Climate Change Journalism in Bangladesh

Professional Norms and Attention in Newspaper Coverage of Climate Change

Mofizur Rhaman

Thesis for the Degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
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ABSTRACT

Generally, journalistic issue attention is shaped by the importance of the issue to the target audience and professional norms attached to the issue are supplied by journalists' understanding of the issue derived from social context and professional culture. However, social, political, cultural and institutional factors also influence the level of media attention of a certain issue. This thesis examines the climate change issue attention by looking at the content in the coverage of two mainstream Bangladeshi newspapers *The Prothom Alo* and *The Daily Star* and their articles published during global climate summits, i.e. conferences of parties (COPs) held in 2007 in Bali, 2009 in Copenhagen, 2011 in Durban and 2013 in Warsaw. More specifically, this thesis explores how Bangladeshi newspaper journalism on climate change takes shape during the global climate negotiations at the summits. Furthermore, journalistic domestication of the issue and negotiation of journalistic norms and values are analyzed in connection to the COP coverage with particular focus on the content of climate justice, advocacy for ensuring climate justice and development journalism. In doing so, this thesis discusses how two important newspapers in Bangladesh exercise climate change journalism and how they relate to the professional norms.

The exploration of these issues have been helped by triangulation of research methods such as content analysis, framing analysis, close reading and textual analysis, in-depth interviews and field observation while the analyses were further developed by the use of issue attention cycle, climate justice, advocacy and development journalism as theoretical concepts.

The study finds that Bangladeshi newspapers coverage fluctuates and hence follow Downs' (1972) issue attention cycle. It demonstrates how climate change coverage during the COPs was influenced by the other competing news issues in Bangladesh.

My study of the framing of climate justice over the period, finds that Bangladeshi newspapers pursue climate justice consistently through their coverage, but arguably debated whether to follow the principles of historical responsibility. Although climate justice operates at different levels and in several layers, its framing in Bangladeshi newspapers is limited in typology and seemed mainly to reflect on compensatory and distributive justice. Framing of procedural and corrective justice were less salient. Climate justice with more specific focus, such as the gap between rich and poor within the country and climate justice for other species is hardly evident in the framing.

With regard to the practice of development journalism, the study finds that the coverage contained the angles of pro-process, pro-participation and pro-government dimensions of development. Bangladeshi

newspapers seem more interested about summit reporting of the hard facts and aspects rather than connecting the dots between summits and development issues, and thereby end up covering more events than processes.

The study of norms, including advocacy, also finds that newspapers in Bangladesh tend to advocate for climate justice through their coverage. Furthermore, newspapers extend their cooperation for advocacy of climate justice by promoting and supporting movements organized by civil society and grass roots organizations. The use of advocacy journalism in Bangladeshi newspapers about climate change issues goes beyond the existing models and offers an extension to present theorizing integrating advocacy done by journalists, civil societies and governments for ensuring climate justice.

A study of how future is imagined in Bangladeshi climate change coverage in contrast with Finnish newspapers finds that the newspapers in Bangladesh and Finland tend to situate voices into different 'time-zones' in their coverage with respect to the future orientation of climate change. In the coverage of the respective countries, Bangladesh is reflected as fighting for its future while Finland is portrayed as sympathetic spectator as bystander. The most common way of approaching futures in both countries is through references to emission reduction targets discussed in the negotiations. Climate funding was sometimes used as the currency in describing futures. This type of funding narrative was more prominent in the Bangladeshi newspaper coverage but appeared sporadically in the Finnish coverage as well. The role of Bangladesh in the negotiations, the difference between 'rich' and 'climate-hit' countries, and the possible consequences of climate change was all highlighted in Bangladeshi newspapers connecting them with present day realities as if for Bangladesh future is *now* while the Finnish coverage reflected a gradualist approach to climate change.

The thesis concludes that climate change has contributed to domestication of journalistic norms that have substantially underlined advocacy and development journalism as existing genres in Bangladeshi journalistic professional practice.

Key words: Conference of Parties, Climate Negotiation, Climate Justice, Issue Attention Cycle, Journalistic Norms, Development Journalism, Advocacy Journalism

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADP	Ad- hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFP	Agence France Presse
AILAC	Association of Independent Latin American and Caribbean States
AL	Awami League
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
AP	Associated Press
AR	Assessment Report
AWG_LCA	Ad-hoc Working Group on Long Term Cooperative Action under Convention
BAP	Bali Action Plan
BASIC	Brazil, South Africa, India and China
BCCSAP	Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan
BCCTF	Bangladesh Climate Change Trust fund
BCCRF	Bangladesh Climate Change Resilient Fund
BD	Bangladesh
BFUJ	Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist party
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
BSS	Bangladesh Sangbad Sangtha
CBA	Collective Bargaining Association
CBDR	Common but Differentiated Responsibilities
CBDR & RC	Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CERs	Certified Emission Reductions
CGE	Consultative Group of Experts
CMP	Conference of the Parties serving as the Meeting of the Parties of the Kyoto Protocol
COP	Conference of the Parties
COCE	Conference on Communication and Environment
CTI	Climate Risk Index

CTC	Climate Technology Centre
CTCN	Climate Technology Centre and Network
DFP	Department of Films and Publications
DJ	Development Journalism
DRU	Dhaka Reporters Union
DS	Daily Star
DUJ	Dhaka Union of Journalists
EITs	Economies in Transitions
EU	European Union
FI	Finland
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
HSBC	Hong Kong Shanghai Banking Corporation
HS	Helsinki Sanomat
IECA	International Environmental Communication Association
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
INC/FCCC	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the Formulation of a Framework Convention on Climate Change
INDCs	Intended Nationally Determined Contributions
INGOs	International Non-governmental Organizations
IPI	International Press Institute
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPRs	Intellectual Property Rights
IS	Ilta-Sanomat
IUCN	International Union of Conservation of Nature
JI	Joint Implementation
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LEG LDC	Expert Group
LMDCs	Like Minded Developing Countries
LTF	Long-Term Finance
LULUCF	Land use, Land-use change, and Forestry

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forest
MVCs	Most Vulnerable Countries
NAPs	National Adaptation Plans
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PA	Prothom Alo
PFA	Press Foundation Asia
PPCR	Pilot Project for Climate Resilience
PM	Prime Minister
QELRCs	Quantified Emissions Limitation or Reduction Commitments
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation in developing countries, including conservation
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SB	Subsidiary Body
SBI	Subsidiary Body for Implementation
SBSTA	Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice
SCF	Standing Committee on Finance
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SUPRO	Sushasoner Jonny Procharavizan (Campaigning for Good Governance)
TEC	Technology Executive Committee
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
UNB	United News of Bangladesh
UK	United Kingdom
UNEP	United Nations Environment programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WG	Working Group
WMO	World Metrological Organization

PREFACE

This is an article based thesis to fulfil the partial requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at the department of Information Science and Media Studies under the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Bergen University, Norway. The faculty guidelines for submitting an article based thesis requires 3 - 4 published articles in addition to the summary that connects summary and articles and makes the thesis a logical whole.

This thesis consists of five articles where four (1 – 4 articles) are single authored and the fifth article is jointly authored. Two of these articles have already been published in international journals and another two have been published in a scientific anthology. The remaining article has been accepted for publication and is now due to be published in the Journal of Applied Journalism and Media Studies.

The summary part of the thesis consists of five chapters. With outlining the context of the thesis, the summary presents a discussion of the relevant theoretical concepts and summarizes previous works done in the field as well as reflects on the empirical findings of the articles. And thus this body of works fulfils the requirements of the thesis to be considered for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PART 1
SUMMARY

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objective of the Thesis

This thesis investigates the climate change journalism in Bangladesh during a period of global climate summits, i.e. conferences of parties (COPs) held in 2007, 2009, 2011 and 2013. More specifically it explores how global climate negotiations at the summits influence local journalism and coverage of climate change consequences. I also analyze the domestic journalism related to the issue and the negotiation of journalistic norms and values in connection to the COP coverage.

1.2 Bangladesh as a Case: Vulnerability, Politics and Initiatives

Bangladesh is a developing country in South Asia with 160 million people (estimated 2011) with a land mass of 147,570 square kilometers. When the British colonial rulers left the Indian sub-continent in 1947, the present Bangladesh was then named East Pakistan and had been created as part of Pakistan, according to the two-nation theory[1] and thus become under Pakistani occupation between 1947 and 1971, for twenty-four years. Pakistani rulers left no stone unturned to impose Urdu as the state language of Pakistan, despite the fact that Bengali speakers composed the majority of Pakistan's population; from the Bengali perspective, the government conducted a regime of discrimination and deprivation. Eventually however, Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation fighting a freedom war for nine months against Pakistani military forces. Bangladesh based itself on secular Bengali cultural features (Schelden 2009). It encountered many obstacles since the emergence in the process of nation

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[1] The Indian subcontinent was divided into two entities, India and Pakistan, by British rulers in 1947, based on a two- nation theory that advocates for separate country for Hindus and Muslims in the line of their religious identity and since Purbo Bangla (East Bengal), the current Bangladesh, was the home land of the majority of Bengali Muslims, it was subsumed within the new Pakistan state.

building. The founding father of the nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was killed in 1975, and democracy was overthrown. In subsequent decades, military rulers have, during certain intervals, run the country and thus rehabilitated the anti-state forces in politics. The country's growth and wellbeing have been jeopardized by bouts of politics of killings, democratic struggle, misrule, corruption and religious extremism. Despite all the limitations, the human development indicators have been rising consistently. However, with many challenges Bangladesh is particularly vulnerable to global warming and suffers from extreme climate change consequences. The International Panel for Climate Change (IPCC), The German climate index and the international community recognize that Bangladesh is one of the most climate vulnerable countries in the world. The UNDP (2004) also identified "Bangladesh to be the most vulnerable […] to tropical cyclones and the sixth most vulnerable country to flood" (UNDP 2004 as cited in MoEF 2008: 4) which resulted from climate change.

> Millions of people are already suffering from this; over the last ten years Bangladesh has been ravaged by floods of catastrophic proportion; heavy downpours over short spells have resulted in landslides; cold spells claim human and animal lives as well as damaging crops. Droughts often affect even coastal districts. Extreme weather keeps the coastal zones risky for fishing which is the principal means of livelihood (Sultana and Shaheen 2011: 223).

Hydro-geological and socio- economic factors make Bangladesh high in the list of most affected countries. Two–thirds of the country is composed of territory less than five meters above sea level (BCCSAP 2008). It has a vast coastal belt which is being flooded by saline water almost every year and these coastal lands appear almost useless for agricultural production. These are affected in different ways: on the one hand, crop production is reduced. "Overall agricultural GDP is projected to be 3.1% lower each year as a result of climate change" (IUCN 2011: 14) and thus makes the country vulnerable in terms of the population's food security. Many people have no access to safe drinking water due to inundation by saline water. Moreover, this salinity is a big threat to biodiversity. A lot of species are disappearing every year. "In recent years, sea level rise, frequent tidal surges, extreme weather events seem to be barriers to their (coastal people) occupations like fishing, sea (conch) shell business,

farming, driving, and attending to tourist ships" (Sultana and Shaheen 2011: 224; also see Roy, Hanlon and Hulme 2016). If the sea level rises by one meter by 2050 as is forecasted by the UN IPCC reports, then almost 30 million people will become climate refugees in Bangladesh and 17.5% of the country's vast coastal area and flood plain zone will be inundated (ibid. 214). These people will lose their homesteads and livelihoods will not have food or safe drinking water and consequently will be prone to different diseases. The only alternative for them is to migrate to the already overcrowded cities and, through overpopulation, endanger the city life too. These vulnerabilities are caused by factors that include:

(a) its geographical location in South Asia; (b) its flood deltaic topography with very low elevation; (c) its extreme climate variability that is governed by monsoons and which results in acute water distribution over space and time; (d) its high population density and poverty incidence; and its majority of population being dependent on crop agriculture which is highly influenced by climate variability and change (Ahmed and Haque 2002 as cited in Akhter 2013: 38).

However, Roy et al. (2016) state that "For a small country, Bangladesh's soils, geography, and geological history are very complex", the factors mentioned above are very simplified version of it. Therefore, climate change may push Bangladesh into a severe crisis within a couple of decades if proper actions are not taken into consideration by the national and international stakeholders active in the areas of climate mitigation and climate justice. Bangladesh governments argue repeatedly for a compensation package from polluter countries. Government demands financial adaptation based on the polluters paying by way of addressing climate justice at the international level since, as the government argues, climate change has been largely caused by Western nations. On the other hand, transfer of appropriate technology and knowledge is necessary for lowering the carbon emission and introducing a green economy in all areas for climate change mitigation.

In spite of these scenarios, the climate change issue is not much evident, or regularly debated in the political arena (Krovel et al. 2012). The general public talks about the issues resulting

from climate change, yet they are not aware of its technicalities and adverse impacts. It is neither taken as an issue of internal politics by the political parties nor by the business community which tends to deny the fact of climate changes. Civil societies and rights based institutions show occasional sensitivity to the issue of climate change and try to build public demands for climate justice agreeing on its anthropogenic causes and potential solutions. However, climate change does become politically important when it becomes as a tool for bargaining and negotiation with the developed countries, or at the international summits and meetings where climate change mitigation and compensation are at stake. Therefore, irrespective of party politics, a national consensus has been reached on the anthropogenic contribution to climate change and its adverse impact to Bangladesh. Haq states that "Fortunately, when it comes to tackling climate change, there is hardly any difference between the major political parties on the importance of tackling it successfully" (Haq 2016: 8).

However, at the global level, climate politics is divided by the recognition of parties to the Kyoto Protocol at COP 3 under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC). They are Annex I plus EITs, Annex II, Non-annex I Parties and LDCs. All of them have pledged commitment to the reduction of emissions as well as requirements for reporting. However, politics of difference increased among the parties concerning differential obligations and exemptions. For Annex 1 countries (industrialized and members of OECD in 1992), emission limits and targets were set under the Kyoto Protocol as they have contributed the most for climate change. However, some countries of Annex 1 considered as EITs, mostly the countries whose economies are in transition (mainly the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries) have been given flexibility in selecting their baseline year for setting reduction target or obligation for limits. However, Annex II countries (OECD members in 1992, currently 24 member countries from Annex 1) were signed an obligation by the Kyoto Protocol to provide funding and transfer technologies to developing nations to assist them in implementing their commitments. Non-annex countries, mostly the developing nations, were exempted from specific emission targets but required to prevent further emissions and to report on their actions, but these requirements are less strict than the obligation of other parties. Within non-annex countries, 49 countries seen as LDCs (least developed countries, Bangladesh being one of them) were given special consideration

due to their limited capacity; reporting requirement for them was set as even less strict than other non-annex countries. They are identified as being the recipients of adaptation funding and technology transfer to cope with the climate change consequences. Further groups were made by the rules of procedure of UNFCC as per UN practice and political alliance. They are: Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and Caribbean States, Western Europe & others, and Small Island Developing States (SIDS). The politically allied groups are: European Union, G77 and China, Umbrella group, OPEC, the African group, LDCs, AOSIS, BASIC, NGOs etc. (IUCN, 2011). All of them are grouped based on their interest and for pursuing a maximizing of their goals.

At the global level, nations are divided with their own political positioning. The United States has not been the signatory of Kyoto Protocol and was against of any obligatory legal binding in terms of emission reduction. Giddens states that "The rest of the world community has become so used to regarding the US as the climate change laggard that it might be difficult to shift gear if and when it becomes an environmental leader" (Giddens 2009: 219). Until the announcement of President Obama and his signing of the Paris Accord, the USA was the barrier to any climate deal. In 2015, the USA president and the Chinese Prime Minister have agreed to reduce emissions and do more to mitigate the climate change consequences. Yet, the world has to wait to see whether the political rhetoric and reality go hand by hand as the regime has changed and Donald Trump announced withdrawal of his country from the Paris agreement. Canada and Japan left the Kyoto Protocol on demand that BRICS countries must be under obligation. On the other hand, European countries were in favor of legal instruments but could not do anything as there were some more nuance politics about the issue. BRICS countries have their own interest to follow while it comes to international climate negotiation. Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) are of the view that there must be an exemption for them with regard to emissions until they have developed economically to the level of Western countries.

As for Bangladesh, the climate justice issue has been pursued not only at global summits, but has also been integrated into its regular diplomacy. The country is now at forefront of climate politics due to its activity and its climate change concerns. Bangladesh has been raising its voice at different COPs, stating that this problem has been caused by uneven development,

and that industrialized nations must do something to resolve the crisis and secure compensation funding, technology transfer etc. Since the country's leadership identified climate change as a development problem, it has been considered as an important component in dealing with development projects with donor countries as well as in project implementation under local funding.

Bangladesh is the first among the developing nations to formulate climate policy and an action plan with a top priority to create its own trust fund (BCCTF), a climate resilient fund (BCCRF) to address relevant issues. Under Bangladesh's climate change strategic action plan (BCCSAP), innovative projects are brought up by civil society organizations and financed by these funds. Public-private partnership is implementing solar panel installation in the country, to the level of four million units, which are in the meantime being financed by the Bangladesh Central Bank. This is an action which Haq calls a "significant investment in solar energy systems for mitigation over the last few years" (Haq 2016). Bangladesh has now become not only a global metaphor for understanding climate change sufferings but also as a learning platform for climate change adaptation projects and strategies (Rhaman 2010).

Since the Copenhagen COP (2009), Bangladesh has been raising its voice, lobbying international leaders for climate justice as well as motivating own people, adopting climate policies to address issues locally for climate adaptation and mitigation. Though polices are taken seriously, and attempts are made to translate them into actions, there remain frequent cases of misappropriation of money from the climate trust fund. Moreover, climate projects are not selected on the basis of merit, nor are they allocated to qualifying institutions (Daily Star 2017a). "Irregularities and corruption are major challenges in implementing the projects. In most of the cases, contracts for implementing the projects are awarded in political consideration, nepotism or illegal underhand dealings" [...] (Daily Star 2017b).

Yet, "there is strong political will to combat climate change" (Ahmad 2016). Vulnerabilities of climate change are understood at the top level of administration; the country is committed to building capacity in different sectors to meet the challenges of climate change that is to build capacity which is climate resilient. The government has developed a ten-year action plan (2009-2018) for addressing the adverse impact of climate change, adaptation and

mitigation. The action plan designed extensive activities around some issues such as food security, social protection and health; comprehensive disaster management; infrastructure; research and knowledge management; mitigation and low carbon development; capacity building and institutional strengthening to reduce the risk of climate change to the nation. In the mean-time, many projects have been implemented according to the action plan. The Ministry of Environment and Forests has been pioneering community-based adaptation to climate change (Daily Star 2012).

With all these, it seems that Bangladesh is doing well, however coal-based big power plant projects are worrying as they are not climate friendly and their emissions are much higher than other technology. Though the country is also active in global climate politics and diplomacy at global summits yet, the government is often criticised by civil society that its actions are inadequate and that it returns from global negotiation platforms with empty hands. The Minister is criticised for including political nominees in official delegations, persons who have nothing to do with negotiations (Roy, Hanlon and Hulme 2016).

1.3 The COPs: Background of Global Climate Negotiations

The First World Climate Conference was held in Geneva, 12-23 February, 1979, and recognized climate change as a serious problem. Urging the world's governments "to foresee and prevent potential man-made changes in climate that might be adverse to the well-being of humanity", (http://unfccc.int) this conference endorsed the establishment of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). Bangladesh was one of the very first cases studied to document the negative consequences of sea level rise due to CO_2 emissions into the atmosphere. Three case studies on the impact of climate change, namely Maldives, the Netherlands and Bangladesh were presented in Toronto in 1988 at a meeting of global professionals and experts that resulted in the establishment of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Many conferences on climate change took place during the 1980s. However, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (established by WMO and UNEP in 1988) released its First Assessment Report (AR1) in 1990 assessing the existing knowledge

on climate change from different perspectives: natural science, social and economic impacts and possible strategies to tackle consequences. Subsequently, the IPCC reports provided widely accepted scientific knowledge and evidence to create a basis for negotiations between world leaders and policy makers. With the approval of the UN General Assembly, the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the formulation of a Framework Convention on Climate Change (INC/FCCC) held five sessions during 1990 and 1991 culminating in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at the global earth summit called United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Cowie 2007: 400). Since then the intergovernmental negotiating committee was replaced by the conference of parties (COP) and it has become the convention's ultimate negotiating authority.

The conference of parties takes place every year, and at these venues, parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) discuss relevant issues and take decisions to be implemented by the parties. The COP1 took place in Berlin in 1995 and ended with the Berlin Mandate addressing countries' abilities to meet the commitments under the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA) and Subsidiary Body of Implementation (SBI). The first legally binding international climate regime was established in COP3 by the adoption of Kyoto Protocol in 1997. While conventions required the parties to do the needful, as set by the Kyoto Protocol for the stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions, it was this protocol which made them legally binding for the parties. The conference of parties to the convention serves as meeting of the parties (CMP) to the Kyoto Protocol. However, the world community has additionally invested time and energy with much vigor since the Bali COP (2007) to have a new climate regime once the Kyoto regime expired. That was achieved with the adoption of the Paris Agreement in 2015.

Climate change as an issue evolved during the 1980s and "[…] now is a looming unprecedented threat to humanity" (Ahmad 2016). However, a political hype at the global level increased after the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. The USA had always been outside this protocol, claiming it as unjustified since exemptions were made for the Annex 2 countries while most of the Annex 1 countries were its signatories. The political debate on climate change further increased after the Bali Action Plan was adopted in 2007. Later, the

unwillingness of big emitters to adopt binding rules for emission reduction such as USA, China and others contributed to the failure of Copenhagen COP in 2009. Meanwhile, the climate science knowledge developed in all aspects through the IPCC working groups: 1) the physical science, 2) climate change impacts, adaptation and vulnerability and 3) mitigation of climate change, as the IPCC AR4 was released in 2007. But the scientific results were challenged by the climate deniers mostly sponsored by industrial lobby groups in the West. Media in the United States, Australia and the UK also follow that line considerably. However, after five consecutive IPCC reports, all nations of the globe have accepted as established that climate change is an urgent matter and that we must resolve it by adopting proper international legal instruments. It is now adopted as one goal by world leaders in the UN resolution entitled 'Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development' popularly known as SDGs (sustainable development goals) that recommend urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts by the world communities, as a target for all nations. It differs with MDG (Millennium development goals). Majumder points out that "The 2030 Agenda promotes integrated development in social, economic and environmental issues. They address, among others, issues relating to democracy, plurality, accountability, violence, peace, equity and climate change" (Majumder 2015: 6). Thus, climate change has found itself at the centre of development work and instead of being piecemeal it has become inherent and integrated into all development activities. World communities also reached an unanimously accepted accord at the COP21 of Paris in 2015. Though not totally legally binding, the Paris agreement came up with tools for international climate governance that shows hope for fulfilling expectations and results. The world as a whole agreed on a path forward as 196 countries have already signed the agreement. The agreement which the world community achieved in Paris is a result of long negotiations during the past twenty years.

