement	Supported by other developing countries, India blocked an attempt by rich nations to focus on all top 20 emitters of carbon dioxide during discussions on the 'Mitigation Work Programme' at the ongoing U.N. climate summit in Egypt, sources said on Monday.	Press Trust of India	However, at 2.4 tCO2e (tonne carbon dioxide equivalent), India's per capita greenhouse gas emissions are far below the world average of 6.3 tCO2e, according to a report released by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) last month. Per capita emissions in the U.S. (14 tCO2e) are far above the global average, followed by Russia (13 tCO2e), China (9.7 tCO2e), Brazil and Indonesia (around 7.5 tCO2e each), and the European Union (7.2 tCO2e).	Conflict frame	14/11/2022 https: //www.thehindu. com/news/national/cop27- india-thwarts-attempt-to- club-it-with-historical- polluters/article66134578. ece

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	The Hindu		Solar Alliance as	India is undertaking an arduous effort to fight climate change despite accounting for less than four per cent of the world's cumulative emissions so far, Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav said on Tuesday	"India, home to 1.3 billion people, is undertaking this arduous effort despite the reality that our contribution to the world's cumulative emissions so far is less than 4 per cent and our annual per capita emissions are about one-third of the global average," he said	Mr. Yadav underscored that Mission LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment), launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on October 20 in the presence of UN Secretary General Antonio duterres, is at the heart of India's vision of a safe planet. The mission is a propeople and pro-planet effort that seeks to shift the world from mindless and wasteful consumption to mindful and deliberate utilisation of natural resources.	Attribution of Responsibility	15/11/2022 https: //www.thehindu. com/news/national/india- fighting-climate-change- despite-accounting-for-less- than-4-of-toal-emissions- environment- minister/article66140537. ecce
	The Hindu	COP27 India, China, Brazil, South Africa oppose 'carbon border tax'	The European Union has proposed a policy to tax products such as cement and steel, that are extremely carbon intensive, with effect from 2026	With the 27 edition of the Conference of Parties (COP) in Sharm EI Sheikh nearing its final stages and efforts being ramped up to arrive at a conclusive agreement, a consortium of countries that includes India has jointly stated that carbon border taxes, that could result in market distortion and aggravate the trust deficit amongst parties, must be avoided.	"Unilateral measures and discriminatory practices, such as carbon border taxes, that could result in market distortion and aggravate the trust deficit amongst Parties [signatory countries to the United Nations climate agreements], must be avoided. BASIC countries call for a united solidarity response by developing countries to any unfair shifting of responsibilities from developed to developing countries."	They said that adaptation was still not being accorded the balanced and substantive attention they deserved in the U.N. climate framework process, despite the opportunities and linkages with "loss and damage." The latter refers to a demand by developing countries to have an institutional system to finance countries affected by climate change for the environmental damage that has already occurred.	Conflict frame	November 16, 2022 https://www.thethendu. com/sci-tech/energy-and- environment/cop27-india- china-brazil-south-africa- oppose-carbon-border- tax/article66144968.ece#:~: text=With%20the% 2027th%20edition, distortion%20and% 20aggravate%20the% 20aggravate%20the%
	The Hindu	COP27 draft text omits India's proposal of phasing down all fossil fuels	Poor and developing countries have demanded that the COP27 concludes with a decision to launch a fund to address loss and damage — a term used for irreparable destruction caused by climate change-fuelled disasters.	The United Nations published a first draft of the climate deal on Thursday and it doesn't mention a phase down of all fossil fuels, a proposal that was put forward by India and supported by the European Union and many other countries.	EU Vice President Frans Timmermans told the media on Tuesday that the bloc would support India's proposal "fi t comes on top of what we already agreed in Glasgow".	Citing the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Indian negotiators had told the Egyptian COP27 presidency that meeting the long- term goal of the Paris Agreement "requires phase down of all fossil fuels".	Economic Consequences frame	17/11/2022 https: //www.thehindu. com/news/international/cop 27-draft-text-omits-indias- proposal-of-phasing-down- all-fossil- fuels/article66148408.ece
	The Hindu	Attempts being made to forget rich nations' historical contribution: India at COP27	The progress on key issues at the ongoing UN climate summit has not been good due to the divergence of views on some fundamental approaches to climate issues,' says Bhupender Yadav.	Rich nations are making a push to include language such as "major emitters" and "top emitters" in the cover text of the ongoing UN climate summit in Egypt which is not acceptable to India, a member of the Indian delegation said.	The Environment Minister said India cannot support creation of new categories, "such as major emitters, top emitters etc". and assignment of enhanced responsibilities based on such categories that have no basis in the convention and the Paris Agreement. He said there is a "distinct attempt to forget or overlook" the principles of equity and Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC).	India has also sought clarity on the definition of climate finance ¬ the absence of which, experts say, allows developed countries to greenwash their finances and pass off loans as climate-related aid.	Conflict frame	17/11/2022 https://www.thehindu. com/news/national/attempt s-being-made-to-forget- rich-nations-historical- contribution-india-at- cop27/article66147588.ece
	The Hindu	COP27: A year on from the Glasgow climate pact, the world is burning more fossil fuels than ever	The ongoing energy crisis have made it more difficult to meet the pact's goals of ending the dominance of fossil fuels.	The burning of fossil fuels caused 86% of all CO ₂ emissions during the past ten years. Despite being the primary culprits of global heating, coal, oil and gas were barely mentioned in the official texts of previous UN climate change summits.		Negotiations at COP27 should be held with the full understanding that fossil fuels are not exiting the global energy mix. Developed countries must take a leading role in phasing them out to allowing developing countries to adapt a slower pace. This is the key to a fair transition away from the fuels driving climate breakdown.	Attribution of Responsibility	05/11/2022 https: //www.thehindu.com/sci- tech/energy-and- environment/a-year-from- the-glasgow-climate-pact- more-fossi-fuels-is-being- burnt/article66099205.ece
	The Hindu	India's long-term strategy to transition to a 'low emissions' pathway involves more nuclear power, more ethanol	While 195-member countries, signatories to the UN climate agreements, were obliged to submit the long-term document by 2022, only 57 — to which India is the latest addition — have done so	India on November 14, 2022 announced its long-term strategy to transition to a "low emissions" pathway at the United Nations Conference of Parties (COP) ongoing in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, which is premised on expanding its nuclear power capacity by at least three-fold in the next decade, apart from becoming an international hub for producing green hydrogen and increasing the proportion of ethanol in petrol.	"The LT-LEDS (Long Term-Low Emission Development Strategy) has been prepared in the framework of India's right to an equitable and fair share of the global carbon budget," Mr. Yadav said.	"India's long-term strategy (LTS) follows up on the net zero pledge. It clearly outlines key interventions across sectors that are going to be the focus of India's efforts. Importantly, the document is an outcome of intensive stakeholder discussions. However, it could have included carbon pricing through a domestic emissions trading scheme as a key element of India's strategy, given that the government has already announced the creation of the same in India," Vaibhav Chaturvedi, fellow, Council for Energy, Environment and Water, said in a statement.	Attribution of Responsibility	November 14, 2022 https://www.thehindu. com/sci-tech/energy-and- environment/indias-long- term-strategy-to-transition- to-a-low-emissions- pathway-involves-more- nuclear-power-more- entanoi-for-the-clean- energy- transformation/article66136 754.ece

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	The Hindu	COP27 India opposes draft text on agriculture	India made it clear that the world is facing a climate crisis today because of the excessive historic cumulative emissions by the developed nations	India has opposed the developed world's efforts to extend the scope of mitigation to agriculture at the ongoing U.N. climate summit in Egypt, saying rich nations do not want to change their lifestyles to reduce emissions and are "searching for cheaper solutions abroad", sources said on Thursday.		"By seeking to extend the scope of mitigation to agriculture, the developed countries are wanting the world agriculture, lands and seascapes to become a site of mitigation for their profligate and excessive emissions," India said.	Conflict frame	November 18, 2022 https://www.thehindu. com/sci-tech/energy-and- environment/climate- summit-india-flags- concerns-over-rich-nations- efforts-to-extend-mitigation- to- agriculture/article66150635. ece