This thesis studies two selected Bangladeshi newspapers' coverage of the negotiation processes that took place during four significant climate summits, namely the Bali summit (COP13, 2007), the Copenhagen summit (COP15, 2009), Durban summit (COP17, 2011) and Warsaw summit (COP19, 2013).

1.4 The selected COPs for the Study and Bangladesh's Position in Climate Negotiations

1.4.1 COP13: The Bali Summit 2007

The COP 13, popularly known as the Bali climate summit, took place December 3-15, 2007, in Indonesia. Among 10,000 conferees, scientists, civil society members and journalists from 190 countries, there was a twenty-four-member official delegation from Bangladesh. This was the first large climate change summit after the UN scientific council, the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their environmental work urging immediate action by the international community to tackle climate change as glaciers melt, sea levels rise and extreme weather increases (IPCC AR4 2007).

The fourth assessment report (AR4) with all its segments WGI, WGII and WGIII of IPCC was released at various steps throughout the year 2007, and more extensively than previously, confirmed scientific certainty on anthropogenic climate change (IPCC 2007). Since then, negotiations around a legally binding agreement have intensified. At the Bali COP, world leaders confirmed that global action on climate change must be accelerated. The COP 13, in fact, led to a new direction for climate negotiations.

The Bali summit's main agenda was to come up with a roadmap for building a new international pact by 2009 to replace the Kyoto Protocol as it was to expire by the end of 2012. Bangladesh's agenda at the summit was to reflect and present the negative consequences of climate change before the international community and work as spokesperson together with other developing countries such as G77, to demand funds for adaptation work. Another agenda of Bangladesh was to gain the mandate and support to establish an international climate research center in the country, releasing funds for preparing and implementation of adaptation strategy; increasing the limits of carbon emissions allowed by developed countries and gaining support to address and resolve the problem of climate refuges.

The Bali Summit ended with an agreement to search for a new climate regime. However, it failed to set any specific target for emissions reduction. It was particularly important as

world leaders came out with a timeframe for a new era of climate negotiations aiming for a long-term cooperation up to 2012 and beyond. With a shared vision on long term cooperative action, the Bali Action Plan endorsed enhanced action on mitigation of climate change, adaptation, financial resources and technology transfer (www.mrfcj.org). Bangladesh made the point that adaptation funding must not be less than 1.5% of the GDP of developed countries and this has to be offered in the form of a grant instead of a loan. 70% of adaptation fund was to be earmarked for the least developed countries (IUCN, 2011: 22). These elements in fact gave shape to the subsequent climate negotiation in the later COPs.

Bangladesh's aim was to attract the attention of world leaders to its people suffering from climate change. It demands that Annex 1 countries commit to a certain percent of carbon emission reduction to keep the world's temperature rise to within two degrees Celsius and allocate adaptation funds according to a vulnerability index (IUCN, 2011). For Bangladesh, this summit was remarkable as the country succeeded to showcase its vulnerability to climate change and thus became a much-cited country. Bangladesh became a useful metaphor to understand the negative consequences of climate change worldwide. The Bali roadmap shows that Bangladesh's agenda has been reflected in the decisions though not resulting in immediate effects. However, after the Bangladeshi delegation returned from the Bali summit, in an assessment of its performance, the climate activists in the country assert that Bangladesh had failed to showcase its demands and play the leadership role for the G77 at the summit and had come back from the summit with empty hands, as though the aim of Bangladesh instead of standing for its own national interests from the negotiations, stood merely in solidarity with other vulnerable countries and LDCs as a whole.

1.4.2 COP15: The Copenhagen Summit in 2009

The Copenhagen summit took place at the Bella Centre in Denmark December 7-18, 2009. Around 15,000 participants, journalists, government delegations, independent observers and rights activists gathered in Copenhagen for the summit. It was attended by more than 100 heads of states and governments, including American President Barack Obama. There was a big hope and demand around the Copenhagen summit that it should produce a legally binding Kyoto successor, setting emissions targets. However, it failed to do so. The Prime Minister of

Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina, also attended the summit with the hope of justice and equity in relation to emission reduction and compensation for climate change adaptation in Bangladesh (Rahman 2010).

The formulation of a legally binding climate deal was the main agenda of the Copenhagen COP. As the Bali action plan had set out a two-year period for enhanced action in all respective areas and sealing a deal in Copenhagen, there were huge hopes and expectations around this summit from people of all walks of life. Adoption of a new legally binding agreement for the post 2012 (Kyoto) period was a necessity for the world community as it was set as deadline to have such an agreement. However, instead of a legally binding deal, COP15 produced the 'Copenhagen Accord' with more commitments. It states "We underline that climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time. We emphasize our strong political will to urgently combat climate change in accordance with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" (IUCN 2011). Yet, the accord was not adopted by all parties as it was criticized for not being formulated in an inclusive manner. Therefore, questions were raised about the transparency of the whole negotiation process of the COP. Thus, instead of hope, Copenhagen ended up with broken hearts. Yet, the Copenhagen Accord came up with an additional funding commitment from the developed world for climate change adaptation and mitigation in the developing countries with an amount of up to 30 billion US dollars from 2010 to 2012. The developed countries committed to increase this sum up to 100 billion US dollar a year by 2020. This summit also established the green climate fund for climate change related activities in the developing world supported by the Convention. It underscored the need for deep cuts of global emissions and outlined separate formats and principles for the Annex 1 and non-annex 1 parties' reporting of emissions and mitigation. An extension of the tenure of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA) was also made in this COP, effective until the COP16 held in Cancun (www.mrfcj.org; also see IUCN 2011: 28). These outcomes reflect positively on Bangladesh's longstanding demand for providing funds to victim nations (Roy, Hanlon and Hulme 2016). Therefore, Bangladesh stood together with another 115 parties associated with Copenhagen accord. Moreover, Bangladesh had become a metaphor of climate change at this COP due to its raised voice, exhibits of civil society

activists in Copenhagen and the Bangladesh Prime Minister's assertive role in demanding green funds while meeting with Barack Obama and David Cameron at the summit.

1.4.3   COP17: The Durban Summit in 2011

The Durban summit took place (COP17) from 28 November to 11 December in 2011. This summit was particularly important, as finding a successor agreement to the Kyoto Protocol which was scheduled to expire in 2012 had failed in earlier summits held after the Bali roadmap such as Copenhagen summit 2009 and Cancun summit 2010. This was supposedly the last chance before the validity of the prevailing climate regime (Kyoto Protocol) expired. It also brought challenges as the global economic downturn prevailing for some consecutive years potentially prevented countries from promising what was required for a comprehensive climate deal. Along with 195 other countries, Bangladesh attended the Durban summit with an official delegation of 133 including journalists and civil society activists.

As a legacy of earlier summits' decisions, the main aim of the Durban summit was to find a way to replace the Kyoto Protocol either by endorsing a second commitment period for emission reduction or by sealing a legally binding deal. Operationalization of the green climate fund was also an important issue in this summit. What the summit came up with was the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action.

As adopted in the Durban Platform, the parties agreed to have a legally binding universal agreement on climate change on board by 2015 and to be enforced by 2020. However, it ensured that no climate agreement would hamper the developing countries' right to development. The Durban summit also showed its concern on the issue of climate justice translating it into the issue of equity and suggested for a workshop on this under the AWG-LCA to consider the issue of equitable access to sustainable development at its next session (www.mrfcj.org). At Durban, the Kyoto Protocol was given a second commitment period by 38 countries starting from 1 January 2013, to extend either to 31 December 2017 or 31 December 2020; however, many countries including Japan, Canada and Russia stayed away, while New Zealand and Australia did not participate in the second commitment period.

The Durban summit was also remarkable for providing an option for limiting warming to 1.5 degree Celsius from the previous two-degree Celsius limit and formulating a framework for the emission reduction reporting from both the developed and the developing worlds on the basis of common but differentiated responsibilities of different countries. The green climate fund (GCF) proposed in the earlier COP was operationalized and approval was given on its operating and governing instruments (IUCN 2011). This COP also emphasized the adaptation issues based on the Cancun Adaptation Framework resulting in formulation and implementation of national adaptation plans (NAPs) by the least developed countries. Progress was also made on an adaptation committee and plans to host the climate technology centre and network as an operational arm of the technology mechanism for addressing climate change by 2012 as per Cancun agreement (www.mrfcj.org).

Bangladesh's aim was to portray its agency and capacity, highlighting plans and programs in the climate adaptation field, demonstrating its own initiatives as a model for the world, instead of only being considered one of several climate victim nations. The issue of climate fund disbursement, in which developed countries promised to disburse $30 billion in three years (starting from 2010 when adopted in Copenhagen). This was prominently on the agenda of Bangladesh, an issue to be raised—since by that time only 10 percent of the fund had been disbursed. In the earlier summits, Bangladesh had raised its voice for adopting a legally binding deal for carbon emission reduction as well as establishing a green fund for victim nations. Bangladesh in fact played a lead role in Durban, raising the volume of the LDC's concerns and was selected to represent the LDCs in the South African diplomatic *Indaba*[2] Process to resolve differences. Besides that, it argued for a loss and damage fund and raised the issue of climate vulnerable countries through organizing two very high profile side events as Third Chair of Climate Vulnerable Forum (IUCN 2011: 32; also see Roy, Hanlon and Hulme 2016).

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[2] South African traditional negotiation technique to achieve consensus among the competing stakeholders. It has a long tradition to be used by South African ethnic communities.

1.4.4   COP19: The Warsaw Summit in 2013

The Warsaw summit (COP19) took place in Poland from November 11 to 23, 2013. Government delegations representing 195 countries took part in the opening plenary session. In addition, some groups of indigenous peoples, NGOs, farmers and women held meetings at the conference venue, the Warsaw National Stadium held under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (IISD 2013). A delegate from Bangladesh attended the summit headed by Mohammad Shafiqul Islam Patowary, Secretary of the Ministry of Environment and Forest.

This summit was to resolve the legacy of the earlier summits on three major issues: 1. Extension of timeline for adopting a legally binding climate agreement by 2015 at COP21 in Paris; 2. establishing the loss and damage mechanism and; 3. long term financing provisions for mitigation and adaptation. It was assumed to help the adoption of a final agreement in Paris by identifying and focusing upon the gap between national offers and the required target to keep the temperature below two degrees Celsius. The summit was heated by a demand of developed countries which called for a clearly defined timetable through to 2015 with all countries making clear 'commitments' about reductions of emissions while some developing countries argued for greater flexibility for poorer nations and a clear differentiation between the level of commitments required by developed and developing countries. Bangladesh attended this COP with the hope that it will bring success (www.mrfcj.org).

The main agenda of COP19 was to accelerate the process of drafting a document to replace the Kyoto Protocol since the time line for adopting a legally binding deal was set for the Paris COP in 2015. A complete final version of the agreement to be signed in Paris was due to be released at COP20 in Lima, Peru in 2014. As the second commitment period to the Kyoto Protocol is to expire in 2020, the UNFCCC aims to have the "Paris Protocol" ratified and in effect by that year. However, the summit experienced a huge debate on the Durban Platform of Enhanced Action as it required new emission target by the first quarter of 2015 by nationally determined contributions for the countries willing to do that.

The COP19 could not establish a mechanism for dealing with on loss and damage. However, it endorsed the idea of an International Mechanism for Loss and Damage to address the loss and damage connected to the impacts of climate change, including extreme events and slow onset events, in developing countries particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change. A key issue in the negotiations on loss and damage was where to house the mechanism, later it was postponed to be decided at COP22 in 2016 in the light of the Cancun Adaptation Framework.

Further, the work programme on long-term finance agreed at Warsaw summit did not deliver a clear timetable for mobilising the $100 billion per year by 2020, promised by the developed countries in 2009 in Copenhagen. It was particularly important as countries are preparing to make commitments for the post-2020 period (www.mrfcj.org). The gender gap in the climate negotiation process endorsed in COP18 was addressed agreeing on launching a framework on gender and climate change. The establishment of its timeline; capacity building for women delegates as well as for women and men negotiators and introducing a monitoring systems to track gender sensitive climate policy of national governments were outlined.

Bangladesh played a leading role on behalf of the LDCs in the negotiations at the Warsaw summit and achieved a better position than before. Bangladesh's incremental strategy to push slowly the issue of loss and damage up to the COP agenda saw success at Warsaw as "The G77 and China pushed hard for a formal establishment of the mechanism agreed in principle of Durban, while the OECD countries simply wanted to continue with vague work programme and were increasingly intransigent" (Roy, Hanlon and Hulme 2016: 37). At some point, LDCs walked out the negotiations and fearing another 'Brokenhagen', the USA agreed on it at 4:30 am using a 'back channel' with key Bangladeshi negotiators (ibid.).

Proponents of an agreement urged the use of Bangladesh's position, as exemplified by the slogan: Survival is non-negotiable, Equity, justice and fairness for all and pursued by what Bangladesh civil society states: "We, the civil society of Bangladesh, firmly believe that the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR & RC) enshrined in the convention must remain the cornerstone of any global plan of action for facing climate change," (Hamilton 2013). In line with Bangladesh's position in the earlier

summits, the country's delegates had lobbied and raised voices on the loss and damage issue, and direct transfer of green climate fund to the victim nations as grants and achieved accordingly.

1.5 Other Research on the COPs and Climate Change

With a gradual increase of coverage of global warming and climate change in the Western media, climate change took a new direction; it has increasingly, since the 1960s, been recognized as anthropogenic in nature. The shaping of climate policy at the international and domestic levels in the 1980s, followed by the release of IPCC's assessment reports in 1990, 1995, 2001, the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 and subsequent UN climate summits, dramatically spurred the media's attention to climate change (UNDP, 2007). Consequently, more journalists than before are now involved in climate reporting. This became more evident during the Copenhagen climate summit 2009. Seeing the amazing number of journalists joining the Copenhagen climate summit for reporting, Painter (2010) observed "Never before had so many journalists from so many countries come to the same place to cover an event that was not the World Cup or the Olympics" (Painter 2010: 7).[3] This indicates that climate change has become something important and worthy of coverage by the world media on the basis of what is happening on the ground, the causes, the situation and the initiatives for remedies, and what requires urgent measures to reduce the causes of global warming and climate change. The presence of so many journalists in COP15 offers ample opportunities "[…] for media organizations to include in their coverage an explanation to their readers or viewers of the essential background for understanding why this is so" (ibid.). However, the research done on the media coverage of climate change by individuals, institutions and networks, though abundant in numbers, mainly covers newspapers and most of them are done in the context of developed nations.

Since 2004, Maxwell Boykoff, together with Maria Mansfield from Oxford University, has conducted a huge project on media coverage of climate change. This study includes 50 countries from various part of the world. In their findings, Boykoff and Mansfield identify the year 2009 as the peak of media coverage of climate change, and this is consistent with the big

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[3] 3,880 journalists from 119 countries were registered to attend the Copenhagen Summit (Painter 2010).

presence of journalist in Copenhagen during COP15. It has been seen that media coverage of climate change is increasing in many part of the world though many poorer countries are still lagging behind with some exception such as media coverage of climate change in Bangladesh, India and China (Painter 2010; Boykoff and Roberts 2007; Eide, Kunelius and Kumpu 2010; Eide and Kunelius 2012).

Carvalho investigated the media coverage of climate change in British quality newspapers focusing on the coverage as a significant conveyor of ideologies. Her sample includes *The Guardian, The Independent and The Time.* In her analysis of 4,484 articles published in these three newspapers from 1985 till 2001 she argued how journalistic ways of reporting science are used to come up with truth claims that intertwine with various cultural ideological standpoints. She notes "[…] ideology works as a powerful selection device in deciding what is scientific news, i.e. what the relevant "facts" are, and who are authorized "agent of definition" of science matters" (Carvalho 2007: 223). Here, her ideological understanding is related to the communities which generate or hold ideas, values and preferences within media organizations and among the audiences. For her, "Forms of filtering and reinterpreting information about climate change are rooted in, and reproduce, profoundly divergent value systems" (ibid. 239). Values may vary at the individual level too; therefore ideologies are not internalized uniformly since ideological positions usually result from cultural plurality in a country. Observing ideological underpinning of science representation in different journalistic genres from surface reporting to Op-ed articles, where normative intersects with descriptive in discursive reconstruction of climate change in the media, she has found:

 Ideology has implications for the interpretation of facts […] the quantity of media space dedicated to a given scientific claim simultaneously derive from and sustain a certain ideology […] the recognized agents of definition of scientific knowledge vary as a function of ideological standings. The selection of experts and counter experts that are given voice depends on and reproduces certain worldviews […] the goals associated with knowledge also have an ideological basis (ibid. 237).

Boykoff and Boykoff, in their essay titled 'Balance as Bias: Global warming and the US prestige press' note: "While some research has focused on the cultural and philosophical systems that affect news coverage [...] this study explores the journalistic norms that influence this coverage" (2004: 126). Their findings in this quantitative study conducted on the USA prestige press[4] endorses Carvalho's observations drawn from the British quality press. Yet, widening their analysis from two contested dimensions of climate science reporting such as existence of anthropogenic contribution to global warming and actions with respect to global warming, they argued that journalistic reporting by the US press is biased, and the bias is often disguised as deeply rooted concerns for reporting 'norms of balance'. This professional 'norms[5] of balance' is also influenced by the political norms and economic norms of institutions and society where journalism is located.

> Balanced coverage (focusing two sides of story, here giving roughly equal emphasis and coverage on the proponent and skeptics of global warming and climate change as a case of anthropogenic origin and decision to act upon it, though the scientific facts about this is undoubtedly certain) does not, of course, always mean accurate coverage [...] (Journalist's) adherence to the 'norm of balanced' reporting leads to informationally biased coverage of global warming. This bias is hidden behind the veil of journalistic balance [...] (ibid: 126-134).

The reason behind this is that, the issues in the climate context are seldom balanced. While this is the case in the USA press journalism, and while journalistic 'norms of balanced reporting' pose problem, the question of balance can sometimes be useful. In another comparative study of media coverage of climate change as an anthropogenic issue, Boykoff finds this norm useful to perform a 'fairness check' in the report. Yet, this norm does not work in the same manner everywhere. Citing the UK press as an exception, he mentioned that "there is no evidence that the UK newspapers carried out informationally-biased coverage of anthropogenic climate change through the employment of the journalistic norm of 'balanced' reporting" (Boykoff 2007: 6).

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[4] Boykoff and Boykoff have studied American newspapers that include the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times and the Wall Street Journal published during the period of 1988-2002.
[5] Professional journalistic norms refer to objectivity, fairness, accuracy, balance etc.

The Bali study of the Media Climate Network[6] finds that summit journalism is to some degree fluid enough to create a public sphere within the national context and also "offers possibilities for journalists to overcome the routinely nationalistic and local instincts of their professional practices" (Eide, Kunelius and Kumpu 2009: 1). This study also argued that summit journalism is domesticated in different countries of the world and called for action needed for respective country which is indicative of journalists' subjective engagement in the making of their professional product. An international anthology (Eide, Kunelius and Kumpu (Eds.) 2010) carrying case studies done by local scholars from eighteen nations affiliated to the Media Climate Network including this author, gives a global picture of climate journalism in the context of UN summits, focusing on the Bali and Copenhagen COPs. The study reveals that climate change is represented in various ways in the media (mostly newspapers but electronic media in some cases as well) of the participating nations, driven by different local contextual values. However, global journalistic action is also noticed as referring to the publication of a joint editorial: "Fourteen days to seal history's judgment on this generation" in 54 newspapers worldwide on Dec. 7, 2009. It was "[…] another sign of this moment of consensus in an imagined, transnational field. One could argue that journalists in many parts of the world joined in a kind of 'advocacy of hope' – movement" (Eide and Kunelius 2010: 41- 42).

Eide and Kunelius (2012) argue that with all their characteristics, climate summits become global media events, which offer opportunities for political processes as well as for journalism. Though the summits are not organized specifically to give attention to media audiences, the media find almost all kind of newsmakers available on the summit venue which may lead journalists to go beyond their doxa[7] (Schultz 2007) of dominant working genres as well as maintaining critical distance from the authorities, administration and political institutions in filing stories as ethical values. Therefore, the summits by the engagement of leaders, policy makers, lobbyists and rights activists, make journalism as integral part of summit event. "There is also the massive amount of knowledge production,

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[6] The first assignment of the Media Climate Network consisted of scholars from 13 countries and they analyzed coverage from two newspapers from each country. I contributed with a chapter on the coverage of the summits in Bangladeshi media.

[7] It refers to journalist's dominant working genres and ethical values.

background deliberation, lobbying and pressuring, advertising and advocating that comes together at the COPs, providing journalist with an abundance of information and opinion from which to draw on as they compose their coverage" (Eide and Kunelius 2012: 16-17). However, this is not to say that summits revolutionize journalism in its general role and routine practices, but journalists may struggle with dominant epistemological commitments of the profession to some extent.