	The Hindu	COP27 No climate crisis would exist if world's per capita emissions were at India's level: Bhupender Yadav	All CO2 emissions, whenever they take place, contribute equally to warming, Bhupender Yadav said	There would be no climate crisis if emissions of the entire world were at the same per capita level as India, Union Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav said at the ongoing U.N. climate summit in Egypt on Thursday.		India, with over 7,500 km of coastline and more than 1,000 islands in the surrounding seas, and a large coastal population dependent on the sea for livelihood, is also a highly vulnerable nation on the global scale. India recorded 1,058 climatic disasters between 1995 and 2020, Mr. Yadav said.	Attribution of Responsibility	November 18, 2022 https://www.thehindu. com/sci-teck/energy-and- environment/cop27-no- climate-crisis-would-exist-if- worlds-per-capita- emissions-were-at-indias- level-bhupender- vadav/article66150978.ece
	The Hindu	COP27 and the ambiguity about responsibility	With the new Loss and Damage fund, the line between victim and perpetrator has been blurred	This year, at COP27 in Egypt, a dizzying array of topics was on the table for discussion — from the more detailed rules to govern carbon markets.	Following the recommendation of the G77+China, the text finally frames L and D as post-event "rehabilitation, recovery, and reconstruction". But it excludes mention of historic responsibility and the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR).	With the new L and D fund, the line between victim and perpetrator has been blurred. But given that all the practical mechanisms of the fund are yet to be decided, it will be interesting to see if developing countries can, in future negotiations, redraw the lines of responsibility, and perhaps even liability	Attribution of Responsibility	November 26, 2022 https://www.thefinidu. com/opinion/lead/cop27- and-the-ambiguity-about- responsibility/article661847 47.ece
	The Hindu	Loss and Damage decisions, pitfalls and promises	The compensation aspect involves a legal hurdle of establishing causal relations between the injurer and the victim since the adverse effects of climate change occur substantially later than greenhouse gas emissions causing them	A major takeaway from COP27 in Egypt, as far as loss and damage (Land D) is concerned, is the decision relating to new funding arrangements focusing on L and D — those particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change.		The AOSIS favours a dedicated L and D response fund which would help disburse funding from different propositions, including the Global Shield, and avoid a piecemeal approach. The other probable avenues to address L and D are litigation, but the issues of causation, attribution and standing appear to be potential obstacles, at the domestic and international levels.	Economic Consequences frame	November 29, 2022 https://www.thehindu. com/opinion/op-ed/loss- and-damage-decisions- pitfalls-and- promises/article66196427. ece
	The Hindu	on higher		Developing countries require substantive enhancement in climate finance from the floor of \$100 billion per year to meet their ambitious goals and rich countries need to lead the mobilisation of resources, India has stressed at the ongoing UN climate summit COP27.	"The ambitious goal set down by the developing countries requires substantive enhancement in climate finance from the floor of \$100 billion per year. The mobilisation of the resource needs to be led by the developed countries and should be long- term, concessional, and climate-specific with equitable allocation between adaptation and mitigation projects," the Indian delegation said during the meeting.	India also seeks clarity on the definition of climate finance—the absence of which allows developed countries to greenwash their finances and pass off loans as climaterelated aid	Economic Consequences frame	November 10, 2022 https://www.thehindu. com/sci-tech/energy-and- environmeri/cop27-india- insists-on-new-global- climate-finance-target-by- 2024/article6119784.ece
India	The Times of India	COP27: Countries reach historic decision on loss and damage but fail to address cause of global warming		Showing remarkable political will, over 195 countries on Sunday agreed at the 27th session of the UN climate talks (COP27) in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt to set up a loss and damage fund for supporting poor vulnerable countries that are victims of extreme weather events worsened by historical cumulative emissions of rich nations.	LiFE (lifestyle for environment) and the world today moved in that direction by including it in the implementation plan to		Economic Consequences frame	Nov 21, 2022 https: //timesofindia.indiatimes. com/home/environment/the -good-earth/cop27- countries-reach-historic- decision-on-loss-and- damage-but-fail-to-address- cause-of-global- warming/articleshow/95645 153.cms
	The Times of India	COP27: BASIC nations call out double standards of rich countries, send strong political message		Calling out double standards of rich nations, a group of four countries under BASIC - Brazil, South Africa, India and China - at UN climate talks (COP27) has said there has also been a significant increase in the consumption and production of fossil fuels in the past year by developed countries, even as they continue to press developing countries to move away from the same resources.		They also said that the developed countries must honour their Pre-2020 commitments regarding mitigation, adaptation and means of implementation and support provided, without transferring any burden and responsibility to developing countries. "Developed countries are required to take immediate actions to close the Pre-2020 implementation gaps," they said.	Conflict frame	Nov 16, 2022 https://timesofindia. indiatimes. com/india/cop27-basic- nations-call-out-double- standards-of-rich-countries- send-strong-political- message/articleshow/9555 6896.cms