1.6 The Bangladesh Media Landscape

The Bangladeshi media industry is expanding significantly (Shoesmith and Genilo 2013; Shoesmith and Mahmud 2013; Mahmud 2013). The country, after its independence in 1971, had started with only ten newspapers; now there is a relatively large media industry with many daily newspapers, television channels and radio stations (Rhaman 2010; Islam 2013). According to DFP (2016), there are 1,133 daily newspapers published from the country and 429 from Dhaka. The two newspapers, *The Daily Star* and *The Prothom Alo,* selected for this study are also published from Dhaka. They belong to same company called *Transcom Media Limited*, but they draw on separate pools of journalists, and address different establishment and editorial institutions. Due to the inception of private entrepreneurship in the sector of electronic media, a robust media growth has occurred since 1990. There are 40 television channels in Bangladesh, 28 of them are now on operation. In addition to *Bangladesh Betar* with 12 local stations, 28 FM radio licences have been awarded and 16 of them are operating. There are 16 community radio stations operating, though 32 licenses have been granted (Bulbul 2017). Moreover, 1,800 online news portals have applied for registration. Since 1996, the private sector has established absolute control over newspaper ownership, as the government owned newspapers *The Bangladesh Times* and *The Dainik Bangla* were closed. Yet, in the sector of electronic media, government still holds a big stake. There are no media directly owned by political parties as the media registrations are made in personal names, though the owners in many cases belong to certain political parties. Regarding the media typology in relation to the political line of control in Bangladesh, "Some media are explicitly politically aligned (progressive or conservative-rightist), while some are non-partisan but liberal (independent, civil society media) and some non-partisan, though more are standard mainstream media" (Rhaman 2010). However, the media industry in Bangladesh (Islam

2013) is largely being used as a corporate tool or political tool and "This dual role, accompanied by the nation's economic growth, has given rise to the establishment of media outlets over the last two decades, employing thousands of professionals at various occupational levels in the ever-expanding industry" (ibid.: 348). Still, the media industry faces different barriers. Professionalism is not always of the highest level; moreover, interventions into free journalism happen in different ways and the independence of editorial institutions is not established. Yet, newspapers in Bangladesh have played a significant role in the language movement, independence struggle and all democratization movements. Nowadays, newspapers are very sensitive to human rights issues and keep a sharp eye on disparity, violation of human rights and corruption. Environment and climate change also have received attention in the newspapers with significant coverage.

However, the coverage of climate change in Bangladeshi media is somehow different from other media elsewhere. In contrast to many Western media, there is no debate about the reality of anthropogenic global warming, but seemingly full consensus of its existence. At the same time, Bangladeshi journalism on climate change issues is perceived as blending both Anglo-American normative journalism and the European tradition of agency journalism. While the first emphasizes journalistic norms of objectivity and balance, "[…] journalists act independently of those who have interest in the story" Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 275). The latter recognizes journalism as process and the journalist's agency reflects and writes on issues in relation to collective wellbeing, justice and humanism on the basis of just cause and thus 'journalist takes a stand on a certain issue' (ibid.) as advocacy. In the context of climate change, Bangladeshi media seem not only to uphold the Anglo–American normative standards but also to be domestically influenced to fight for a just cause and ensure climate justice. It is perceived that there is a consensus about climate change in Bangladesh. However, it would be useful to see the extent to which the journalists are also part of this consensus, and how professional journalism, i.e. news stories, reportages and editorials and so on, in fact connects with citizen-generated discourses such as op-eds, opinions, letters and so forth and whether journalism also relates to national and international development discourses for climate justice. To meet justice for the climate victims, climate consequences and vulnerabilities to Bangladesh, national, international policy makers and world leaders have to understand the national conditions. There is an urgent need to reduce the

consequences as well as coming up with measures for climate adaptation and mitigation. In this context, journalism as a source of knowledge production has a significant role to play. And this study focuses on how climate change journalism is related to the climate justice for the country and its connection to the practice of journalistic norms. The two newspapers selected for this study have a good reputation among the readers and enjoy the prestige of exercising relatively free and fair journalism in the country. It is evident that readers pay close attention to journalistic coverage on the issues of good governance, human rights, environment and climate change. As for covering COPs, they assign staff reporters and external contributors to the summits. The articles attached to this thesis find that their coverage of COPs is mostly on site, though their coverage vary through time and at the different COPs, however their seriousness are spotted as a call for climate justice for the victim nations. They also keep Bangladesh on its toes by pursuing advocacy and development journalism as approaches to covering various issues of climate change negotiations.

1.7 Other Research on the Media Coverage of Climate Change and COPs in Bangladesh

There is a paucity of scientific studies in relation to climate change and journalism in Bangladesh. Moreover, climate change is generally investigated as an aspect of the greater issue of environmental journalism, though media nowadays give high attention to climate change particularly. There is also a tendency among the scholars to use environment and climate change interchangeably.

Azim (2014) finds that "the climate change issue is becoming increasingly significant in Bangladeshi media as Bangladesh is attracting increasing attention within the climate debate" (Azim 2014: 124). Concerning the bigger issue of environmental coverage, she mentions that environmental journalism in Bangladesh is shaped by many hurdles, such as, pressure of deadline, lack of support from gatekeepers and media institutions, lack of resources, poor logistic support, a lack of dedicated climate expertise and poor understanding of reporters. Yet, her study finds a positive correlation between Bangladeshi media coverage of climate change and negotiations which take place in the COPs. However, the approach of presenting facts and analysis in Bangladeshi media has been questioned.

Ferdous and Islam in their study on Copenhagen summit coverage (2011) observed that the Bangladeshi journalism of climate change is not analytical, rather it presents superficial information. For that, audiences do not get the explanatory information dealing with negotiation failures. Newspapers often see the issue through the party lens; concentrate in describing the consequences but are incapable of showing the solution needed for the problem. For that "the media role on the crisis of global climate change issues in Bangladesh is being questioned. Media here do not provide news of climate problems and their consequences constantly. They awake when there is a big event or special moment for climate change and publish items everyday however they go on sleep when the big event is over" (Ferdous and Islam 2011: 59). Azim also agreed with Ferdous and Islam (2011) that a solution-oriented approach is missing in the field of environmental and climate change journalism, stating that media overemphasize the problems rather than providing a way out. The climate and environmental journalism in Bangladesh is struggling as there is a paucity of experts. Besides, the journalists often raise questions of experts' objectivity due to their leaning to government and non-governmental organizations. The use of jargon by the experts is incomprehensible even for the experienced journalists, she adds.

On the other hand, Reza and Haque (2011) raise concerns over the professional norms of climate journalism in Bangladesh: "[…] there are stories, which are not substantiated by any scientific authority or arguments, while the rest capitalize on the popular public discourses that local or regional natural disasters are somehow linked with global climate change for which the developed countries are to be blamed (Reza and Haque 2011 as cited in Azim 2014: 124).

While regarding the agenda set for environment and climate change in Bangladeshi newspapers, in the comparative context of COP 15 and COP16, Reza and Haque find that

> Bangladeshi newspapers have considerable influence on the public perceptions of environmental change. Apart from the agenda setting on the issues that have relevance to the country's negotiations at the international levels, a number of dailies have been advocating for local environmental policy changes (Reza and Haque 2011: 1-13).

However, they found a shift in the journalistic perspective in the coverage of climate and environmental issues during Copenhagen and Cancun summits: while Bangladeshi press gave more importance to the international perspective during Copenhagen summit, Bangladesh's perspective was much more highlighted during the Cancun summit. It might well be that the first was attended by many heads of states and sought international legally binding agreements and the latter focused on issues, i.e. green fund, loss and damage issue which has much direct relevance to Bangladesh on the ground.

During a three-week period of global monitoring of Bali COP and later COPs coverage, as part of comparative research within the Media Climate Network we found that climate change issues have been covered extensively in the news media in Bangladesh, but reached a peak during COP15 in Copenhagen. The *Daily Star* and The *Daily Prothom Alo* published 317 items (almost equally distributed between them) about the Copenhagen climate summit and general climate change stories (Rhaman 2010: 69). A comparative study reveals "[…] a shift in media coverage and framing of climate change […] between the coverage of the Bali summit 2007 and the Copenhagen summit 2009" (ibid.). This shift is equally evident in the quantitative and qualitative discourses. While Bangladeshi newspapers (selected 2) published 57 items during a three-week period centering the Bali summit, the same newspapers published 317 items during the same time period in the context of the Copenhagen summit. In framing the climate polluters in the coverage 'the blame frame'[8] was much more prevalent during the Bali conference, while during the Copenhagen summit, climate change has been framed in some binaries such as in the language of hope and despair, the language of loss and opportunity, the language of success and failure, the language of helplessness and vulnerability, the language of rights and responsibilities, and so on (Rhaman 2010). This eclectic approach to coverage underscores that a much more value-laden attempt has been adopted by the media that made its tone stronger and more assertive than the earlier, relatively docile and nonassertive approaches.

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[8] The Western countries and particularly the USA have been blamed for their historical carbon emissions and thus liable for climate change, however the new Big Four countries i.e. China, India, Brazil and Russia were increasingly blamed for the climate change in the Bangladeshi press coverage.

1.8 The Contribution of this Thesis

I have studied the attention cycle of the coverage of climate change in Bangladeshi newspapers and how it is affected by competition from other issues. By doing that, I want to show how the Bangladeshi media agenda operates in a longer temporal dimension to draw public attention on climate change issues during COPs. No earlier research as such was conducted in Bangladesh on this issue, but this study explores how the newspaper attention to climate change fluctuates during and between the COPs and shows the influence of other prevailing competing issues that ultimately defines the public attention to climate change issues.

Climate change is seen as an issue of global injustice (Hulme 2010) and therefore how to operationalize pathways for climate justice is an important issue for international community in general and for Bangladesh's political position in the international negotiations as a victim nation in particular. I have studied how the climate justice issue is framed in the Bangladeshi newspapers and explored the ways in which Bangladeshi journalism applies strategic use of professional power and narratives for addressing climate justice for Bangladesh as well as how journalism applies to address climate justice within the country.

Since climate change is an ethical issue (Gardiner 2011), journalists covering this field are allowed a degree of advocacy; this is justified to pursue where just causes are at issue for establishing justice. In fact the dignity of the media relies on its role of ensuring wellbeing for humans and other species. Further, a developing country like Bangladesh may benefit in development planning if the potential of development journalism is utilized in addressing the overarching cross-cutting issues of climate change and national development of the country. Therefore, I utilized the potential of advocacy and development journalism as a theoretical lens.

Climate change is not only an issue for today, but is also an issue for the future, and potentially for all foreseeable time. But how the climate future is portrayed in journalism constructs the understanding of the climate future of the people. The way the climate future is perceived in the Western media may not be the actual future for Bangladesh, as the country

may now be considered a laboratory of climate change where its consequences are felt today such that its population is already experiencing the consequences of the future. This requires immediate actions to be taken by the world community and all stakeholders for climate change mitigation, emission reduction, technology transfer, with regard to justice to the victim nations. The backdrop of these avenues in current climate change journalism spurs investigation of the negotiation of journalistic norms in pursuit of justice through analyzing the issue attention, particularly analyzing value laden advocacy and development journalism, besides the journalistic imagining of futures in the newspaper coverage of climate change in Bangladesh.

1.9 Research Questions

The central question of this thesis is how do Bangladeshi newspapers give shape to climate change journalism and how do they relate to the professional norms?

This overarching question is accompanied by the following sub questions:

RQ1: What is the pattern of Bangladeshi newspaper coverage of climate change related issues during four selected COPs, and how do they relate to structural, cultural and institutional issues for the rise and fall of coverage?

RQ2: How is climate change framed as an issue of climate justice in the selected newspapers and how does that framing shift during the period from the Bali to the Durban summit?

RQ3: To what extent is development journalism exercised in connection with climate change related issues during the selected COPs period by the selected Bangladeshi newspapers and how does it relate to approaching the greater area of development problem in Bangladesh?

RQ4: Does Bangladeshi newspaper journalism take an advocacy turn when they deal with climate change related issues during COPs, and how do they negotiate with the journalistic norms in their coverage?

RQ5: How is the future imagined in the climate change coverage of Bangladeshi newspapers in contrast with Western newspapers, i.e. Finnish newspapers?

This study has both theoretical and applied importance. As Bangladesh is one of the severely affected nations, the ways in which knowledge about climate change is produced, generated and communicated by the media in Bangladesh could be interesting to see: whether this knowledge in the media is produced in the light of professional norms and values or whether they take certain stands through negotiations of journalistic norms and values for climate justice. It is also important to see whether this has any connection with the development policy of the country as well as international funding for climate mitigation, adaptation and technology transfer. The first aim of this study is to contribute academically to generating knowledge and theorizing on the nexus of climate change, journalism and justice especially in the light of the existing norms and value framework; The second aim is to help policy makers to understand the climate intersections and use the knowledge for policy revision and further policy development in future. Both national and international policy makers, in other words, donor countries and recipient countries, could benefit from the findings of this project.

1.10 Thesis Outline

This thesis has two parts. Part 1 presents the summary of the whole project showing the interrelations between journalism philosophy, and the practice around it, while the second part presents 5 articles. The first chapter of part 1 puts forth the context of the project as well as delineates the research questions. The second chapter discusses the philosophical varieties in journalism theories, practices and research traditions. The third chapter details climate justice, the central concept of this project – connecting it with different approaches to journalism. Chapter four discusses the methodological aspects employed for this research; finally, chapter five concludes summary part of the thesis briefly mentioning the major findings of each article included in the part two of the thesis with some suggestions for the future researchers in the light of the limitations of this study.

Part two contains five articles. Article one is about the rise and fall of newspaper attention to climate change in Bangladesh. Article two deals with the framing of climate justice in

selected Bangladeshi newspapers. Article three is about the practice of development journalism in Bangladeshi newspapers in the COP context. Article four deals with how advocacy underlies climate change coverage in Bangladeshi newspapers; finally, Article five features how the future of climate change is covered in Bangladeshi newspapers comparing it with a European country: Finland.

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CHAPTER 2

JOURNALISM: OBJECTIVITY, TRUTH SEEKING AND
PRACTICE IN BANGLADESH

2.1 Introduction

Advocacy and development journalism have been criticised as lacking objectivity in journalistic practice (Halin and Mancini 2004; Waisbord 2009; Xiaoge 2009; Shafer 1998). The argument of this chapter is that advocacy/development journalism and more conventional journalism may indeed share the same professional values. The word advocacy sometimes acquires a negative connotation since the lexicographical meaning of advocacy has emerged from jurisprudence where it denotes pleading the cause of a particular party, be it for good or bad, plaintiff or defendant (Ray 2012). Hence, the etymological origin of advocacy creates confusion about 'advocacy journalism' among those practitioners and scholars who believe their practices, as journalists, are free of subjectivity and partisanship. Similarly, development journalism has been seen as a propagandistic form of journalistic practice. The clarity of the concept has become fluid due to multiple interpretations and has often been viewed as a propagandistic form of journalism (Skjerdal 2011).

However, this thesis in general, and Articles Three and Four in particular, argue that objectivity in advocacy (Article 4) and development journalism (Article 3) share the same journalistic professional value of truth seeking and establishing justice based on factual reporting of issues as in the mainstream news media. Article Three argues that development journalism could be a useful approach to reflect on the development process in general and gaps and problems between development planning and implementation in particular, with a focus on cross- cutting issues of climate change such as climate governance, people's participation in mitigation and adaptation, and other climate change consequences. The

Article points out that the strength of development journalism is not adequately utilized in Bangladesh. At the same time, it has generated and renewed interest, and taken on new contours in what is mainly an embedded and celebrity form utilized during COPs. This shift of emphasis has made it less effective in dealing with apocalyptic climate change consequences to the development process. On the other hand, Article Four finds that the climate change issue has become a domestic issue in Bangladeshi newspapers. For the boundless sufferings Bangladesh is facing and the costs the country is being forced to pay, newspapers are advocating for climate justice and global binding principles for compensation, mitigation and adaptation, negotiating the journalistic value of impartiality. However, this taking of sides in the global climate debate by Bangladeshi newspapers does not undermine objectivity rather the performance is based on facts and right cause for peoples' wellbeing. Here the performance of journalism is influenced by the local working context which relates to the state of professionalism, legal regime, editorial institutions, media economy and ownership and law and order situation of the given society. There is always room to ask whose facts serve whose interests, a question very much at the forefront of electronic media today. Facts based on national interests may limit the practice of fact-based journalism. But not all fact-based journalism is objective. In order to give a broader context for Bangladeshi journalistic advocacy and development concerns, it is useful to outline what journalism means.

2.2 Journalism, Objectivity and Truth Seeking

The core value of journalism is truth-seeking. Despite caveats and limitations, for Burns "[…] journalists work to that end by truth-telling, even when the truth is unpalatable and unwelcome" (Burns 2009: 29). However, journalism can be analysed from different perspectives: as a profession, an industry, an ideology, a literary genre, a culture or a complex social system (Deuze 2005). Moreover, it is constantly changing; therefore, scholars (for example, Schudson 2003; Ruhl 2000) find "[…] folkloric inconsistency of the field as well as the impossibility to generate a more or less consensual body of knowledge" (as cited in Deuze 2005: 443). Therefore, journalism research produces multiple interpretations of issues, depending on the approach[1] undertaken, that we encounter in everyday life.

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[1] Zelizer (2009) identifies a fivefold journalism research tradition: sociology, history, language studies, political science and cultural studies.

Journalism is a cultural practice where journalistic activities, their speed, techniques and characteristics are influenced by many factors. The way journalists tell their stories has been shaped over time by the adoption of technological innovation in the field. Changing social conditions also influence its nature, practice and functions. The result is journalism of many different shapes. Different characteristics of journalism emerge worldwide i.e. objective journalism, subjective journalism, alternative journalism, quality journalism, tabloid journalism, in-depth journalism, citizen journalism, development journalism, peace journalism, advocacy journalism, online journalism, and so on. McQuail's typology of journalism is an evidence of journalistic varieties including from prestige (or quality) journalism to tabloid journalism, from global journalism to civic journalism and from development journalism to advocacy journalism (McQuail 2000: 340). Deuze (2005) states that, "[…] scholars, educators and students all over the world are involved in journalism studies […] but only rarely do their approaches, understandings or philosophies meet" (Deuze 2005: 443).

Journalism is a process with two main aspects: the product aspect such as news, reportage, editorial, op-eds and so on, and the knowledge aspect such as meanings and subtexts within the product. Though the journalism process predominantly focuses on product, however knowledge generated by the product is seen as the essence of journalism. Journalism deals with social, political, cultural and economic modalities of our everyday life, and as an everyday phenomenon, gives a particular meaning to them. Thereby journalism is considered as "[…] primary sense making practices of modernity" (Hartley 1966: 32-34). Occupational ideologies of journalists at the work place contribute to this sense-making. However, are there any universal occupational norms which transverse domestication and work place practices, that define the character of the journalistic practice at a global as well as local level? Here, the objectivity as a journalistic core value carries importance.

According to Schudson (2001), objectivity is an evolving concept, but it has not always been a norm for journalism. Rather it was adopted at some point, arguably during the 1920s, and since then has been a most debatable, confusing, slippery and problematic concept in journalism (Munoz-Torres 2012).Yet, it has come to be regarded as a 'cornerstone principle' (Munoz-Torres) and 'the emblem' of American journalism (Schudson 1978). The core

meaning of objectivity refers to an accumulation of value free presentations of knowledge about events. With the same spirit, academics and journalists revisit objectivity through synonymous concepts like fairness, balanced coverage, professional distance, detachment, neutrality or impartiality to legitimate what media practitioners do (Deuze 2005). Jones states that, neutrality in reporting has been the core of American journalistic objectivity. He defines "journalistic objectivity as a genuine effort to be an honest broker when it comes to news. That means playing it straight without favouring one side when the facts are in dispute, regardless of your own views and preferences" (Jones 2009: 82). In America, early newspaper proprietors did not consider themselves learned professionals, rather they were small tradesmen aiming to publish what comes to them and never attempted to gather news. However, as the newspaper publishing became a large business and developed as a central forum for political discourse, editors wanted to avoid controversy and sought to attract readers across the political spectrum. The editors also wanted to take pride in their work, hence, they emphasized the notion of rigorous objectivity. Schudson describes the development, writing "[…] commercialism in journalism was an important precondition for modern notions of objectivity or fairness, but, at first it fostered only a narrow concept of stenographic fairness" (Schudson 2001: 155).

Kovasch and Rosenstiel (2010) refer to the objective method of data gathering i.e. cross-checking of facts and consulting multiple sources for reliability of information, even abandoning the story when the reporters doubt the truthfulness of the facts, asking many sides for comments and disclosing their sources as much as possible. To gain credibility and reliability among the readers, journalism requires a systematic method of verifying the reliability of the information obtained. This also relates to Walter Lippmann's prophesy for a unity of methods in which he finds objectivity the cardinal principle (Lippmann 1920; Schudson 2001). However, Schudson discusses certain nuances:

> The objectivity norm guides journalists to separate facts from values and to report only the facts. Objective reporting is supposed to be cool, rather than emotional, in tone. Objective reporting takes pains to represent fairly each leading side in a political controversy. According to the objective norm, the journalist's job consists of reporting something called 'news' without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way. The value of objectivity is upheld

specifically against partisan journalism in which newspapers are the declared allies or agents of political parties and their reporting of news is an element of partisan struggle. Partisan journalists, like objective journalists, typically reject inaccuracy, lying and misinformation, but partisan journalists do not hesitate to present information from the perspective of a particular party or faction (Schudson 2001: 150).

On the backdrop of fuzziness and fluidity of the concept, Jones (2009) puts forth the idea of genuine objectivity versus the illusion of objectivity. Discovering the illusion of objectivity gave rise to the basic crisis of objectivity. While the former refers to a systematic methodological norm to approach ever more closely the truth, the latter pretends to be objective by creating an unfounded sense of fairness and balance in the stories.

However, since truth-seeking is the main motto in journalism and largely revolves around the notion of objectivity, some (Ryan 2001) argue that, journalistic objectivity is a variant of scientific objectivity. Objectivity in science stems from empiricist philosophy and positivism, and can most rigorously be applied to some of the natural sciences. It is a much more complex question when reporting events among thinking and reflecting human populations. Taking up the notion from the natural sciences, objectivity in journalism has been equated with the strict pursuit of truth. Objectivity is conceptualized as a dispassionate account of 'the outside world' as it impinges on our senses. To achieve objectivity "[…] one must stick to the facts, letting the facts speak for themselves, without any interference by the subject who knows and relays them to others" (Munoz-Torres 2012: 571). However, I would say in every professional activity, for example journalism, knowledge production about the outside world must be subject to professional autonomy and jurisdiction. While in the natural sciences, objective knowledge does not underscore certainty, rather it advances tentative hypotheses for further testing. But in journalism, unlike science, some proponents of objectivity argue in favour of objectivity as ideology, in practice believing it as tantamount to the truth of any phenomenon being reported. For others, objectivity is understood as a weapon of press freedom in exercising journalism and used as strategic rituals (Rayan 2001). Journalists consider the core of their mandate is to write about public events for public concerns. For professional responsibility to ideal of journalistic objectivity, journalists are responsible to unveil the truth by default. The core ideological value entails a form of public service

journalism and it has to be performed in a manner so that objectivity is maintained. Professional autonomy of journalists in their work and ethical practice is necessary in this regard.

There is a link between objectivity, ideology and ethics in journalism; in most cases, these notions share the same goal, that of pursuing truth. Yet, Deuze (2005) cautions: "[…] any definition of journalisms as a profession working truthfully, operating as a watchdog for the good of society as a whole and enabling citizens to be self- governing is not only naïve, but also one dimensional […]" (Deuze 2005: 458) . To get the fuller analysis of a media text one has to study how journalists negotiate the core values and adopt a form of professional ideology in their work. One description of professional ideology in journalism is "[…] cultural knowledge that constitutes 'news judgment', rooted deeply in the communicators' consciousness" (Schudson 2001: 153). Burns states that:

> The most appropriate framework in which to view journalism is to see it as the result of the systematic consideration of information with regard to broad news values refined by the context in which it is collected and disseminated. This focuses on the process, on the factors that guide the myriad of decisions journalists make (Burns 2009: 29).

For that, some scholars locate factors in 'class spirit' and some others in the 'collective knowledge' that the journalists employ in their work. Occupational ideology then endorses ethics to be situational and driven by just causes.

The status of journalistic knowledge is in fact dependent on how professionalism connects to the concept of objectivity as well as how journalists approach the profession. It is also characterized by how journalism itself relates to society and the audience, or readership, irrespective of its ability to produce authoritative knowledge and how the characters of news organizations with their influence on the claims of journalistic knowledge actually pursue journalistic knowledge. Schudson and Anderson (2009) operationalize the status of journalistic knowledge through the prism mutually developed by the concept of objectivity, which is claimed to be the essence of professionalism and their relevance to the journalistic truth. This also assumes that the status of journalistic knowledge/truth is shaped by professional power, authority, status and system, therefore, the notion of journalistic

jurisdiction carries importance. Professional jurisdiction refers to the "[…] day to day manner in which a profession both characterizes and displays its base of abstract knowledge […]" (Schudson & Anderson 2009: 89). In the case of journalism, it makes a connection between the everyday working manner of journalism, professional journalists and their claims about professional knowledge. The nexus of professional journalism and its relation to objectivity encourages neutrality, fairness and detachment to assure a somewhat generally accepted version of what is the true story of the event. That story may not enshrine absolute objectivity, as the existence of different moral norms affect the use of objectivity in journalism. In this light, Hallin and Mancini point out that objectivity "[…] is not the definitive professional norm in many non-American media systems where professionalism, nonetheless, exists" (as quoted in Schudson and Anderson 2009: 89).

Moreover, a profession is understood differently by various approaches to 'the facts'. The sociological approach emerging with a robust cultural authority dimension claims for a certain contextual status of knowledge. Whereas, the 'trait approach' focuses how a profession has achieved professional status and does not worry about the status of knowledge as such. The trait approach (Schudson 2001) usually lists some professional characteristics and then sees whether the professionals of the field fulfil them or not. However, according to some social scientists, the profession as a structural functional category has been rearticulated by the Weberian concept of profession, i.e. the job professional people do and what they pretend to do and how they portray themselves. This relates to Mencher's note: "We don't cover stories that are too hard or complicated […] we don't cover stories that will kill off our lifelines - our sources - and we don't cover stories that stray too far from the established prejudices of the day" (Mencher 1991: 614). Once journalists were trained on the virtues of objectivity, detachment and lack of bias to provide with simple true stories (McGregor 1983: 135), however, over time, values in journalistic practices have changed a lot. Koch states that, "The role of journalism is understood as much more complex activities than simply providing 'a window on the world' because 'the view through the window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear" (Koch 1990: 20). Therefore, socio-cultural, institutional and professional factors limit the scope of objectivity in journalism as well as shape the status and quality of journalism both as knowledge and practice.

2.3 Journalistic Context, Practice and Truth

Journalists work in a given context. They are expected to consider the values of society as well as the culture of working organizations. Indeed the cultures of these organizations might limit the journalists' capacity to reveal truth and maintaining objectivity. "The challenge for modern journalists is to find a way to negotiate the often competing professional, commercial, and ethical considerations involved in finding and presenting news, while adhering to a perception of journalism as playing an important role in society. It is a complex business trying to please your editor, your employer, yourself, and the whole audience" (Burns 2009: 7). The ideals of journalism may contradict with business and other commercial imperatives. This also becomes evident in the individual journalist's working style. Burns points out

> […] every individual journalist at some point chooses the words they use to describe the world. Each is empowered to be part of the problem or part of the solution. Each has the power to resist the 'easy' story that is fed to them by obliging media relations personnel. Each has the power to choose a different interviewee, to seek another point of view before writing. Each has the power to choose their own words to describe events, rather than duplicate what is provided to them in a media release (Burns 2009: 10).

The above statement discards the existence of any universal covering principle to inform the journalists' working style uniformly. Yet, the empiricists argue that journalistic methodology reveals data, facts as evidence to produce objective truth of the event and phenomenon. However, the opponents may conceive journalistic evidence-based truth as contextual knowledge, which does not produce absolute truth. Moreover, truth may exist, but various influences on the journalism process lead the process to be productive of a story that turns out to be something different from an objective representation of truth. Bird and Dardenne (1988 & 2009) state that news is not merely objective reporting, rather it is a mythological way of story-telling that narrates the story following conventional ways of turning an event into a story that shapes the audience's notion of reality, rather than portraying reality itself. Thus,

they argue against the positivistic notion of reality and truth used in other social sciences. From this perspective, journalistic truth suffers from being the real truth as such, rather than producing its own version of truth and knowledge about the phenomenon. Journalistic truth and knowledge is mediated and constructed truth; as such it does not necessarily imply the objective truth. Journalism, like science, follows paradigmatic rules and formulas. As a result, it might not end up exploring truth accepted for ever as inherent character of openness of paradigm invokes the possibility to bring change in journalism practice over time. Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1963) developed normative press models as follows: a) the authoritarian press model; b) the libertarian press model; c) the Soviet- communist and; d) the social responsibility model. Schramm et al. 1963; Davison et al. 1976; Dominick 2005 provide evidence of the explicit negotiation of journalism values as things occurred at different times around the world and put different occupational ideology at work. This also indicates that journalistic truth is relative and time-bounded.

Also, the degree of truth revealing depends on whom the journalist is loyal to. There are many stakeholders who tend to influence journalists to distort the truth or attempt to hide the truth that the journalists are eager to expose about suppressed facts. On the other hand, journalists themselves may also have their own stake in the event that leads them to some particular way of seeing, as they file and format the news event. It could either be driven by the journalist's self- interest, or other socio cultural factors. Therefore, external pressures upon the journalists and self-censorship among them can act as a hurdle to truth disclosure. Moreover, existing journalistic norms of balance which adhere to objectivity, can be problematic in themselves, as in the context of climate change reporting and the importance of maintaining objectivity (Boykoff and Boykoff 2004). These writers argue that by seeking balance, journalists aim for covering both sides of conflicting parties. This aim is considered a defence against charges of not being impartial, neutral or fair-minded, though balance reporting does not always ensure accurate coverage. Maintaining journalistic fairness and neutrality by putting equal attention to competing views may be possible in the context of social, political and cultural issues where the weight of arguments from both sides sound equally plausible; however, such balance cannot be applied to science reporting because competing views in the natural sciences actually do not carry equal weight (Gelbspan 1998). Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) revealed how by the act of balance, American prestige press

ends up with biased and distorted reporting about climate change. In situations where climate change has been established by science and climate change scepticism lacks scientific evidence, such situations, giving roughly equal attention and weights to both sides creates journalistic bias in reporting. Giving a balanced treatment to an imbalanced issue as well as fuelling a debate of scientific uncertainty about a certain issue like climate change by American press that influence global inaction instead of immediate action are convincing evidences that journalistic balance can actually prove to be a bias. Along with political and economic norms, this journalistic norm influences the truth seeking and truth revealing in journalism. Kovach and Rosenstiel argue: "[…] the notion that journalists must seek out the truth is clear, but that is not enough. What conditions are necessary for them to be able to know the truth and also communicate that truth to the public in a way that citizens will believe?' (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001: 52).

Moreover, journalism, which once used to be missionary[2] work or tried to serve the public, has largely turned into a commercial and political enterprise. In this new context, Harcup states that, "Journalists work in a field of conflicting loyalties, all of which have the potential to influence their work. They must feel a sense of duty towards their audience, editors, advertisers, proprietors, the law, regulatory bodies, contacts, colleagues, fellow citizens, and to themselves and their families" (Harcap 2009: 17; see also Frost 2000; Harcup 2002). Therefore, it is not possible to have a genuinely free press in today's free market because there are many market forces and related interests that have a bearing on journalism. These contemporary characteristics of modern journalism create tension between news and business departments of media institutions, especially in determining the extent to which the media should serve the public interest or be commercially liable. The business features of the media often must negotiate the quality of journalism by restricting liberty of news selection and reducing the coverage. However, for revealing the truth, newspapers must have freedom to report. The problem is that many challenges have emerged for journalism as a profession to remain a credible news delivery institution. It is expected that journalists should be loyal to citizens, and their independence in discharging duties is measured by how far they are

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[2] During the early days of journalism in the Indian subcontinent, newspapers were brought forward by social reformers and learned philanthropic persons to enlighten and bring awareness to people about social odds and inspire positive changes in the society to ensure the public good.

accountable to the citizens. Media structures and the societal infrastructure also set limits to journalistic practices. Therefore, news is being filtered in many ways before reaching its intended audience. Herman and Chomsky state that, "Within the limits of the filter constraints they often are objective; the constraints are so powerful, and are built into the system in such a fundamental way, that alternative bases of news choices are hardly imaginable" (Herman and Chomsky 2001: 258).

Objectivity though considered as motto of journalism, has been problematized conceptually and pragmatically. As an overarching norm it informs the journalists in their professional work, yet does not necessarily work as a cardinal principle to shape their work. Moreover, contexts present challenges. In general, the status of journalistic knowledge has to be viewed through the prism made by society and its institutional cultures, as well as by the actions of journalists themselves. The degree to which journalism reveals the truth emerges from this complex set of contexts and circumstances.

2.4 Journalism in Bangladesh and its Barriers

The media sector in Bangladesh has developed enormously in recent decades. There are 1,133 daily newspapers published in the country, 429 from Dhaka and the remaining 704 from regional areas (DFP 2016). In addition, there are many magazines published regularly from different places. In total, there are 1,085 print media outlets run from Dhaka and more than 1,860 from regional areas. The two newspapers undertaken for this study, *The Prothom Alo* and *The Daily Star*, are prominent and enjoy the goodwill of their readers. According to DFP (2016) their circulation numbers are, respectively, 501,800 and 44,592; however the actual readership is much higher as a subscribed copy of newspapers at households and institutions are read by family members and other non-subscriber readers. A robust growth has occurred in the sector of electronic media as well. There are 40 television channels in Bangladesh. The government owned radio *Bangladesh Betar* has 12 stations while 28 FM radio licences have been awarded. 1,800 online news portals have applied for registration so far. In terms of numbers, a robust media sector exists in Bangladesh, as does the debate regarding the quality of journalism in the country.

In line with the expansion of the media industry, journalism education has also expanded. Once there was only the University of Dhaka that provided journalism education, but since 1990 a number of other public universities offer journalism degrees as well. The presence of journalism graduates in the job market is significant. A survey on 352 journalist respondents shows that 86.8 percent of journalists hold college or university degrees whereas 43.7 per cent have specialization either in journalism or the communication field. Yet, the job market is very competitive and is currently dominated by the younger professionals. Ullah and Akhter observe that "The average portfolio of a Bangladeshi journalist is a young male Bangalee Muslim (89.1%) in his mid-thirties holding a college/ university degree" (Ullah and Akhter 2016: 1). Despite changes over the time, journalism profession in the country remain uncertain.

 Professional constraints arise mainly from different sources such as the nature of power wielded by the state, political interests, media ownership and management style and the impact of the new liberal economics on the media institutions. Rhaman (2009) argues that while the external pressures on the press reduce the journalists' freedom to write, the quality of journalism is often reduced by such internal factors as the blending of factual information with opinion, bias in determining news value, advertisements disguised as news, a media trail, fabrication and distortion of facts, and quoting irrelevant news sources in the stories.

Kathun et al. (2017) have identified barriers[3] to press freedom from the coverage of press freedom by some major mainstream newspapers as follows: government/ruling political parties (5.1 per cent), opposition parties (9 per cent), religious parties (65.9 per cent), media owners (5.3 per cent), self-censorship (1.1 per cent), threats by miscreants (6.6 per cent), laws and policies (0.5 percent) and so on. This study was conducted in a politically volatile context in 2013 when some bloggers were killed and therefore cannot be generalized, yet gives a sense of the constraints to journalism profession in the country.

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[3] They studied the content related to press freedom and freedom of expression published in five mainstream newspapers from Dhaka during a two-month period and identified who and how frequently they are mentioned as press freedom barriers in the contents.

"There are various statutory provisions in Bangladesh that are misinterpreted and abused by the government officials to deny the public right to information and, therefore, deprive them of informed opinions, criticisms, and decisions regarding public affairs which affect their own welfare" (Baul 2004 as quoted in Rahman 2006: 21). Article 39 of the Bangladesh constitution guarantees press freedom and freedom of expression for every citizen. It says "(a) the right of every citizen to freedom of speech and expressions; and (b) freedom of the press, are guaranteed" (Haque 1992: 45). However, this freedom is reduced because it is "Subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by the law in the interest of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence" (ibid.). As for restrictions Rahman (2006) states "The constitution thus kept the balancing theory in view while guaranteeing the freedom of speech which is hedged by being subject to any reasonable restriction" (Rahman 2006: 12). Beside the constitutional provisions, there are dozens of laws[4] that apply to mass media in general and journalism in particular. However, while the Right to Information Act was adopted in 2009 it was hailed and seen as opening an avenue to gather information from official sources. Conversely, the ICT Act 2006 (amendment 2013) especially its clause 57[5] has become draconian to restrict freedom of expression and press freedom in Bangladesh. This act empowered law enforcing agencies to arrest anybody who violates clause 57 without any warrant and that person lands in jail as violations of this Act result in imprisonment without bail. The recently adopted online media policy 2017 that upholds all the existing legal and policy guideline restrictions[6], moreover obliges the online media operators to have their editorial policy approved by the ministry arouses concern for the independent and free practice of

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[4] The Printing Presses and Publications (Declaration and Registration) Act, 1973; The Press Council Act 1974; The Indecent Advertisement Prohibition Act, 1963; The Official Secrets Acts 1923; The Contempt of Courts Act, 1926; The Right to Information Act, 2009; The ICT Act, 2013; The Online Media Act, 2017 etc.

[5] "If any person deliberately publishes or transmits or causes to be published or transmitted in the website or in electronic form any material which is fake and obscene or its effect is such as to tend to deprave and corrupt persons who are likely, having regard to all relevant circumstances, to read, see or hear the matter contained or embodied in it or causes to deteriorate or creates possibility to deteriorate law and order, prejudice the image of the state or person or causes to hurt or may hurt religious belief or instigate against any person or organization, then this activity of his will be regarded as an offence. In providing punishment it says, 'whoever commits offence under sub-section of this section he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and with fine which may extend to Taka one crore. (section 57, ICT Act 2006 as quoted in Badruzzaman 2016: 68)

[6] Broadcast Media Policy 2013, Online Media Policy 2017

journalism in the country. In such a legal environment, it is not surprising that journalism faces multiple blows at different stages of news gathering, filing and production.

Though the media ideologically are required to be detached from parties, politics and power to be able to express freely, neutrally and independently, Bangladeshi media are generally politically aligned. Salam observes the political leaning of the media in the context of the Shahbag Movement in 2013. He states that,

> The main aim of media was to pursue and continue with a kind of partisan politics, instead of professional journalism, and thus appeases their political lords and keeps holding their loyalty to them. As a result, the solid loss accrued to professional journalism. This also contributed to the credibility crisis about media among citizens and it is increasing day by day. Politics and mass media both have suffered wounds here so to speak (Salam 2014: 14).

The sharp political divisions in the society as well as the media's leaning toward the interests of a political party have also created political divisions in Collective Bargaining Bodies (CBAs)[7] of the journalistic community. Once there was only the Dhaka Union of Journalists (DUJ) and the Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists (BFUJ) to bargain with the media owners and government for ensuring wages, fringe benefits and other wellbeing for members between the 1970s and the 1990s. Then, CBAs were united and led by senior iconic journalists. However, they lost their common platform when the unions became divided in the 1990s in relation to the major dominant political ideology and hence have been weakened in the fights against all the odds faced by the profession. Zakaria states that, "The division in the unions not only devitalizes the struggle of working journalists for their professional betterment, bread and butter but also triggers many other odds. Ideological differences, being further influenced and fuelled by political attitudes, now pose threats to the very existence of journalism" (Zakaria 2009: 43). Though polarised along political party lines, on many occasions the journalist associations organize joint

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[7] The East Pakistan Union of Journalists was established in 1952, The Dhaka Union of Journalists was established in 1972 and the Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists was established in 1973 as CBA to work for the wellbeing of the journalist community in the then East Pakistan and Independent Bangladesh respectively.

demonstrations and protests against the killing, harassment and intimidation of journalists in the country (Rahman 2006).

Bangladeshi media also face financial constraints at different levels. First, many journalists are not paid according to the wage board set by the government. The experienced journalists with seniority are terminated as a cost cutting strategy. As a result, journalism has become a profession for the younger generations in Bangladesh, a demographic category which seems to have been relatively disposable. Moreover, local journalists are not even on the regular payroll and this may encourage corruption among them. When journalists are not being decently paid, their watchdog role in the prevention of corruption can come under assault.

None of the media report on negative issues associated with their own respective owners, even though they adhere to news values and thus pay close attention to the practices of owners who compromise the principles of professional journalism. Moreover, they keep silent and kill negative stories about their potential advertisers' businesses. Thus, the financial issues and interests of the owners narrow down the scope of journalistic truth in Bangladesh. Islam states

> It is said that no paper or periodical can stand up to financial power in Bangladesh. It needs money to bring out papers. The revenue earned from subscribers can not cover even a fraction of the production cost even if the circulation is exceptionally high. Advertisements are the lifeblood of the media, and since the government is the biggest of the blood donors, as a result, it has a strong control over the press; and that is a barrier to the freedom of press in Bangladesh (Islam 2007: 56).

Despite many signs of modernity in different spheres, Bangladesh remains a traditional society that follows patron-client relationships instead of purportedly free individual professionals governed by professional codes and ethics. In such a society people grow up in a culture of secrecy and suppression. Moreover, individuals associate their journalists as members of different collective bodies where group interest influence professional works.

People seem to be in a close kinship network that often prioritizes kin's interest over professional duties and responsibilities. This applies to the journalism profession as well.

Journalists are routinely harassed, intimidated, and physically assaulted in the course of their work in Bangladesh (Islam 2006). Once known as a society of interfaith coexistence in peace and harmony, Bangladesh recently has become intolerant when it comes to showing respect for free expression of opinion. Five bloggers[8] have been killed by Islamists since 2013 for their writings. Consequently, many bloggers/writers have left the country and many stopped writing, both online and offline (Habiba et al. 2017). While newspapers report that bloggers are killed by Islamists, journalists are also targeted and killed[9], tortured and harassed by different interest groups.[10]

> There are almost daily causes of physical assaults and intimidation, particularly in rural areas. Not surprisingly, those journalists who report on political violence, official corruption and organized crimes are prime targets for reprisal by the police, political cadres affiliated with the ruling party, and by underworld criminal gangs who themselves often have ties to parties in powers (Islam 2007: 54).

Sagor Sarowar and Meherun Runy, both television journalists, were killed in 2012. Recently, a reporter for *The Daily Samakal* was shot dead by a political leader according to police investigation report (Rana and Lavlu 2017: 1). Nadia Sharmin a female television reporter was harassed while covering the Hefajot's[11] demonstration at Shapla Chattar[12] on

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[8] Ahmed Rajib Haider on 15 February 2013 in Dhaka, Avijit Roy on 26 February 2015 in Dhaka, Washiqur Rahman Babu on 30 March 2015 in Dhaka, Ananta Bijoy Das on 12 May 2015 in Sylhet, Niloy Neel on 7 August 2015 in Dhaka(CPJ report 2017).

[9] To name a few who have been killed: Saiful Alam Mukul of the Daily Runner on 30 August 1998 in Jessore, Shamsur Rahman of the Daily Janakantha on 16 July 2000 in Jessore, Manik Chandra Saha of the Daily New Age on 15 January 2004 in Khulna, Dipankar Chakrabarty of the Durjoy Bangla on 2 October 2004 in Sherpur, Humayon Kabir Balu of the Janmabhumi on 27 June 2004 in Khulna, Gawtom Das of the Samakal on November 17, 2005 in Faridpur, Golam Mostofa Sarowar of Massranga Television on 11 February 2012 in Dhaka, Meherun Runi of ATN Bangla Television on 11 February 2012 in Dhaka, Abdul Hakim Shimul of the Daily Samakal, a bullet wounded Shahjadpur reporter died on 3 February 2017 on the way to Dhaka (CPJ report 2017).

[10] Journalism was to operate under direct and indirect control during autocratic regimes. Press advice used to come from concerned ministry officials to kill stories. If that did not convince journalists there would be phone threats, physical and mental torture, and intimidation to bring journalists under control. If necessary, journalists were arrested and jailed as well.

[11] A religious Islamist group in Bangladesh called Hefajot-e- Islam.

May 5th, 2013. Rahman states that, "Journalism is not only a challenging profession but it becomes a sacrificial one" (Rahman 2006: 20) in Bangladesh.

Self-censorship has become a major barrier to press freedom and the practice of truth seeking in Bangladeshi journalism. This barrier might have different causes. First, as journalists are being killed, harassed and intimidated, they have become more aware of the issue of their own safety and security while working and filing stories. It is natural that many refrain from writing stories that may endanger their lives. Another of the causes is associated with editorship. Editorial institutions have not yet developed in a manner that encourages the pursuit of sound editorial policy for journalism, free of fear and favour. Once upon a time, the editor tended to be the owner, but nowadays editors are recruited from the professional journalists. In most cases editors tend to comply with the owners' dictation. Editors are hardly ever in a position to exercise editorial independence to run the media. Moreover, in most cases they play the role of business manager (Bulbul 2017). When the risk factors and professional hazards are not taken care of by the management, this has demoralizing effects upon the profession. While normative journalism emphasises objectivity and thus tends to focus on revealing and claiming truth, the practical circumstances indicate many lacuna of the actual journalism processes. Gen this situation, one may well ask, is it in fact possible for journalism to be objective and disclose the truth in Bangladesh?