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	The Times of India	COP27 huddle continues: Draft decision text released, carrying India's two points which were missed earlier		The draft decision text of the 27th session of the UN climate talks (COP27), released on Saturday, carried both of the key points of India in the mitigation clause which could not find place in Friday's initial draft.		There are multiple references to the use of existing funds Seeks to expand sources of funding, including "innovative sources" Pushes for financial reform discussions at IMF and World Bank next year	Attribution of Responsibility	Nov 19, 2022 https: //timesofindia.indiatimes. com/india/cop27-huddle- continues-draft-decision- text-released-carrying- indias-two-points-which- were-missed- earlier/articleshow/9562958 3.cms
	The Times of India	Attempts being made to forget rich nations' historical contribution: India at COP27		Rich nations are making a push to include language such as "major emitters and "top emitters" in the cover text of the ongoing UN climate summit in Egypt which is not acceptable to India, a member of the Indian delegation said.	"Green premiums for several new technologies remain high and we need the cover decision to recognise the means of implementation support gaps covering technology as well as finance," the environment minister said.	India has also sought clarity on the definition of climate finance – the absence of which, experts say, allows developed countries to greenwash their finances and pass off loans as climate-related aid.	Conflict frame	Nov 17, 2022 <u>https:</u> //timesofindia.indiatimes. com/india/attempts-being- made-to-forget-rich- nations-historical- contribution-india-at- cop27/articleshow/9557200 0.cms
	The Times of India	Don't make coal lone villain, India asserts at climate meet		Amid growing demand to end use of coal, India here at the UN climate talks (COP27) on Saturday made a strong point saying making any one fuel the villain is not right as natural gas and oil also lead to emissions.	India is learnt to have told the participants that "selective singling out of sources of emissions, for either labelling them more harmful, or labelling them 'green and sustainable' even when they are sources of greenhouse gases, has no basis in the best available science"	Underlining the gap, India suggested that the basic principles of common but differentiated responsibilities, equity, and nationally determined nature of climate commitments under the Paris Agreement need to be strongly emphasised in the cover decision text of the COP27 which would enter the crucial phase of negotiation next week with the beginning of the high- level segment, involving ministers including India environment minister Bhupender Yadav.	Attribution of Responsibility	Nov 13, 2022 https://timescofindia_ indiatimes.com/india/dont- make-coal-lone-villain- india-asserts-at-climate- meet/articleshow/95479703 .cms
		India objects to focus on top current emitters, not historical polluters		At the COP27 UN climate summit, developing countries lead by India pushed back against the attempt of rich nations to introduce its terms in the mitigation work programme (MWP). India is learnt to have objected to the focus on all top 20 current emitters instead of just the historical polluters.	A developing country negotiator said these countries supported India while vehemently opposing the proposal of developed countries, saying the "MWP should not lead to reopening the Paris Agreement" which clearly mentions that climate action of countries has to be nationally determined based on their circumstances.	As far as cumulative emissions since 1750 go, the US has contributed around 25% of the total followed by EU-27 (roughly 18%), China (nearly 14%) and Russia (nearly 7%). India's share in comparison is just around 4% of the total.	Conflict frame	Nov 14, 2022 https://timesofindia. indiatimes.com/india/india- objects-to-focus-on-top- current-emitters-not- historical- polluters/articleshow/95496 741.cms