Historically newspapers in the Indian subcontinent seemed to take citizens' side to protect human rights and peoples' wellbeing and therefore have played a strong role against the colonial establishment and the powerful elites. The people's social, political and economic emancipation has always been an issue in the newspapers, both during British and Pakistani colonial rule as well as during military regimes in Independent Bangladesh. Despite many hurdles to write freely, journalists seek to focus on justice for people, misrule of rulers, gender disparity, and disparity between rich and poor in society. In the early period, social reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote against all social ills, including burning Hindu widows (The Hindu funeral practice of Sati) in his newspapers called *The*

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[12] A square at central business area in Dhaka where a demonstration took place by Hefajot-e-Islam on 5 May 2013.

Miratul Akhbar, Sambad Kawmudi and Bengal Herald (Imran 2016; Mitra 1992). *The Gram Barta Prokashika* an early newspaper, run by a school teacher, Harinath Majumdar was banned by the then local Jamindar for its role in favour of people by filing investigative reports on the miseries suffered by the people and the tyrannical rule of the elites (Dhar 1986: 20-22; also see Roy 2016). *The Nabajug, Dhumketu* and *Langol* run by the Bengali national poet Kazi Nazrul Islam played a significant role for the independence of the Indian subcontinent and Nazrul was jailed for his journalistic role against the colonial ruler and his writing for peoples' emancipation (Awal 2000). During Pakistani rule, some newspapers, such as *The Daily Azad, Millat,* and *Insaf* took the side of Bengali speaking people to establish Bangla as one of the state languages of Pakistan since Bengalis' right to speak their mother language was denied by the then Pakistani political leaders (ibid. 51-53). Newspapers in independent Bangladesh published articles, op-eds and editorials relentlessly against autocracy and the misuse of power and corruption by military regimes and helped the nation achieve rights and pursue justice on different occasions. This trend of newspaper journalism continues to a considerable extent and thus print coverage retains its link to the watch dog role for promoting good governance and transparency and raising voices whenever rights are violated and justice is denied.

Climate change as an issue of justice is taken seriously by Bangladeshi newspapers, primarily for the negative consequences of such change. The gravity of the issue poses challenges to food production, public health issues, and the internal displacement of huge populations. Thus the issue is linked to social justice, disparity and development. Despite the paucity of skilled reporters for covering climate science, and despite the scarcity of resources (the lack of time to file in-depth stories on different dimensions of the issues) the two selected newspapers for this study both place much attention on climate related issues. Though their coverage fluctuates due to various reasons (see Article One), climate justice is sought by the newspapers by utilizing the potential of development and advocacy journalism (see Articles Three and Four). The newspapers' framing of climate justice took a shape by moving from making mere non-assertive appeals to launching assertive demands, calling for protest and movements for justice (see Article Two).

2.5 Objectivity, Advocacy and Development Journalism

Journalism has many genres[13] and dimensions[14] though journalistic reporting may broadly be classified as surface and in-depth reporting. While surface reporting is seen as texts produced in hurry and due to a focus on obligation of informing the audience immediately are usually deemed surface reporting. Such journalism mainly informs about the what, when and where questions of the event; on the other hand, in-depth reporting explores the answer of how and why questions about the event. In both cases, reporters are guided by the journalistic principle of objectivity; they file stories on the basis of facts in order to give the audience a neutral picture of the event. While the journalistic goals of objectivity and advocacy is compared connotatively, sometimes the impression is made that objectivity is something which is the truth about the event, while advocacy is sometimes viewed as writing that is based on false and fabricated figures and information and aims to advance the writer's personal interests. Whereas in the discussion of objectivity earlier in this chapter we found that objectivity is a problematic concept carrying various interpretations and tends not to be free of values, and does not work as the universal cardinal principle underlying all journalism. Rather, the core values of journalism are domesticated and shaped by the context. Too often, objectivity is generally understood as a professional value while advocacy is considered personal and something which "might hinder good journalism" (Krovel et al. 2012: 25). This lexicographical meaning might be logical in some other fields, however in journalism, this dichotomous interpretation is misleading. While objectivity relates to neutrality, balance and fairness as a principle for all types of journalism, advocacy journalism as a type, in the face of social hierarchies and power imbalances, emphasises more the question of fairness. In some cases, to ensure justice and fairness among the stakeholders, advocacy is preferred. While normative objectivity has the risk of being biased and unfair in case of making balance between right and wrong, advocacy journalism is applicable only where the taking of sides is rightly justified by history, conditions and facts. In order to be just, one may negotiate with neutrality as an important journalistic value by taking sides explicitly, however upholding the

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[13] News report, reportage, feature, interview, editorial, post-editorial, op-ed, life sketch and illustration, column, letters, and so on.
[14] Hanitzsch (2007) talks about 7 dimensions: interventionism, power distance, market orientation, objectivism, empiricism, relativism, and idealism.

greater value of fairness, justice and attention to facts. And that is the value that provides a strong foothold to the journalists for advocacy journalism.

In fact, objectivity as a principle, advocacy and development journalism as types are different sides of the same coin: journalism. Advocacy journalism allows the reporters to take sides, which is its inherent strength when pursuing a just case for the collective wellbeing. However, professionally and ethically, that side-taking can never be based on falsity and fabrication. Rather, advocacy, for all its assertiveness, is still journalism that remains based on true facts. The nexus between these two relates to the style in use of journalistic language. The principle of objective, whether applied to surface reporting or in-depth reporting, does not utilize strategical language; rather it describes the event straight without adding colours or values to it. But in advocacy journalism, one remains objective toward the facts, but one may use the language in a way so that one's partisanship, one's taking of sides, becomes explicit, assertive to just causes for greater wellbeing. The absence and presence of advocacy elements both in surface and in-depth reports determine whether they turn up as advocacy reporting. In both cases objectivity is not undermined. While the choice of issues to cover is guided by advocacy and an interest in fighting injustice, the method of data collection and investigation are the same for all types of journalism. Moreover, as journalism is not only exercised for informing the public, but also for teaching and persuading them towards social change, it could be argued from the functional point of view that all types of journalistic reporting carry values of advocacy. Simply because they all mean to tell the public, mould the opinion and change attitudes and behaviour for the betterment of the society. Therefore, advocacy may remain implicit in journalistic reports though sometimes may appear explicit. However, as advocacy journalism is predominantly accomplished by extra-reporting -- other opinion-oriented journalistic genres such as editorial, post editorial, op-eds and columns -- here, advocacy becomes explicit. Thus, advocacy in journalism can be theorized as two-fold: implicit advocacy relates to reporting genres, explicit advocacy relates to all other journalistic genres, however predominantly it might be in opinionated genres. They may be termed as latent advocacy or as manifested advocacy. On the other hand, development journalism also carries advocacy elements. Development journalism is often seen as the Southern approach to journalism as opposed to traditional Western mainstream journalism; however, Hanitzsch (2011) considers development journalism as a form of advocacy journalism or journalism

with an interventionist approach. Yet "[…] journalists across genres and media types invoke more or less the same ideal-typical value system when discussing and reflecting on their work" (Deuze 2005: 444). As development journalism at its best addresses the social gap, inequality, inherent problems in development planning and implementation, and marginalization of ethnic groups, its aim is to bring equality and justice to society, so both development journalism and advocacy journalism may share the same values.

Scholars (Hanitzsch 2011; Frey et al. 2017) have been exploring the similarities and differences in journalism values across the globe. Though normative press models define distinctive practices internationally, and other scholars including McQuail (2000) suggest a wide variety of journalistic practices, still journalism and the media system has been classified over the time according to a conceptual binary paradigm: The US and the rest, the North and South, the West and the West, and the West and the global (Obijiofor and Hanush 2011). Despite, the universally accepted common value, across cultural setting, the freedom to report, Deuze (2005) still finds other common values of journalism as nostalgic and naive. While there is hardly any common value found in different comparative studies about journalistic norms, values and principles across cultures, journalism practices do share one commonality, they all tend to be different, negotiated and domesticated (Krovel et al. 2012). This underscores that journalism is performed with the local 'cultural bag' and 'ideological hat' on by the journalists themselves and it especially relates to global issues such as the climate change.

Eide and Kunelius (2010, 2012) in their global studies of the comparative coverage of climate change during the conference of parties (COPs) have provided evidence of the journalistic domestication of climate change. This domestication is normal, as journalism is informed by the occupational ideology at the workplace. This domestication takes different shapes in climate change journalism; in Bangladesh it tends to lean on advocacy and development journalism. Bangladeshi climate journalists take the sides of victims and advocate for climate justice.

In fact, balancing by talking from the perspective of both parties in a dispute or debate, that is, with the sceptics and the victims in the context of climate change, constitutes biased

journalism (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004). Bangladeshi newspaper journalism on climate change issues is free from this bias of balance, in spite of many barriers that influence over all journalism practice in the country. Despite many limitations, Bangladeshi climate change journalism is evolving as genre of advocacy and development journalism that focus on the development concerns of climate change consequences in general and mitigation, adaptation initiatives and climate justice in particular.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the concepts of journalism, objectivity and the debate concerning truth-seeking in journalism. It finds that there is no uniformity in conceptualization and practice of journalism across the world as its practice is distinguished by an occupational or professional ideology which is operative at work. The notion of objectivity has been negotiated by the journalists as it faces hurdles to be achieved. On the other hand, the methodological objectivity advocated by the mainstream media to achieve truthfulness does not operate properly in every context. The moral demand of journalism which is truth seeking and truth revealing, in fact has always been a struggle and a claim made by media institutions and professionals to justify their work. This is important for them as their working mandate has been built on this moral ethical point. However, reality shows that journalists work in certain political, economic, and cultural contexts, which have their own value judgements and power relations impinging upon the moral claims. The methodological limits as well as limits arising from the socio-cultural context, endorse what we know from journalism as 'known as true' or 'mediated true' through the validity process of the profession that does not necessarily refer to what is considered as 'just being true' or absolute truth about the event. The journalistic reflection of climate change issues in Bangladeshi newspapers may give us a sense of what have been going on. However, that is not the whole story; many things remain uncovered. These also need to be taken care of by journalism professionals, climate activists, policy makers and relevant stakeholders.

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CHAPTER 3

CLIMATE JUSTICE PRINCIPLES, POLITICS, POLICIES AND JOURNALISM: THE BANGLADESH CASE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the concept of climate justice and then justifies the importance of climate justice for Bangladesh in light of its vulnerability to changing climate. In this context, this chapter explores the relevance and challenges of journalistic practices and in particularly the role of advocacy journalism and development journalism in creating discourse for climate justice for Bangladesh.

I will argue in this chapter that there is a legitimate role for the practice of development journalism in Bangladesh in covering the climate change issues as it largely delves into climate change as an issue of justice. "Justice is a significant undercurrent in journalism" (Roosvall 2017: 129). Advocacy journalism is also applied when there is a cause of injustice and the justification of advocacy in journalism relies upon the just cause for the greater benefit of humankind. Climate change has already been raised as an issue of global injustice as well as its contribution to injustice between the generations and among the tribal communities, ethnicities and species present in the local area. The issue of justice also gives voice to the voice-less and reflects on their everyday experiences, functions important for journalism so that actors in the society can take action and address these problems. Thus, it has relevance to development journalism as it deals with gaps in society such as gender gaps and other inequalities between rich and poor, development gaps, democracy deficits, abuses of human rights etc. Moreover, the overarching consequences of climate change provide a scope for journalists to write about how it affects health conditions, food security and food production, insecurity of life and livelihood due to salinity intrusion and sea level rise, all of which belong to the area of development journalism. As climate change poses development

challenges in Bangladesh, development journalism is relevant and carries great potential when it comes to focusing attention on the causes and effects of development processes, how stakeholders' pursue actions and what the people's participation in implementation of climate friendly development projects is, and thus explores remedies to address negative consequences to people, society and human and other species.

3.2 Climate Justice

Climate change, in fact, is a justice issue (see Article 2). The concept of justice in the climate change discussion is interchangeably used with equity, equality, and fairness. The discussion of climate justice mainly revolves around how to distribute the cost and burden of climate change at the global level. However, the major problem of climate justice for developing nations is how to develop appropriate mechanisms and provide required funding for the victim nations such as Bangladesh, countries which are being highly impacted by global warming without being predominantly responsible for the phenomenon. These policies and mechanisms may help the victim nations implement projects to address the adverse consequences of climate change for adaptation and mitigation. Countries like Bangladesh are already suffering from problems created by other nations as they have exploited resources and industrialized their economies over the course of the past two hundred years.

In the literature, climate justice is seen as a multi-varied phenomenon, with various components such as compensatory justice, distributive justice, corrective justice and procedural justice (see Article 2). Compensatory justice advocacy calls on the developed nations to finance climate change costs among the least developed countries (LDCs). The argument is that the developed world should bear the brunt of climate change since much of it has been caused by their long emission history. Procedural justice considers the non-inclusive international structure of climate regime as a barrier to climate justice and therefore stresses, according to Klinsky and Dowlatabadi (2009), the importance of representation of all stakeholders in the decision-making process. The distributive justice treats how to cap emissions to avoid further increase of global temperature, but in that process, allows the option for some countries to continue their current emission levels, to a negotiated degree, while some others must cease their emissions right away. On the other hand, corrective justice refers to how the emitter countries should go ahead with their commitments for

emission cuts for ensuring corrective emission measures to achieve a way of life and development based on reduced emissions and ever greener production and consumption (Gardiner 2011).

These different kinds of justice have implications for different political domains, i.e. international, domestic, intergenerational, environmental and ecological levels of climate policy and action (Okereke 2010; Page 1999). Moreover, climate justice also entails international justice with respect to carbon trade and climate migration as well as global justice in the form of alleviating inequality and poverty and respecting human rights to a healthy environment. Further, Roosvall (2017), Roosvall and Tegelberg (2012) extend the notion towards transnational justice by analysing where the effects of climate change fall on transnational indigenous groups. This is an issue that may also relevant to different ethnic communities in the global South. With regard to the apocalyptic nature of climate change consequences, applying justice principles to the global-local policies requires global solidarity and collective, international actions. Solidarity is illustrated by "[…] the communication of human vulnerability as a political question of injustice that can become the object of our collective reflection, empathic emotion and transformative action" (Chouliaraki 2011: 377). In other words, the question of responsibility for climate justice is largely dependent on the collective responsibility of the human community in the form of solidarity (Roosvall 2017).

This thesis takes justice as a principal theoretical concept for analysing the journalistic materials produced on climate change in the two selected newspapers of Bangladesh. Analysis of climate change from a justice point of view specifically requires an in-depth operationalization of the related issues from the angle of the historical injustice imposed on the marginalized nations, often for generations.

Various formulas and arguments for climate justice are available in the existing literature, however "[…] seldom explicitly discussed and problematized" at the global climate negotiations (Roosvall 2017: 129). In order to delineate the point of justice in climate policies, one must pay particular attention to distributive justice (largely connected to other dimensions of climate justice). Klinsky and Dowlatabadi (2009) make three points in this

regard: 1. which distribution rules are applied?; 2. how is the problem of climate change and climate policy understood? and; 3. which metrics are used to measure costs and benefits? The following principles with respect to the above considerations elaborate further ways in which to apprehend climate justice.

3.2.1   Historical Responsibility /Polluters Pay Principle

Nussbaum (2013) underscores the importance of past and historical justice in addressing climate change. The historical responsibility/polluters pay principle argues for looking back to understand the present situation as we cannot talk about the present without taking the past into consideration. Chakrabarty maintains "[…] history exists on the assumption that our past, present and future are connected by a certain continuity of human experience" (Chakrabarty 2009: 197). Therefore, on the basis of causal responsibility, those following this principle delegate the responsibility for meeting climate change problems to the nations which have been emitting carbon into the atmosphere for a long time, and thus are principally responsible for climate change. They are, according to the Kyoto Protocol, the Annex 1 developed nations. Baumert et al states that "Approximately 90% of cumulative carbon dioxide emissions have been emitted by 25 emitter nations" who fall in the category of Annex 1 (Baumert et al. 2005 as cited in Klinsky and Dowlatbadi 2009).

The argument of this principle is simply that the countries which are liable have to pay for meeting climate justice because it is their fault that the whole planet is suffering now and the developing countries have become victims of Annex1 countries' emissions and development. The earth represents our common resources, as Locke says "the earth and all that is therein is given to men for the support and comfort of their being". The earth and its contents "belong to mankind in common" (Locke as cited in Singer 2010). To elaborate further, the "tragedy to the commons" (the atmosphere, land, oceans and water resources) has been caused by the few. Therefore, the capacity of the global atmosphere to absorb carbon has been diminished, and climate change has generated an issue of distributive justice, i.e. determining which country has contributed and which country has not. Therefore, Singer argues for a historical principle of climate justice on the basis that:

"you broke it, now you fix it" (Singer 2010: 187). This also becomes clear from the following excerpt:

> At present rates of emissions - even including emissions that come from changes in land use like clearing forests - contributions of the developing nations to the atmospheric stock of greenhouse gases will not equal the build-up contributions of the developed nations until about 2038. If we adjust this calculation for population - in other words, if we ask when the contributions of the developing nations per person will equal the per person contributions of the developed nations to the atmospheric stock of greenhouse gases - the answer is not for at least another century.
>
> If the developed nations had had, during the past century, per capita emissions at the level of developing nations, we would not today be facing a problem of climate change caused by human activity […]. So, to put it in terms a child could understand, as far as the atmosphere is concerned, the developed nations broke it. If we believe that people should contribute to fixing something in proportion to their responsibility for breaking it, then the developed nations owe it to the rest of the world to fix the problem with the atmosphere (Singer 2010: 190).

There is a big gap in per capita income as well as gross national product (GNP) between Western and Southern countries. The accumulation and acquisition of wealth of Western nations has been made over the centuries. Nozick states that "the holdings of a person are just if he is entitled to them by the principle of justice in acquisition and transfer […] if acquisition was not just, compensation is required […] claiming resources can only be considered just acquisition as long as this does not make the situation of others worse" (Nozick 1974 as cited in Klinsky and Dowlatabadi 2011: 90). Moreover, such nations have become beneficiaries of these emissions by using and polluting the atmosphere without just claim. Given this situation, the beneficiaries and those who have not benefited cannot be made equally liable as the appropriation of property by Western nations "denied other countries the opportunity to use their shares" (Gardiner 2004: 580). However, a counter-argument is from opponents who state that their predecessors were not aware of the fact that early industrialization would cause climate degradation worldwide, so they must not be seen

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as liable for their unintended contribution to climate change. Further, the present generation must not be accountable for what their predecessors did. On the other hand, proponents argue that it is not the individual who is liable, rather the state, so they must pay.

3.2.2   Per-capita Emission Measurement and Equal Rights for Everyone

This principle allows allocating emission rights on the basis of a country's population size. This is being criticized by the countries of negative population growth (Western industrialized nations) and countries with small populations whose citizens already face considerable emission debts compared to the citizens of big population countries. Thus, according to this principle, people from countries with large populations have a lot of credit allowing for future emissions—according to the principle that emission rights be evenly distributed, and thus a just burden for the citizens from both types of countries. Singer has described the situation, saying:

> The United States currently produces more than five metric tons of carbon per person per year. Japan, Australia and Western European nations have per capita emissions that range from around 1.6 to 4.2 metric tons, with most below 3.0. In the developing world, emissions average 0.6 metric tons per capita, with China at 0.76 and India at 0.29. This means that to reach an even-handed per capita annual emission limit of one metric ton of carbon per person, India would be able to increase its carbon emissions to more than three times from their current emissions. China would be able to increase its emissions by a more modest 33 percent. The United States, on the other hand, would have to reduce its emissions to no more than one fifth of present level (Singer 2010: 191).

This may bring the distribution of emissions into a just system, but it does not solve the problem of increasing global warming as it does not matter who is emitting from where, all emissions in fact have the same consequences of devastating future for the planet.

3.2.3 Time Scale Principle

The time scale principle argues for a formula based on the present situation without looking back to the past. Young (2013) argues that global climate justice responsibility has to be seen and discussed from perspective of a future temporal scale. The proponents built up the argument of this principle based on the past ignorance of the consequences of carbon emission into the atmosphere. So they must not be viewed discriminately by the international community for their previous acts committed without awareness of future consequences. The proponents' view is that it would be fairer if the global community takes a fresh start and sets a standard that shows the way forward for all. A contrary argument is also evident: past ignorance of the future consequences cannot be an excuse, a stricter regime of liability and responsibility of developed nations must be upheld as they benefited in all aspects due to their early industrialization. Furthermore, they have not taken remedial action since 1990 when this ignorance was spelled and rectified by the first IPCC report in 1990.

3.2.4 The Worst off must be brought forward as Better off

Though per capita emissions may sound logical, whatever is done should make the conditions in the worst off climate change countries into conditions that are better. Singer refers to a Rawlsian notion of fairness (Rawls 2000) as cited by Singer: "that when we distribute goods, we can only justify giving more to those who are already well off if this will improve the position of those who are worst off. Otherwise, we should give only to those who are, in terms of resources, at the lowest level […] This approach allows us to depart from equality, but only when doing so helps the worse - off" (Singer 2010: 191). If the rich countries reduce the emissions and the accruing benefit does not go to the developing nations, then it would make the poor countries worse off instead of better off. Condition in the poor countries would be even worse if the total cost is not covered by the rich nations. Therefore if we are to have a fairer formula, the rich nations must bear the costs along with their emission cuts so that the benefits of formula to the globe can be channelled to the poor countries.

There have been principles and ideas of solution to the problem but the actualities of political life have not allowed world leaders to come to a consensus, at last not until the COP21 in

Paris, where the formula appealing for global climate governance was acceptable to all nations. Climate justice becomes more complex when any equitable approach to climate justice crosscuts with varied dimensions of justice, such as compensatory, distributive, procedural and corrective justice. The above principles may deal with compensatory and distributive aspects but there is a need to develop mechanisms to create egalitarian democratic spaces for obtaining procedural and corrective justice too. Yet, the positive aspect is that the big emitter countries such as the USA and China came forward as signatories to the Paris Agreement in 2015. In contrast to the USA and China, the European Union along with the G77 and the most vulnerable states have suggested binding cuts at the previous COPs, even in the Paris discussions. However, the big emitting countries like India, Brazil, South Africa, Canada, and Australia neither supported the globally binding deal nor did they set their own targets. As the extension of the Kyoto Protocol expired in 2015 and had to be replaced by another deal to avoid the anomalies, and despite all the disagreements, Paris ended up with what Lima COP had predicted, - that there would be a narrow chance for a binding accord in Paris, i.e. that an optional deal might be approved which would not meet the criteria of climate justice in any way. As a result funding for dealing with global climate change is in crisis, especially funds for compensation. The global green fund has a huge deficit compared to its actual needs. Rich countries commit to pay tariff under carbon trading mechanism so that they can continue to emit in their own countries, but not showing interest to take the responsibility of improving the conditions of the most affected countries. At least the Paris Agreement answered the need for some sort of global governance, whether legally binding or not, so that monitoring can take place, and countries' follow up on their commitments is made more transparent.

3.3 Climate Justice and the Paris Agreement

After long negotiations between the parties, the Paris Agreement was adopted unanimously in COP 21 in 2015. It became a new global tool for climate change governance. The developing nations were of the view that the global climate burden had to be taken care of by the polluting nations so that justice could be done for the victim nations, through a legally binding deal, yet what the Paris Accord adopted was a voluntary mechanism. Some aspects of this voluntary mechanism are however obligatory, such as taking initiative for mitigation based on Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDCs) in the light of national

circumstances (Agreement, Article 3) and reporting on the progress with redefining the target of emission reduction in every five years (Agreement, Article 4). However, the agreement neither follows "historical responsibility principles" nor "the polluters pay principle". Rather, it imposes the climate burden to all nations. If the high emitter countries are not guided by high moral responsibility from their own commitment of decarbonisation, there is no other tool or mechanism to make them oblige. Further, the justice spirit of "a common but differentiated responsibility principle" has been diluted by introducing new jargon in the Paris Agreement such as "in the light of different national circumstances" (Agreement, Article 2). Though it argues for upholding national sovereignty, it can be construed as a euphemistic disguise, a way of delegating one's own responsibility to others. Santos states that "[…] even though participation in the global stocktake is mandatory for all the countries, the evaluation will be conducted based on the whole set of efforts rather than individually. Thus, the stocktake will focus on what needs to be done rather than who needs to do it or how much needs to be done" (Santos 2017: 7). Therefore, it may lead to prolonged political discourse instead of immediate actions for meeting climate justice.

Like mitigation, adaptation was also articulated as normative. The Paris Accord provided no guaranteed way of compensation financing to assist developing countries. Apparently, Article 7 includes aspects of adaptation - which is seen largely dependent on financing, capacity building of developing nations as well as technology transfer to them. However, avenues for addressing these funding aspects are missing. This has resulted in a procedural lapse in approaching the justice issue in the agreement (Agreement, Article 7 and 11). Moreover, the provision of providing US$100 billion adaptation fund a year from 2020 to 2025 from various sources of developed countries to developing nations adopted in Copenhagen COP, has been postponed in the Paris Agreement. The non-binding way of emissions reduction commitments for mitigation, along with weak mechanisms for adaptation financing, capacity building and transfer of technology to the developing nations may make: "[…]difficult the operation of environmental governance in terms of equity and justice, bringing about new disagreements in the near future" (Santos 2017: 9).

3.4 Climate Justice, Politics and Policies in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has taken climate change seriously. Its seriousness is reflected in its policy discourses and its initiatives undertaken to address climate change consequences (BCSAP 2008; Sixth Five Year Plan 2011-2015). However its politics regarding climate change can be understood from different dimensions: international, regional and national. At the international level Bangladesh is one of the strong proponents of the mainstream climate science produced by IPCC and has attempted to be a clear-voiced advocate that climate change is real and that Bangladesh has become a victim of climate change without contributing to it. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in her recent speech at the 69th UN General Assembly states that:

> The challenge of climate change has induced consequences that are far more complex and serious than in the past for our country. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) says climate consequence absorption costs will be 2 to 9 percent of total GDP by the year 2100. I mentioned in an earlier general assembly that if the sea level rises by one meter, 30 million people would become climate refugees. Climate is a life and death problem for Bangladesh. To address this problem adaptation is very important for us. We need enough resources to combat this problem. We need cooperation in the field of local knowledge transfer, capacity building and establishing infrastructure. We endorse the UN leadership under the UNFCC (translated, PM speech, 69 UN General Assembly, 2014: 5).

Bangladesh believes that the suffering this country is facing has been caused by the Western developed world. Therefore, Bangladesh's politics to address climate change has been led by the idea that the international community must do something for saving the victim nations, and that it can be done in different ways. The international community can channel compensation money for adaptation and mitigation endorsing 'the polluters pay principle' of climate justice on the basis of the historical responsibility of the Western nations. In this regard Bangladesh has raised its voice to develop the notion of a green fund, something which later became a reality. Moreover, it asserted that whatever fund is channelled to victim nations it should be direct, without any involvement of The World Bank and this money must not be a part of the annual contribution of the developed countries to the developing nations.

Bangladesh was of the view that any kind of international climate regime must be legally obligatory to ensure climate justice for the victim nations, whereas developed countries have backed non-binding commitments with monitoring options to check implementations. In contrast, Bangladesh has always put to the fore the need for the compensation fund, and technology transfer for green development. This has been the theme of Bangladesh's climate politics at the international level. However, working together for climate change with regional neighbours such as SAARC member countries has also been emphasized. In the 18th summit of SAARC leaders, the Bangladeshi Prime Minister stresses:

> Climate change poses serious challenges to much of our development enterprise. Intensity and frequency of disasters in our countries are rising. The risks are so grave that, for Bangladesh, climate change may wipe out 2 to 3% of our annual GDP, including displacement of more than 30 million people by 2050. To address the challenges of climate change related risks effectively and comprehensively, we have adopted a National Climate Change Strategy and a National Plan of Action. We have, so far, allocated 385 million US dollars from our own resources for adaptation and mitigation. At SAARC level, we need to secure result-oriented implementation of the regional Agreements and Plans through cross-border initiatives (PM Speech, 18th SAARC, 2014: 2).

Since it realizes its vulnerabilities to the consequences of climate change, Bangladesh has started building the capacity of the country to meet the challenges of climate change and make the country climate-resilient. Therefore, climate change has been incorporated into the national development strategy of Bangladesh, which prioritizes adaptation as a strategy to make the country much more resilient to climate change. In order to put the Bali Action Plan into national context, the Bangladesh government developed a 10 year action plan (2009-2018) for addressing the adverse impact of climate change, adaptation and mitigation. These are translated into six pillars: 1) Food security, social protection and health; 2) Comprehensive disaster management; 3) Infrastructure; 4) Research and knowledge management; 5) Mitigation and low carbon development; 6) Capacity building and institutional strengthening. These are major areas where different measures are taken to reduce the risk of climate change. Bangladesh has also created a National Climate Change

Fund with an initial sum of $45 million for adaptation. However, the action plan "[…] estimated that a $500 million programmes will need to be initiated in years 1 and 2 […] and the total cost of programmes commencing in the first 5 years could be of the order of $5 billion" (GoB 2008: 46) . Bangladesh is a developing country with low per-capita income and around 6.5 percent annual growth. As resilience activities require additional costs along with regular development programmes, climate change has emerged as a big threat to both socioeconomic development and poverty reduction. Due to its low adaptive capacity in financial, knowledge and technology arrangements, Bangladesh requires "[…] strong political commitment and support of the international community to assist in implementing its long-term climate –resilient strategy" (ibid. 40).

At the national level Bangladesh has developed policy documents to cap climate consequences and deal with climate change as part of its national development plans and programmes. Bangladesh is also encouraging green business and campaigning for green development such as campaigning for the use of solar energy, changing the brick field technology to make it climate friendly etc. However, as its carbon emissions are far less than any developed country, its main objective is to adapt to the climate change consequences and most of the money harnessed from different sources is spent on adaptation projects. This is evident in the climate change related policy papers. Despite having dedicated sectorial policy for climate change such as strategy papers, climate change is also integrated into the five year plans of the country as well as post MDG development goals. However, to mitigate certain recent high emission coal projects such as *Rampal* for electricity production, Bangladesh has initiated and is constructing a nuclear power project at *Rooppur*. This is a government policy for limiting carbon emissions, should civil society organizations such as Transparency International raise questions about the sincerity of governmental policy for emission reduction. The contradiction is also evident in the Prime Minister's speech during the celebration of establishing 3 million solar home systems under the alternative energy policy. She says, "We adopted a national energy policy when we came into power in 1996. In that policy, we emphasized the use of renewable energy, its publicity and growth […]. We have signed an agreement with Russia for establishing *Rooppur* Nuclear Power Plant (Translated, PM speech, 2014: 1-2). It seems that government policy and politics regarding carbon emissions reduction and environmental wellbeing does not follow any uniform principle.

Bangladesh endorses IPCC's knowledge in its policy and action though it sometimes falls into contradictions regarding policy formation and real action. Bangladesh adopted a slogan while celebrating the World Environment Day 2014. The slogan was "Raise your voice, not the sea level." The Prime Minister refers to IPCC while talking about climate consequences. She says industrially developed countries have emitted thousands of tons of carbon into atmosphere in the past and for that the temperature has increased. Island states including Bangladesh consequently face storms, natural disasters and tsunamis. Bangladesh has no responsibility for the global warming whereas we are affected severely. It seems that Bangladesh's climate politics is very active both nationally and internationally.

Some argue that Bangladesh's national development plans contradict with its demand for climate compensation from the international community. Yet the government is trying to mobilize money from its own internal sources for climate adaptation projects taken country wide and especially in the coastal belt. Bangladesh is also playing a leading role for regional climate change activities bringing SAARC countries together for climate change action.

It seems that government policies are multi-purposive. In the last UN General Assembly held in October 2014, Bangladesh's Prime Minister reminded the world community not to forget its material commitment to helping the affected nations. She mentions that by year 2100 Bangladesh will need 2 to 9 percent of GDP to absorb the climate heat cost. She recalled her earlier speech at the UN General Assembly where she pointed out that if the sea level rises by one meter, 30 million people of coastal areas of Bangladesh will lose their homesteads.

On the other hand, the rights-based organizations and civil society agencies have been mobilizing knowledge and campaigning for climate justice at national and international level. Recently an NGO called Centre for Climate Justice has started working in Bangladesh for knowledge management and advocacy for climate justice. The Bangladesh Climate Journalist Forum has been working with the same objective. Equity BD, a platform of six rights-based organizations, has climate justice as a separate focal issue. At the backdrop for climate change consequences to Bangladesh, and for activities undertaken by different stakeholders, journalism plays a vital role as it is considered an important tool to raise voices as well as to develop public perception and understanding about climate change in Bangladesh. The issue of greatest concern is the fact that the country has the possibility of losing one third of its

landmass, a huge catastrophe in such a tiny country. If that happens, where will the inhabitants of Bangladesh's coastal belt move? Newspapers can reflect on and write about the sufferings Bangladesh may face in near future. Newspapers' reflection on the situation that Bangladesh and other victim countries have been suffering may help international community to see what is happening and feel morally obliged to ensure climate justice.

Newspapers can contribute to this change of attitudes in the world in different ways: reflecting on the situation of climate change consequences, raising the voices of victims, arguing and lobbying for the just deal as well as giving space to the climate change issues until something is done by the international community to resolve the crisis. As 2015 was the deadline by which the international community must have an agreement; it was thus high time for newspapers to play their advocacy role.

3.5 The Drivers of Advocacy and Development Journalism

Climate justice in Bangladesh, as in other parts of the world, is, in fact, interconnected with the rest of the planet. The global common resource, the atmosphere, is shared by all nations. However, addressing climate justice while dealing with climate change issues, such as, carbon emission reduction, mitigation, adaptation and so forth is most urgent for severely affected nations. Moreover, there is national consensus among Bangladeshi scientists, professionals, academics, policy makers, and strategists that the globe has already committed to a certain degree of change in the climate system (Ahmed et al. 1999: 125). The media have been seen as intervening tools contributing to, or obstructing climate justice. At the global level, particularly in the global North, some media influenced by the climate sceptics have been campaigning against the climate science knowledge produced by IPCC. They have created a counter discourse to oppose prevailing science, which predicts negative climate change consequences (Painter 2011). Media in the global South, particularly in Bangladesh, are considered by the relevant stakeholders, i.e. government and civil society, as having the potential to address climate justice (see Articles 2, 3 and 4).

In Bangladesh climate change has triggered development journalism and advocacy journalism to a considerable extent. At the Bali conference, Bangladeshi delegates emphasized the generation of cutting edge knowledge about climate change consequences in Bangladesh and their dissemination. There is an immense literature which reveals

Bangladesh's vulnerability to climate change. The vulnerability is manifold and related all the basic human rights such as food, shelter and health. The Sixth Five Year Plan of Bangladesh states that roughly 10 million people are affected every year in Bangladesh due to recurring natural and human induced hazards disrupting Bangladesh's economy and the lives and livelihoods. Climate change is adding a new dimension to the current risk environment with severe impact on the livelihoods of up to 30 million people (GED 2015: 210).

> Bangladesh is extremely vulnerable to climate change because of its geophysical settings. It is a low-lying flat country with big inland water bodies […] Bangladesh is a flood prone country and very often experiences devastating floods during monsoons that cause damage to crops and properties. […] The potential impacts of climate change in Bangladesh are more floods, more droughts, drainage congestion, salinity intrusion and cyclones with higher intensities. All of which have severe implications on agriculture production and livelihood of people. […] Climate change and sea level rise will continue to affect Bangladesh through permanent inundation and drainage congestion. This will impact on food security and livelihood significantly. It is also important to revisit the planning and design of existing infrastructure and to rehabilitate these structures to make it climate resilient (GoB 2009).

Justice and journalism are strongly connected. Where justice is unmet, people suffer and vulnerabilities prevail. Here the media have a role to play. The normative functionality of journalism such as informing, educating, representing and giving voice to the voiceless is enshrined within the basic morality of establishing and upholding justice in society. However, there is paucity of scientific studies that deal with climate justice and journalism, though empirically "climate journalism has been subject to criticism, criticism that charges such journalism with being too focused on the political game […] too biased […] or disaster oriented" (Eide and Hahn 2017: 235). Journalistic potentials are underutilized to address climate justice. The level of public understanding of climate change in Bangladesh suggests that to help the public making wiser decisions about their lives, the central ideals of journalism of information could be more effectively employed. However, it is obvious that the power of journalism is also limited. Public decisions are influenced by many factors, especially when it comes to changing the individual's traits and habits. People of influence

are often averse to necessary changes in their lives, such as losing a privileged life style, moreover, there is no certainty that people will act according to scientifically-based media advice, even if it is delivered to them. Yet, the importance of journalism has an important role to connecting the dots, meaning connecting science with people's everyday experiences by reporting the situation on the ground (Eide and Hahn 2017). Thus, the media act as a bridge between citizens and government, people and policy makers, scientific and non-scientific communities. The media have an important role both as communicator and critic.

3.5.1 Increasing Certainty of Scientific Research Findings

Since the first IPCC report published in 1988 there has been differing views of certainty and confidence in the knowledge produced about the anthropogenic nature of climate change and thus the liability of the Western nations for the climate change sufferings. Gradually by the release of 5th IPCC Assessment Report, the certainty and confidence levels have increased. The media is accumulating new evidence to argue for the existence of anthropogenic climate change. International organizations such as Bonn based Germanwatch[9], Bath based Maplecroft[10] as well as various UN bodies including IPCC recognize that Bangladesh is one of the worst victims and Bangladesh will face severe conflict internally due to climate change. A strong humanitarian discourse emerged repeatedly in the daily *Prothom Alo* during COP15, saying that if Bangladesh survives the world will survive. The existence of the world's wellbeing was being viewed through the barometer of Bangladesh. This certainly shows some rationale of exercising development and advocacy journalism for the betterment of Bangladesh as well as for the world.

3.5.2 Felt Urgent Need of Media Reflection on the Consequences

The Bali Summit emphasized that consequences of climate change must be revealed through research and documented to argue the case at the international level to do more in order to save the affected countries. Bangladeshi media took this seriously. By that time, it was felt at

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[9] International organization based in Bonn, Germany, analyses climate risk and publishes global climate risk index.
[10] International consulting firm based in Bath, United Kingdom, and analyses global risks and publishes global index on different issues including environment and climate change and suggests strategic solution for resilience.

all levels globally and locally that something was happening in the climatic system. Later, in 2009, the Bangladesh Climate Policy Action Plan sought media action to reflect on the situation. The Bangladesh climate change cell was developed under the Ministry of Forests and Environment. This cell conducted and commissioned research projects to generate knowledge and their findings contributed to Bangladesh media taking the side of advocacy in favour of the climate victims (see Article 4). Journalists were included in the official delegations to the later COPs. A special association of climate journalists was established by the climate and environment reporters. These all in fact have influenced the mode of climate change journalism. Being inspired by the necessity of the country, government, and having access to COPs, IPCC reports along with research and monitoring of the local situation by internal and external agencies, the media started reporting on the issues related to developmental problems and advocating for the cause of the basic rights of the country, rights which shape climate change journalism, which to a degree is development and advocacy oriented (see Articles 3 and 4).

3.5.3   Making the Case Home and Abroad

To get recognition at international forums it was necessary for Bangladesh to mobilize and argue for its case. Bangladesh successfully did it at COP15 in Copenhagen. After that, relevant bodies and world leaders started talking about Bangladesh and its suffering due to climate change. A good number of journalists attended COP15; they wrote many items on the spot; other reporters at home produced many items. There was a mobilization from all quarters: NGOs, civil society, media, activists, government and researchers contributed to make Bangladesh a dramatic case, both at home and abroad. It turned up positively, since during the proceedings, Barack Obama, David Cameron and the Queen of Denmark talked to the Bangladesh Prime Minister about the sufferings of Bangladesh. They committed to do what they could to cooperate with Bangladesh for mitigations and adaptation activities. In this context it is not quite surprising that journalism took a turn toward development and advocacy (see Articles 3 and 4).

3.5.4   Concerted Action

There was no sceptical voice in Bangladesh against the mainstream climate science and each and every quarter became convinced to do more concerted action for meeting climate change problems. There was a national consensus in Bangladesh, at least to make the case for getting compensation in the form of green fund for adaptation activities and technology transfer for mitigation and green development. The concerted national voice reflected in the newspapers gave a tone of advocacy to the media's role.

3.5.5   Meeting Justice

Gradually climate change has become known as an issue of injustice internally and globally. Academic literature also produced many aspects of un-even issues between the Western rich nations and developing countries with respect to climate change. The evident liability of Western countries led the global climate justice movement. Bangladeshi NGOs and civil societies also co-opted this term and movement. It is obvious that where injustice prevails, the media take on the role of advocate, calling for talks in favour of victims and establishing restorative justice.

3.6 Journalistic Intervention for Climate Justice

Journalistic intervention in the field of climate change is necessary. This is the space where differing views and opinions can be seen and compared; they may indeed facilitate decision-making at different levels. Moreover it is important since not only the anthropogenic nature of climate change is being debated by the mainstream climate science and the sceptics. In addition, rather different aspects of the umbrella issue is also under debate, such as ways of mitigation, emission distribution, compensation for affected nations, emission trading and the green fund. Above all, there is the binding nature of the global deal which is being discussed and debated at national, regional and international levels. Particularly, advocacy journalism and development journalism can be tools for addressing climate change in order to reflect on the crisis, raise voices and make a case for mobilization and global, regional and local action.

3.6.1   Development Journalism: Theory and Potentials

Over the past century, the origin and tradition of development journalism was a response to the unjust imbalance of communication between countries of the North and South on issues relevant to developing nations with a focus of their own societal perspective (see Article 3). Accordingly, "reporting events of national and international significance should be constructive in the sense that it contributes positively to development of the country concerned. Its main focus should not be day- to- day news but on long- term development processes" (Kunczik 1988: 83). In the 1970s, scholars suggested that the developing nations should have their own journalistic focus, centred on the nature and need of the country, especially since, at the time, "Western models of journalism are seen as not transferrable to developing countries" (Kunczik 1988: 83). It was justified as providing a necessary backdrop for Western mainstream journalism, where issues of developing countries were viewed exclusively through the lens of the developed industrial world. Since this view was unable to reflect the issues with due importance and depth regarding the underdeveloped world, the pioneers of development journalism emphasized issues such as underdevelopment and their causes as related to the world economic system, the gender gap, and democracy and governance deficit. Furthermore, they emphasized, environmental issues from local perspectives in order to raise awareness as well as attract policy attention so that these issues could be addressed. However, development journalism was stigmatized as some of the practitioners took it as a tool of merely echoing support for government policies and governmental development programmes and activities without critical insight of those issues. Shafer states that it "has been imposed upon media professionals by government agencies through both benign and authoritarian methods and policies including media censorship and other restrains on contending journalistic models" (Shafer 1998: 32).

Bangladesh, as a developing country, faces many challenges. It has a small landmass with a dense population of 160 million people. Political unrest is also a common phenomenon in the country. Bangladesh is also particularly vulnerable to climate change. Maplecroft (2014) identified the country as the number one victim and found it to be prone to conflict and disaster due to the climate change effects. The effects of climate change in Bangladesh negatively impact to its ability to be self-reliant in food production, providing good quality drinking water and a healthy habitat for all. Sea level rise will soon make 30 million coastal

dwellers homeless. Yet, there are many adaptation activities taking place to cope with climate change effects. People are encouraged to grow vegetables on raised water beds constructed from mud, homesteads are raised as residential mounds, etc. Government is planning many mitigation projects such as encouraging solar energy use. In this context a practice of development journalism can be helpful to raise awareness among the people and to educate the population on ways to tackle climate adaptation.