	The Times of India	Developing countries need clarity on promised climate finance: UN env chief		"Developing countries need clarity from the developed world on when the promised climate finance will appear on the table. The promise was \$100 billion per year but we are closer to about \$83 million only," said Inger Andersen, who is the under-secretary general of the United Nations as well as the executive director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), in an exclusive chat with TOI.	"Meanwhile, climate change has moved from a future threat to an existential one that has reached our homes. So, at COP27 we must see ambitious and aggressive acceleration so that we close the gaps on reducing emissions, financing climate and resilience efforts, and tackling loss and damage," said Inger Andersen	Last week, the UN secretary-general António Guterres's high-level expert group provided recommendations to upgrade the credibility and accountability of net zero pledges by non-state entities. "We must do a far better job of holding ourselves and each other to account for the commitments we are making. Words are easy, but real actions and credibility matter greatly," said Andersen.	Attribution of Responsibility	Nov 13, 2022 https://timesofindia. indiatimes. com/city/nagpur/developin -countries-need-clarity-on- promised-climate-finance- un-env- chief/articleshow/95479624 .cms
		Journalists from Global South facing difficulties in having access to experts, Global South climate database launched		Ahead of the upcoming Climate Change conference, COP 27, the Carbon Brief, a website specialising in Science and policy of Climate Change and Oxford climate journalism network (OCJN), a programme at the Reuters institute for study of journalism (RISJ) at University of Oxford has prepared a database, Global South climate database		It was found that journalists have to spend hours in making contacts experts from own regions though these are available from developed countries, said Lagipoiva Jackson from the Pacific. It was found that many a time journos have to depend on Westernised system or culture in covering climate change, said Pakistan based journalist Waqas Ejaz.	Human interest frame	Nov 2, 2022 https://timesofindia. indiatimes. confindia/journalists-from- global-south-facing- difficulties-in-having- access-to-experts-global- south-climate-database- launched/articleshow/9524 4282.cms

Country	News media	Headline	Subheadings	Lead	Quote/Source Selection	Concluding statement	Framing	Reference
	The Times of India	Action plan for universal early warning coverage launched at COP27, India joins the move		A day after the World Meteorological Organisation flagged how the climate change-induced extreme weather events caused severe devastation in many countries this year, the UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres on Monday unveiled an action plan here at COP27 to achieve "early warnings for all" in the next five years	Speaking about India's efforts in this direction to have a robust early warning system, Yadav said the country has been working on strengthening end-to-end early warning systems for all hydro-meteorological hazards.	Yadav informed the gathering that India has spearheaded the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure (CDRI) which is working towards developing applications of climate forecast and early warning for reducing infrastructure losses and disruption in basic services.	Economic Consequences frame	Nov 7, 2022 https://timesofindia. indiatimes.com/india/action- plan-for-universal-early- warning-coverage-launched at-cop27-india-joins-the- move/articleshow/9536348 <u>5.cms</u> Nov 21, 2022 https:
	The Times of India	COP27: One big breakthrough but ultimately an inadequate response to the climate crisis		For 30 years, developing nations have fought to establish an international fund to pay for the "loss and damage" they suffer as a result of climate change. As the COP27 climate summit in Egypt wrapped up over the weekend, they finally succeeded.		So if you're despairing at the limited progress at COP27, remember this: nations and communities determined to wean themselves off fossil fuels will do more to blunt the power of the sector than most international agreements could realistically hope to achieve.	Attribution of Responsibility	//timesofindia.indiatimes. com/home/environment/cop 27-one-big-breakthrough- but-ultimately-an- inadequate-response-to- the-climate- crisis/articleshow/95654575 .cms
		COP27: India says no to mandatory contribution to loss and damage finance, EU wants China to pay		Indian negotiators on Wednesday termed the demand	"I think we should take the situation of today. China is one of the biggest economies on the planet with a lot of financial strength. Why should they not be made co-responsible for funding?In 992, there was a reasoning behind this which I could follow. But no longer in 2022," said the climate policy chief Frans Timmermans while responding to a question on China and India.	On the question of decoupling India and China on the issue as there must be perhaps some differences among G77 (developing countries) group, Indian officials claimed that all the countries of G77 are, in fact, together on 'loss and damage' and other issues, and it was also well reflected in the BASIC - group of Brazil, South Africa, India and China - meeting on Tuesday. "This thread of unity is due to the common circumstances that all these countries face a as a consequence of the excessive emissions of developed countries. Various false narratives are floated by those who have opposed this unity consistently.	Conflict frame	Nov 16, 2022 https://timesofindia. indiatimes. com/india/cop27-india- says-no-to-mandatory- contribution-to-loss-and- damage-finance-eu-wants- china-to- pay/articleshow/95564831. cms