Development reporting, while addressing development projects and problems, is expected to take care of the following issues (Singh and Prasad 2008; Gidreta 2011): focusing on people, people's needs, types of development, identifying peoples' daily and seasonal agendas, exposing the truth behind economic growth data, raising questions beyond national boundaries, and addressing the question, does development create a problem itself? In addition, there are the issues of identifying people's potential in development, using several sources and what they say, following the money, and having a clear ethical stance. Development journalism is appropriate when it supports development efforts with critical insights as Dejene et al. (2007) argue: "[…] development journalism should not simply generalize the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of government development policies and strategies. Rather, it should aspire to constructively evaluate strengths and weakness of development plans and efforts" (Dejene et al. 2007 as cited in Gidreta 2011: 21). In order to do so, and simultaneously make development meaningful for people, it is important that development journalists report on the obstructions of development projects as well as facilitate interaction between the government, development agencies and the public where all stakeholders' opinions are taken into account. All too often, development journalism ends up as bad practice when "[…] it fails to articulate people's need and effects of development projects on the people" (Sing and Prasad 2008: 248).

Shah (1996) also emphasizes the critical aspects of development journalism. While talking about the nature of development news he mentions:

- Should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems and issues.

- Should indicate the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions.
- Should provide contextual and background information and development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, problems, and issues on the people, and speculate about the future development.
- Should refer to the needs of people, which may vary from country to country or from region to region, but generally include primary needs , such as food, housing, employment, secondary needs such as transportation, energy sources, and electricity, and tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition, and dignity (as cited in Banda 2007: 159).

Development journalism exists, but it generates a wide variety of responses. While it is seen as playing a positive, emancipatory role in the developing nations, Western mainstream scholars often take it as promotional tool used by the leaders of the developing world. Thus the notion of development journalism (DJ) generates two opposing views as to its practice. Ramaprasad and Kelly (2003) define development journalism from a Western perspective and then from a Third World perspective. Seen with Western eyes, DJ portrays a positive image of the country, its policies and its national leaders. It actively supports the government policy on national development and the way government plans and implements national development programs. The Third World perspective highlights the following issues: i, Giving priority to coverage of development policies and projects; ii, Discussing development issues regularly; iii, Ensuring coverage of the rural issues; iv, Using news as social good; v, Using the media to advance the social development of the country; vi, Using the media as voices for deprived classes of citizens; vii, Carefully examining government national development policies; viii, Objectively reporting on the national development programs and projects; ix, Critically evaluating development projects and efforts.

However, journalism is largely influenced by political issues worldwide. In fact, "[…] too much space given to political agitation about old themes, the political babbling; far too little space given to building up the new life and all the facts available to it (Kunczik 1988: 84).

Newspapers are mainly interested in bad news, which in turn shapes the big news of the day. The everyday experiences of people in life and livelihood is seldom given priority of coverage in the Bangladeshi media, even though these lived experiences are highly significant when the issue comes to climate change (Goretti et al. 2017; Eide and Hahn 2017). Media coverage of how people are adapting to adverse effects of climate change is important, i.e. raising the homesteads to protect them from flood waters, breeding climate resilient seeds to secure food demands, maintaining the natural livelihood opportunities for the indigenous people, and so on—coverage that help place the readers' hand on the pulse of the people. Often, when viewed as a benevolent–authoritarian approach, development journalism becomes a subject of considerable critique (Skjerdal 2011). However, this kind of media coverage orientates media people to the issues on the ground and further leads readers and viewers to address development problems and prospects using the potential of development journalism from bottom up perspective (Banda 2007). Moreover, this kind of media reporting builds up a knowledge base for journalistic action following the path for change through advocacy.

3.6.2 Advocacy Journalism: Pitfalls and Advantages

In a general sense, advocacy itself refers to the taking of sides in any specific situation (see Article 4). In journalism, advocacy may seem to go against objectivity, the principal core value of mainstream journalistic practice. The principle of objectivity does not allow for the taking of sides. Objectivity refers to the mirror image, i.e. reflecting the issues the way they happened. Thus, objectivity opts to give fair treatment to the different sides involved in a news event. However, this notion of objectivity is challenged ontologically by imbalances of power and influence and also as a core value of journalism. A human being acting as a practitioner of journalism has an inherent limitation to her or his objectivity in writing about issues, as he or she is grounded in some contexts with certain values that often imply a degree of partisanship. Therefore, journalism scholars have increasingly emphasized, for journalistic reporting, what they call methodological objectivity rather than epistemological objectivity. Moreover, climate change journalism faces another challenge as world being covered is composed of both climate proponents and opponents (i.e. denialists), each holding their respective positions. Climate change proponents view anthropogenic climate change as real and actual. Their position is supported by an increasing volume of scientific knowledge. On

the other hand, climate denialists or 'sceptics' obfuscate scientific findings and are often driven by business interest (Oreskes and Conway 2010). In these fraught conditions, if one tries to prepare journalistic accounts that are balanced, in the sense of giving fair treatment to both sides, one often misleads readers and audience, and may disseminate completely wrong knowledge to the readers. Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) have shown how in climate change reporting, traditional journalistic "objective balance" ended up as bias in American newspaper journalism. On the other hand, even if advocacy journalism also involves risk, advocacy journalism regarding climate change works in favour of the victims and vulnerable nations. This apparent imbalance is actually based on convincing mainstream and scientific climate change knowledge. Moreover, advocacy journalism is able to uphold the principle and fairness and truth-seeking as journalistic ideals simply because there is no way for the newspapers to give equal treatment to both sides if one side represents resistance to the scientific climatology community.

For Bangladeshi journalism, advocacy is very important when it comes to justice. Climate change has emerged as an unjust issue to Bangladesh. The country has negligible responsibility for climate change but has become one of the principal victims. The press quite justifiably has every right to use advocacy to argue in favour of Bangladesh's view, namely that this country is not liable for climate change, but rather has have been suffering acutely from its effects, so the international community has the historical responsibility—in terms of justice and morality--to work for climate change effects such as agitating for an internationally binding deal obligatory for all nations to reduce their emissions. Bangladeshi newspapers can justify why the developed countries must reduce their emission. At the same time, the less fortunate, the developing countries, should be allowed to emit in order to develop their economies and approach those of the developed world, such that they secure for their peoples, basic human rights such as food, clothes, education, medication and shelter. Supplementary to this argument is that the developed world must both fund the adaptation activities and transfer technology so that the developing countries can go for climate friendly green growth and development in the shortest possible time. To work for climate justice, Bangladeshi newspapers can use advocacy tools and strategies to mobilize peoples' voices and demand dues for the victims locally and globally.

The coexistence of different frames[11] on a certain issue may appear contradictory; therefore frames tend to influence each other, interactively, activating knowledge and stimulating certain values of culture, ethics, morality, and universality. Framing is relevant to the effective shaping of media attention on certain issues and becomes a mechanism underlying the issue attention cycle (Nisbet 2007) in a certain time period at macro level, and also for journalistic negotiation of professional values when adhering to advocacy at the micro level. Hence advocacy journalism is an explicit tool in media framing, at least for advancing certain positions. In the context of climate change and COPs journalism, effective advocacy framing could seek climate justice for victims and marginalized in the global South. The empirical aspects of development journalism explore the climate future for present and new generations. It relates to how the media focus on the increasing emergence of development problems. These problems are due to changing climate, to the scope and magnitude of people's temporal imagination, how they seek solutions in terms of climate justice through collective action and global solidarity. The scope of this study is limited to framing of relevant issues during the COPs; i.e. framing by stressing primacy and urgency through advocacy and development journalism in order to reflect international climate justice and justice within the country.

3.7 The Integrated Approach

Development journalism and advocacy journalism share some journalistic goals and objectives. Thus, they are mutually connected and may be theorized as an integrated approach to journalism for change. Advocacy journalism is conducted on the basis of knowledge and debates on the issue undertaken; development journalism always aims to create that knowledge base by reflecting on the existing situation. While development journalism usually builds narrative about a certain situation, advocacy journalism takes a position based on the knowledge of that situation and then acts for change of that situation to ensure better opportunities and life chances both for humans and other species encapsulated within the geopolitico- and eco-system. However, from the perspective of mainstream journalism practices, questions may raise whether both development journalism and

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[11] I will discuss framing bellow in 4.3.3 in detail.

advocacy journalism really offer journalistic independence. This question has merit as historically, development journalism has predominantly been defined as the way in which governments wanted to see development and thus highlight government projects, uncritically praising governments' plans and actions. This criticism usually came from some Western scholars whereas the global South's notion of development journalism is of a wider scope; it is usually people-oriented as well. On the other hand, advocacy journalism has been triggered/influenced by the International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and National Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the global South where governance deficits and rights deficits were predominantly present.

However, development journalism literature shows that its practices have changed, perhaps due to the critique and blame it has been subject to (as always government supportive). Recent theories of DJ explore its links with the process of, and participation in, development activities, and that is legitimately critical where needed. Climate change reporting about climate funding and other irregularities in Bangladeshi print media are evidence of this (see Article 3). With respect to climate change consequences in Bangladesh the position of NGOs and the media is much the same, both being concerned about the high costs Bangladesh is paying for global climate change. Their positions are neither influenced by their own interests nor profit-making. They are governed, rather, by the ethics of ensuring good living conditions and environmental wellbeing for humankind and thus they share common goals. Moreover, newspapers in Bangladesh do not only report on the NGO activities about climate change, they also invest to explore whether indeed NGOs might also act against interests that constitute the good of the nation. Eide and Hahn (2017) emphasize the public understanding of science in good climate science journalism. The criteria for such journalism involve debunking traditional beliefs that create distance from science, or intervening with a common sense approach that leads to enhanced local knowledge and social capital in the community covered by such journalism. Eide and Hahn document such findings in stories which "[…] range from grassroots orientation to national interest, from hope and technological optimism to climate justice, from alarming perspective to scientific uncertainty and, lastly citizen and consumer interests to responsibilities" (Eide and Hahn 2017: 253). This is testimony to the presence of an integrated approach of development and advocacy journalism towards climate justice.

3.8 Conclusion

Drawing upon the concept of climate justice, this chapter has first described the different ways of distributing the costs of climate change and formula for carbon emission reduction based on existing literature and then linked this to global and Bangladeshi politics and policies around the issue of climate justice. The issue has been problematized in a promising way from different points of view, such as politics and policy formulations that reflect different realities and differing views by scholastic contributions. The drivers for journalistic interventions for climate justice were analysed showing strengths and weaknesses of both development journalism and advocacy journalism. Both involve risks and both offer opportunities to be used as tools for addressing climate justice through newspapers. If appropriately applied, with precision and vigour, they can be useful for addressing climate justice (Article 2). Moreover, this chapter justifies the importance of an integrated approach through the mix of the above-mentioned two strands of journalism in dealing with climate change issues, as both the practice of advocacy and development journalism have their own focus and consequently they are both potentially effective in achieving a target goal. However, currently in Bangladesh, newspapers tend to emphasize climate change issues in general, showing occasional ups and downs (Article 1), their role to pursue justice by focusing more intensely on cross connections of development issues from multiple dimensions is to be found in the periphery. Even though the practice of development journalism has been revitalized in the context of covering climate issues (Article 3), and advocacy journalism is pursued in such a manner that it supplements the voices of government with those of the journalists' and civil society (Article 4), for climate justice. Still, these are mainly found in 'opinion genres' in the newspapers.

To apply advocacy journalism to issues like climate justice, a knowledge base needs to be built first. Development journalism from its various angles shows potential for building up that base. On the other hand, development journalism in addition to its own contribution to generate knowledge may go a bit further, equipped with research findings undertaken at universities, research institutes, other scholars, networks and civil societies. However, advocacy journalism may utilize both knowledge bases to bring a synergy effect to the

demand for victim nations' climate justice, and particularly for Bangladesh. What has been suggested here is an integrated approach to address climate justice through journalism.

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CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach used for the overall study as well as for articles included in this thesis. The thesis contains five articles related to climate change journalism in Bangladesh and they use an overarching methodology, while each article has a specific focus in terms of content and selection of empirical details.

Article One employs content analysis and in-depth interviews; Article Two adopts textual analysis with framing as an analytical tool followed by close and repeated reading of the materials. Articles Three and Four use content analysis followed by textual analysis and in-depth interviews. Article Five is a comparative study, using content analysis and close reading of the texts and their interpretation. All the articles to some extent use content analysis and textual analysis, while in-depth interviews were used only for Articles One, Three and Four. Triangulation of several methods was used for all the articles included in the thesis. Although each article[1] in the thesis is accompanied by its own methodological discussion, the following sections describe the different methods and their triangulation.

4.2 Operationalizing Research Questions

The overarching research question was: How do Bangladeshi newspapers give shape to climate change journalism and how do they relate to the professional norms? Later, this

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[1] Only article 5 does not include separate methodological discussion as such as it was published in an anthology that carries a detail discussion of the methodology used for all chapters of that anthology however this overarching chapter 4 on methodology for the thesis also applies to article 5.

central question was operationalized in the form of five sub- research questions: RQ1: What is the pattern of Bangladeshi newspaper coverage of climate change related issues during some selected COPs and how do they relate to structural, cultural and institutional issues for the rise and fall of coverage? RQ2: How is climate change framed as an issue of climate justice in the selected newspapers and how does that framing shift from the period of the Bali summit to the Durban summit? RQ3: To what extent is development journalism exercised in connection with climate change related issues during the selected COPs period by the two Bangladeshi newspapers and how does it relate to approaching a greater area of development problems in Bangladesh? RQ4: Does Bangladeshi newspaper journalism take an advocacy turn when they deal with climate change related issues during COPs, and how do they negotiate with the journalistic norms in their coverage? RQ5: How is the future imagined in the climate change coverage of Bangladeshi newspapers in contrast to Finnish newspapers? Each article included in this thesis answers a research sub-question; if we summarize the answers to all the research sub-questions, then we find answers to the central research question, and in this way, hopefully, the research objective is fulfilled.

4.3 Methods

This study follows both quantitative and qualitative methods. They include content analysis, framing analysis, close reading and textual analysis, in-depth interviews, field-work and observation.

4.3.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify the content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic, reliable manner. Berelson states that "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of the communication." (Berelson 1952 as quoted in Deacon et al. 1998: 115; see also Danielson 1958: 181; Schreier 2012: 13). It is used to achieve the objective of categorizing textual elements of a large content based on the identical attributes attached to each predefined variable and category of that content. Thus it aims to provide a pattern of the coverage of a certain issue quantifying the number of

occurrences and categories of that issue in a selected study period. Deacon et al. state that, "The purpose of content analysis is to quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation" (Deacon et al. 1998: 116). The salient characteristics of content analysis are systematic, objective and quantitative (Wimmer and Dominick 1987). Its quantitative dimension helps to understand the numerical character of the content.

Content analysis is extensively used for conducting research in the field of media and journalism studies nowadays. Its primary use during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was to measure the symbols and language employed in journalism. However, content analysis also became popular as a distinct research method due to the rise of social science and journalistic endeavors to document religious, scientific and literary content before World War II. It was applied mostly by media and communications scholars until the middle of the twentieth century. It was a method that satisfied their interest in exploring increasing communication effects of media content. Later, it began to be applied in different fields such as political science, psychology, sociology and literary studies for interdisciplinary research (Krippendroff 2004; Schreier 2012). It is useful for exploring the trends and patterns of media representation through the aggregated numbers of a numerically large data set. In this research, quantitative content analysis is used to analyze the items related to climate change published in the *Daily Star* and the *Prothom Alo* during the periods studied.

This study also applies qualitative content analysis to assess the meaning arising from the texts. Here, the researcher aims to uncover the latent rather than the manifest content of the texts. Though some researchers equate content analysis with quantification, the qualitative aspect of content analysis is a useful option, and is applied when the researcher engages in some sort of interpretation and attempts to arrive at a certain meaning. Wamboldt states that "Content analysis is more than a counting game; it is concerned with meaning, intentions, consequences, and context" (Wamboldt 1992: 314). This is important due to the paucity of judicious appraisal in quantitative content analysis to explore contextual interpretations and meanings. Moreover, it reveals underlying currencies of meaning that are not always manifested in the text (Kracauer 1953). Further, it is important to describe the use of language to reveal the underlying messages in a text, and not only the frequencies of

occurrences of certain terms. Therefore, later qualitative content analysis is used in this study for analyzing the text aiming to explore the meaning within the texts and their latent nuances. Though text analysis itself is considered as a separate qualitative research method, it is also seen as a qualitative aspect of greater content analysis method. This qualitative aspect can supplement shortcomings in traditional content analysis that is normally devoid of the qualitative approach, which allows for an exploration of meaning between the lines. Deacon et al. mention "[…] this big picture (trend, pattern) comes at a cost. By looking at aggregated meaning-making across texts, the method tends to skate over complex and varied processes of meaning-making within texts; the latent rather than manifest levels of meanings that are always evident […] for these reasons, the method is not well suited to studying 'deep' questions about textual and discursive forms" (ibid).

However, applying content analysis method in research requires systematic coding of the texts that helps to generate data on the relevant variables specifically and aggregately with scientific validity in the light of the research questions under investigation. Therefore a coding scheme was essential for this study.

4.3.2 The Coding Scheme

This study used the coding template developed by the MediaClimate network (see the Appendix 1). In the initial coding template, there were 12 variables[2]: name of the media, date of publication, title of the story, section of the story, front page connection of the story, story relevance, story size, genre, sources of news, future orientation of the stories, voices in the stories, and spatial articulation. This twelve variable coding was used to code the Bali, Copenhagen and Durban summits. We used the variable 'spatial articulation' to chart whether the perspective of the article was local, national, regional, international or global. This variable was later generalized in the coding of Copenhagen and Durban summits and used to code for the relevance of stories to the Global South or the Global North. Moreover, the template used to code the Warsaw and Paris summits contains three new variables (to a total of fifteen): references to IPCC AR5, institutions and people named in the stories, name of

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[2] "Variables are important because they link the empirical world with the theoretical; they are the phenomena and events that are measured […] (Wimmer and Dominick 1987: 44).

journalist with their gender identity. All the variables were useful to investigate the rise and fall of the COP coverage in the newspapers (RQ1), but the variables about genre, voice and future orientation were particularly important in answering the research questions on climate justice (RQ2), the practice of development and advocacy journalism in Bangladesh (RQ 3 and 4) and imagining the future of climate change consequences (RQ5). In particular, the coding of voices quoted in the texts together with the future orientation helped identifying relevant stories to select articles for close reading and in-depth textual analysis.

Yet, due to multiplicity of meaning and orientation of stories there have been challenges to categorize the relevant stories as dealing with, respectively, climate justice, development or advocacy journalism and future orientation of climate change coverage. However, since the research questions require more analysis and interpretation of the content, I have categorized them manually, reading the coded stories time and again and matching them with concepts under investigation: climate justice, development and advocacy journalism, and so on. Although time consuming, this developed my deeper involvement with, and understanding of, the material. This material eventually turned out to be useful for analysis and answering the research questions on climate justice (RQ2), advocacy and development journalism (RQ3).

There were sub-variables under most of the variables. For example, genre was first categorized as reporting and opinion items, then sub-variables were included under each category. The sub-variables under the reporting category refer to news, reportage, interviews, portraits or profiles, background pieces, news graph with text and facts box and others, while the 'opinionated' category includes editorial, column or comments by a staff journalist, column, comment or op-ed story by an outside writer, letters to the editors, other items of opinion, unclear as sub-variables. On the other hand, the voice as variable was first categorized as a national political system, a transnational political system, a civil society, business, scientists and other experts, and media. There were a few sub-variables under each category of voices. This is how the whole template developed on relevant variables and sub-variables. Though the template evolved over the time, it has been useful to code the materials of the selected newspapers for this study and maintain consistency of data over the course of different summit periods.

Findings indicate that there have been fluctuations of coverage of climate change from one COP to another, and these fluctuations seems related to how the framing of the COPs was undertaken in different time periods. Although not explicitly in qualitative way as measuring the pattern of coverage and its fluctuation rely on number of stories and frequencies of various variables published. Yet, the level of quantitative coverage influences the qualitative aspects of study such as framing. For the analysis of issues such as climate justice, advocacy journalism, development journalism and future orientation of coverage, I first operationalize these issues in the light of available literature and then look for stories and headlines on these topics in the coverage.

The first layer of study provides quantitative data. The second layer provides quotes, words and excerpts that convey particular meaning related to the concepts and issues under investigation. At the third layer, I elaborate the meaning by analyzing the text according to my theoretical framework. This multi-step working procedure is based on Schreier's process of building a coding frame. Schreier (2012) has outlined a four-step process for building a coding frame: selecting, structuring and generating, defining, and revising and expanding. Guided by the research question, the process starts with the selection of data from different sources. The data selected are those that are relevant to answer the research questions while the irrelevant data are excluded. Then data are categorized following the sources according to the topic of investigation and the research questions. Different categories and sub-categories of data let frames emerge from the research material. There are several ways for structuring and generating a coding frame. Either it is literature-driven, or it is based on previous knowledge, or on theories or concepts. This is a deductive process; or it may be data-driven, an inductive process. Nisbet states that "Identifying the relevant frames in a policy debate as it takes place across various media and political arenas, and the cultural schema that different publics might draw upon to make sense of and employ those frames on behalf of their political goals, can be approached both deductively and inductively" (Nisbet in press: 9). I also found that using a combination of deductive and inductive processes for building frames was most effective since they allow for a more inclusive fit between theory and data. I have used them together for the qualitative analysis.

4.3.3 Framing Analysis

The theory of framing provides tools to explore a) what is predominantly covered in the media, b) what is not and c) how dominant media portrayals are constructed. Framing also occurs outside of media apparatus through other human communication interactions. Though it emerges from cognitive psychology, framing research now spans every discipline. For Nisbet, "Framing is an unavoidable reality of the communication process, especially as applied to public affairs and policy. There is no such thing as unframed information, and most successful communicators are adept at framing, whether using frames intentionally or intuitively" (Nisbet 2009: 15). Framing analysis as a research method has been adopted by many scholars to investigate media framing of different issues such as nuclear power (Gamson and Modigliani 1989), environment (Nisbet and Newman 2015), risk communication and policy debates (Nisbet in press) and so on. Thus, framing expands on the research, from language to nuclear energy, from food and biotechnology to human evolution leading to knowledge generation, and debate for actions, decisions and understanding. A substantial use of framing in the science, technology, and environmental field has developed a typology of frames from the previous studies. These include social processes, economic development and competitiveness, ethics and morality, scientific uncertainty and technological risk, runway science and fatalism, public accountability, alternative paths for finding compromise and conflict and strategy (ibid. 18). They show the potential for climate change framing.

However, media framing relies on the salience and primacy in coverage as well as inclusion and exclusion. While agenda setting is largely understood by quantitative data of media coverage, framing demands micro analysis of narratives with careful reading of the use of languages and their plurality of meaning. Framing is an organizing device and for packaging data it leads struggles in the interpretative communities. For some it is a central organizing idea to a controversial issue to justify and reflect on what the debate is about and the underlying essence. According to Entman (1993) framing refers to a process of selection and salience in media content. Framing is further elaborated as "[…] the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality" (Entman 2007:164) with the aim of ordering a narrative in such a way that highlights certain meaning and interpretation of text. However, framing is

perceived variably depending on the communicator, text, receiver and culture. Thus, framing is a construct of dependent variables available in a given time and space. So framing is understood as shedding some selective focus on some aspects of an event or issue in the text to make them noticeable to the audience and making them more meaningful than other accounts, through intended manifestations. Framing exists everywhere: in the mental psyche of politicians, and policy makers as well among the media audience and the general population.

In this research, framing analysis has been used for Article Two in order to investigate the newspaper framing of climate justice in Bangladesh. Frames are ubiquitous in the media discourse be they constructed intentionally or intuitively by the journalists or media writers. They operate at individual cognitive level for influencing judgements and decisions, social level for collective sense making and understanding of public issues. When it comes to framing of complex issues such as science, health and environment Nisbet states "[…] we differentially emphasize specific cues relative to that complex subject, endowing certain dimensions with greater apparent relevance" (In press: 4). The definition of Gamson and Modigliani (1989) has been influential in research on environmental communication: They state that "media discourse can be conceived of as a set of interpretative packages that give meaning to an issue. A package has an internal structure. At its core is a central organizing idea, or *frame*, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue. (Gamson and Modigliani 1989: 3). However, here in this research, I adopt the somewhat looser conception of frames suggested by Nisbet: "Frames as they appear in media coverage and policy debates can be thought of as interpretative storylines that set a specific train of thought in motion, communicating why an issue might be a problem or pose a threat, who or what might be responsible for it, and what should be done about it." (Nisbet in press: 1; see also Nisbet and Newman 2015: 325-338).

Framing analysis looks for highlights in the coverage - be they subtle and nuanced or explicit. Frames can be explored either through inductive or deductive methods distinctively, or by combining them. While framing brings salience and selection to the narrative, it invites inclusion and exclusion of issues and meaning in what it portrays; thus, framing brings into

play induction and deduction with regard to issues, narratives, discourses, and meaning. I have generated the frames from the narratives by identifying the climate justice related words, excerpts, in the news headlines and the stories.

Along with main frames, sub-frames and sub-categories are also developed and given precise descriptions, in relation to that which they actually refer. This description may include describing the features of the category or giving indicators of the category. Revising and expanding are subsequent activities once frames are developed and sub-categories are defined. It is useful to go back over the same material and check the process again to reconfirm the suitability and validity of the frames and sub-categories. If materials are also collected from multiple sources, then the identified and defined frames need to be cross-checked in the light of the material gathered from the variety of sources. For example, if climate justice framing in newspaper and television coverage of a COP is to be investigated, then the frames developed from either of the source materials must be cross checked against one another.

4.3.4 Textual Analysis and Close Reading

All texts are political and ideological. Here, a text is viewed as a complex set of discursive strategies situated in a culturally specific context (Barthes 1972) and requires complementing quantitative research methods with qualitative methods. There are different methods used for textual analysis: among others, discourse analysis, framing analysis, semiotics and critical linguistics. In this light, textual analysis is transdisciplinary (Fairclough 2003). All methods of textual analysis require close reading of the material where the researcher adopts a painstaking way of investing time and mind to interpret the material repeatedly until some meaning of the text becomes clear. Close reading usually refers to more careful reading of the text; thus reading and close reading makes a continuum. The more care one takes and attention one gives, the more one engages in close reading. However, Brummet states that "Close reading is a mindful, disciplined reading of an object (or text) with a view to deeper understanding of its meaning" (Brummet 2010: 9). Therefore, textual analysis and close reading are interlinked. In general, textual analysis helps to reveal the latent meaning of the text and the subtle nuances emanating from the text. Textual analysis attempts to unveil how

writing is structured and how it produces a certain types of meaning (Rose 2001). Fursich states that "Textual analysis is generally a type of qualitative analysis that, beyond the manifest content of the media, focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text" (Fürsich 2009: 240). It works both at the micro and macro levels of the text; as such, it relates to society and context (Fairclough 2003). Textual analysis is useful in thematizing the text by categorizing the materials as well as exploring the connection between different texts by meticulous reading at the micro level. It can be used both in an inductive and a deductive manner. The researcher may look for the items relevant to some theoretical phenomenon under investigation or a pre-set research questionnaire and then interpret them based on an intertextual relationship or the description and analysis of the text may lead to develop some thematic schemata.

In Articles Three, Four and Five, textual analysis is used in an inductive manner to determine what is there in the text and what is not there in order to understand their relevance, meaning and ideological values with regard to the research questions undertaken and with regard to the journalistic professional work undertaken by the writer. It has been considered more useful than other qualitative methods, because it does not only look for certain textual elements in the texts but also works as an interactive meaning-making process for exploring values and norms by intertextual interpretations. Moreover, "this approach typically results in a strategic selection and presentation of analyzed text as the evidence for the overall argument" (Fursich 2009: 240). As this project aims to investigate journalistic norms and the professional values in Bangladeshi climate change journalism, this method has been useful as a supplementary one in addition to content analysis.

4.3.5 In-depth Interviews and Selection of Interviewees

Conducting in-depth interviews is a qualitative research method employed to gather insights and perspectives held by certain individuals connected to the issue under investigation. This gives it a unique character, as "the primary advantage of in-depth interviews is that they provide more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods" (Boyce and Neale 2006: 3). Using both quantitative and qualitative approaches for the analysis of media texts may partly neglect how journalists and editors themselves

interpret, or challenge the process of reporting on climate change. There is always a difference between how media and journalism researchers write about reporting and how the journalists and editors in the field experience their professional work. Therefore, in order to gain further insights and explore journalists' views about climate change journalism and its associated values and norms, I interviewed some journalists as well. This was useful as their insights helped to introduce nuances to certain journalistic practices regarding climate related issues. In-depth interviews are few in number by their very nature. They are selected according to the parameters of the topic and the actors involved. They are not subject to random sampling as in quantitative analysis. Therefore, in order to gain a broader and more consistent perspective, I supplemented these qualitative forms of data by triangulating them with other data collection methods.

 For the in-depth interviews, I selected 4 journalists and editors from *The Daily Star* and *The Prothom Alo*. 8 journalists from other newspapers or media with experience from covering COPs or have experience of reporting on climate related issues either from attending summits or from working behind the desk. 2 politicians (members of parliament), 2 scientists (environment and climate experts), and 2 civil society members (representatives of development and environmental organizations) were also selected. The interviewees were selected in order to understand the broader field and some stakeholders' way of thinking. The interviews were conducted with some guiding questions (see Appendix 2, 3 and 4)). Some of them were interviewed in Durban as I attended COP17 in 2011, in my role as field worker within the MediaClimate network, others were interviewed at home later.

I then conducted 10 supplementary interviews. 2 reporters from each selected newspapers were followed up while 6 journalists were now interviewed for their extensive experience in covering climate change and environment issues. These 6 had not been interviewed earlier. Each interview lasted for more than an hour. The insights gathered from the in-depth interviews helped develop my understanding and assisted in my analysis of the data.

4.3.6 Questionnaire Guide for Interviews

I developed a questionnaire guide that included 35 questions for the interviews conducted with journalists, political leaders, scientists and civil society members. This questionnaire guide was used during my field visit in Durban and later for conducting interviews in Dhaka. This guide includes questions related to the concept of climate justice, advocacy for climate justice, impact of climate change for future generations and the practices of climate change journalism in Bangladesh in general. Some of the interview data were used in answering Research Questions One, Two, and Four.

However, later I prepared two more sets of guiding questions for supplementary interviews to provide data for my Research Questions One and Three. These regarded, respectively, the rise and fall of coverage which I had dealt with in Article One, as well as the status of the practice of development journalism which is included as Article Three in this thesis. The first set asks 13 questions about the journalists' understanding of climate change in general. The second set includes 17 questions about the low coverage and connections between climate change journalism and development. These questionnaire guides were very useful as they helped to contextualize as well as to remain on topic during the interviews. However, questions about relevant issues also arose spontaneously and were discussed during the interviews, thus the interviews may be classified as semi-structured.

4.3.7 Field Visit and Observation

"Science begins with observation and must ultimately return to observation for its final validation" (Goode and Hatt 1981: 119). As my study is about Bangladeshi newspaper coverage of climate summits, the COP venue also became a useful field of observation. Through my visit to Durban in 2011 with access to the summit localities I was able to observe the activity around the summit and gain firsthand experience of a global climate summit process. Field observation in fact helps to understand the nature of the field, particularly of a climate summit. It is important to understand different dynamics around the research topics. In this case, the researcher did not have any close relationship with the people or the process he was observing. In fact, "Observation may take many forms and is at

once the most primitive and the most modern of research techniques. It includes the most casual uncontrolled experiences as well as the most exact film records of laboratory experimentation" (Goode and Hatt 1981: 119). In other words, observation may take place by a researcher in the role of participant, non-participant or in an ethnographic manner. Carter states that "Field research in mass communication generally takes one of the following forms: (1) direct observation of behavior; (2) the interview, (3) the self- administered questionnaire; or (4) some combination of the foregoing procedures" (Carter 1958: 80). My field visit to Durban satisfies most of the Carter's field observation categories.

During the field visit I went to the summit venue to try to understand what people actually do and what they talk about, both in the inner and outer segment of the summit venue. I was able to take part in the inner segment as well as different side events since I held a party tag[3]. I stayed there for a week during the summit period in December 2011 and talked to some political leaders, civil society members and journalists. This field visit helped me gain insight of the COP process as well as how negotiations take place. It provided the opportunity to understand different stakeholders within the field of climate change: policy makers, scientists, businessmen, rights activists, political parties, NGOs, INGOs, grassroots organizations, journalists and protesters. As part of the observation, I also took part in a protest rally for climate justice and joined in different programs organized by alternative summit groups. Thus, I became familiar with the multiple dimensions and various aspects of the COP process. I have benefited from the field visit in various ways i.e. making connections with journalists whom I interviewed later, substantiating the analysis of empirical data in the light of acquired insight of field exposure. In fact, the field visit enabled me to comprehend the greater context of the study. Moreover, I also took part in and observed a local roundtable discussion that took place at the University of Dhaka in 2013 and utilized the insights gained from this discussion in Article Three. Journalism students of the University of Dhaka, working journalists and editors and journalism educators took part in the discussion and gave their reflections on various aspects of journalism, and particularly, the relevance of journalism in relation to development.

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[3] Only official delegations from each country get a party tag that pass allows them to observe the high segment negotiations at the main venue of summit.

4.3.8 Triangulation

Each and every data collection method has strengths and weaknesses. Marshall and Rossman note that "Weaknesses in one strategy can be compensated by the strengths of a complementary one" (Marshall and Rossman 1989: 103). Therefore, triangulation of methodologies meaning applying multiple methods to acquire data from multiple sources on the subject undertaken has become popular among the social scientists. In studying journalistic ideology, Sjovaag (2011) finds triangulation of methods and approaches useful to gather data from multiple sources in order to answer differentially framed research questions. My study deals with a complex issue and to be well explained it requires data from different sources. Therefore, this study has applied a triangulation of methods. It has been deemed necessary, since a single method, in this case content analysis, does not provide sufficient data to answer all the defined research questions, and since triangulation offers an opportunity to check the validity of the earlier interpretation of data. Traditionally, triangulation allows integration of quantitative and qualitative methods (Bergman 2008). In this research, quantitative content analysis has been supplemented by in-depth interviews, textual analysis, close reading of the material and observational field work. Content analysis has been used on the newspaper materials. To understand how and which meaning are conveyed by the newspaper items, textual analysis and in-depth interviews were employed. However, to understand the stakeholders and the overall politics of the issue, an observational field visit was undertaken. As the study looks at the pattern of journalistic coverage of climate change journalism in Bangladesh as well as their essential values and professional norms, the triangulation of methods was found useful.

4.4 Selection, Collection and Preparation of Data

The study focuses on two national newspapers published from Dhaka, Bangladesh. They are *The Prothom Alo* and *The Daily Star. The Daily Star* is an English language newspaper; *The Prothom Alo* is a Bangla language newspaper. I selected these newspapers based on the following criteria: 1) *The Daily Star* is top ranked among the English language newspapers in Bangladesh with a daily circulation of 44,592, while *The Prothom Alo* is top ranked among Bangla language newspapers with a circulation of 501,800 (DFP 2016). 2) *The Daily Star* is

considered a serious elite newspaper, especially for managerial readers due to its English language and journalistic style and approach, while *The Prothom Alo* is seen as a more popular paper due to its wider reach and popularity in Bangladesh. 3) Both newspapers are trendsetters in journalism and enjoy the prestige of upholding high journalistic professional ethics. 4) Both newspapers are found serious about climate change and environmental issues; however, they offer quantitative and qualitative differences in editorial policies as well as genres of climate reporting.

Considering the population size of Bangladesh, the circulation numbers of these two newspapers may seem low. However, these figures indicate only paid circulation, and the actual readership of these newspapers is many times higher than these figures since subscription newspapers, such as these, are read by many people at institutions and by family members in private homes.

The selected newspapers for this study are privately owned and unique in their professional practices inside Bangladesh. They seem not to have any leanings toward particular political parties in the country. Their professional practices uphold liberal, progressive political ideologies. Both newspapers covered the selected COPs either with their own reporters or freelance contributors. *The Prothom Alo* sent its staff reporter to all selected summits for this study while *The Daily Star* sent its reporter to the Copenhagen Summit and covered other COPs by assigning contributors.

The study is conducted on newspapers, as Bangladeshi newspapers (print media) in general are perceived as much more serious than other media and have played significant role for the nation in different historical trajectories such as the language movement, the independence war, the mass uprising for democracy and so on. A healthy number of TV channels now operate in Bangladesh; others are emerging as well, but their focus on climate change seems small, as TV is much more entertainment-oriented. On the other hand, AM radio has lost its influence, therefore TV and AM radios have not been considered as part of the sample in this study. Finding their content is also problematic as there is no good facility that systematically archives their materials. FM radio stations though, have made a recent comeback but are mostly entertainment-oriented and place less importance on issues such as climate change.

Taking community radio into the sample might have been a good idea as it is perceived as mirroring the views of people who reflect community problems, but Bangladesh has recently introduced community radio operations. Their focus is much more on music, drama and other general interest programs, rather than on rigorous journalism and journalistic values and norms such as those on which this study is based. As long as one takes into account the mode of journalism, audience interest, seriousness and influence of media, my samples constitute an attempt at an appropriate reflection of Bangladesh climate change coverage in journalism.

I collected all the hard copies of the newspapers and identified the climate change related items, which were then coded. Hard copies have manifold importance. They can be archived for a longer period of time for the safety of the data; they are useful in cross-reading the items published on different dates and allow for ease when comparing the news narrative coverage on selected issues. All stories were coded on Word Excel first and transferred to SPSS later for analysis. For coding, I have used a globally shared coding template developed by the MediaClimate network. I am also part of this network and participated in several international research workshops to develop this template.

In addition to these primary media materials, different secondary texts were studied to provide a contextual background to the studies. Relevant books, journal articles were consulted, as well as IPCC reports, national policy papers such as the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA 2005), the Sixth Five Year Plan of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan 2008, and materials produced by the concerned office, Climate Change Cell under the Ministry of Environment and Forest.

4.5 Selection of COPs

COPs carry importance to Bangladesh as a climate victim nation particularly for its nature as a global policy platform addressing issues; i.e. global climate accords, climate justice and advocacy, and their relevance to development projects and problems connected to the interest of global communities as well as Bangladesh. I have selected four COPs for the study: The Bali Summit held in 2007 (COP 13), the Copenhagen Summit held in 2009 (COP 15), the Durban Summit held in 2011 (COP 17) and the Warsaw Summit held in 2013 (COP 19). As

this study under the aegis of the Climate Crossroads Project is built on earlier MediaClimate projects, hence the selection of COPs has been in keeping with the collective project decisions. However, this does not reduce the importance and validity of the selected COPs for exploring the answers of the research questions undertaken. Rather, it makes a good link between the projects. They all benefit by sharing views, resources and expertise with one another. As journalistic values and norms in climate change stories are to be revealed, the materials produced during a three-week period around the selected global climate summits are taken into account. It is perceived that journalistic interest in general on climate change is triggered by such large international events, compared to other periods. A selection of summits also helps to underscore the underlying political currency in journalism, as during the COPs newspapers place relatively more importance on the response of civil society and political leaders, in addition to the expected views of governments to the summit negotiations and climate change issues, including climate justice. However, there is also a possibility that newspaper attention during summits may overemphasize the political game and thus marginalize other relevant issues of climate change, such as what happens on the ground with affected people in terms of adaptation and negative consequences. Politically hyped COPs may underplay the importance of development aspects and hence this study may miss out on fuller accounts of related issues in print media coverage of climate change, as tend to be published from various journalistic angles in normal, non-COP periods. However, I did not use material from all the mentioned COPs in every article. I used the data from the coverage of Cancun COP in addition to some other selected COPs for the Fifth Article, as that article was co-authored with another member of MediaClimate network.

Article 1 is based on material from all four selected summits: Bali, Copenhagen, Durban and Warsaw. This article provides some context for the other four articles as it looks at the rise and fall of newspaper coverage of COPs. It includes the starting summit which is Bali, and continues until the final summit of the selected grouping, which is Warsaw, and thus finds the pattern of coverage over a reasonable time from the regained importance of climate crisis in 2007 to the recent developments taking place up to 2013. This article is mainly based on content analysis data gathered by using the coding template. It is however supplemented with qualitative data from the in-depth interviews to supplement the analysis of causes of the rise and fall of coverage.

Article 2 addresses the framing of climate justice. This article analyzes the contents of three summits, i.e. Bali (COP13), Copenhagen (COP15), and Durban (COP17). These three summits are included as by the time I was working on this article, six summits had taken place since Bali in 2007 and I have taken the first summit from a pair of two consecutive summits. Thus, other summits which took place during the study period such as Poznan 2008, Cancun 2010 and Qatar 2012 have been excluded. However, as mentioned, the Cancun Summit was used partially for the Fifth Article by way of comparative study. I have started with the Bali Summit as it endorsed a roadmap towards adopting a just legally binding climate deal which is seen as at the heart of climate justice for all and since then the international community promised to work together to address the climate crisis. Coincidentally, my sample for this article includes the Copenhagen and Durban Summits. Those were milestones in global climate negotiations, with top leaders' participation, huge media attention and great expectations for reaching a successful agreement. This article mainly adopted qualitative methods, such as close reading and textual analysis using the framework of framing theory, in order to analyze how climate justice is framed in the selected newspapers.

Article 3 addresses the practice of development journalism in the context of newspaper coverage related to climate change. This article develops the analysis of the material from the Bali and Durban Summits. Considering the nature of the four summits, these two summits seem have more relevance with regard to opportunities for development journalism, since the Bali Summit emphasized the effects and consequences of climate change. On the other hand the Durban Summit was concerned with what would happen on the development front if the Kyoto Protocol was not extended. Moreover, these two summits took place in the global South while the other two were organized in Europe. This article adopted qualitative approach for finding the relevant quotes and excerpts based on the framework of theoretical concepts of development journalism as well as using the content analysis data to provide a background for the analysis.

Article 4 addresses advocacy journalism in the context of the sufferings of affected countries. This article analyzes material assembled from the Copenhagen and Durban Summits. By way

of comparison with the Bali and Warsaw Summits, they offer much scope for advocacy through journalism for climate justice, given the sense of urgency due to the fact they took place at the juncture when the Kyoto Protocol had to be replaced. There was heightened debate, hope and expectation around these summits; the spirit of incipient change offered much for journalism, particularly for advocacy. This article used content analysis data, which were supplemented by close reading and textual analysis of the material on the framework of the concepts of advocacy and advocacy journalism.

Article 5 explores how the future is connected to the climate change stories of selected newspapers in Bangladesh and Finland. It is based on the material arising from the Copenhagen, Cancun and Durban Summits. During the years these three summits were held, the question of the future became particularly important compared to other selected summits such as Bali and Warsaw. During that period the future climate and its effects were debated against the knowledge of the immanent expiry of the Kyoto Protocol, as well as against worries about the absence of any global instrument for climate governance and action. This article used content analysis data; their interpretation was supplemented by close reading and textual analysis of the newspaper material.

4.6 The MediaClimate Network

This study benefits from the global MediaClimate network. This is a transnational research network that represents 21 countries from five continents. It emerged with a preliminary discussion at the IAMCR conference in 2008 and later gained a strong foothold under Norwegian and Finnish leadership in a long term study of media coverage of climate change during the COPs (Eide, Kunelius, and Kumpu 2010; Eide and Kunelius 2012) and more recently studies of the IPCC AR5 coverage (Kunelius et al. 2017). In my research on Bangladeshi newspaper coverage of COPs, I have been involved with this network since the beginning. This experience afforded me the opportunity to pursue a PhD under the auspices of the Climate Crossroads Project at the University of Bergen. This study is related to the objective of the fourth sub-project of the Climate Crossroads Project. The overall project was entitled 'Towards Precautionary Practices: Politics, Media and Climate Change', while the aim of the sub-project was to investigate the values and norms in communication of climate

change issues and thus suitably relate to the research questions of this study. Funded by the Norwegian Research Council, the Climate Crossroads Project created the opportunity for me to enhance the findings of my earlier work with the MediaClimate network. This I was able to do from the angle of interdisciplinary research on how the issue of climate change connects to almost everything in the modern contemporary world. "The debate about climate is never only about climate, but also about something else: energy, power, water, economy, land, employment, culture, tradition, identities, justice, survival, religion, food, mobility, life style [...] and so on" (Kunelius and Eide 2017: 3). While the MediaClimate network is a transnational study group focused on the mere portrayal of climate change and COPs in selected newspapers of participating countries initially, Climate Crossroads emerged as an interdisciplinary project which integrated journalism/media studies, comparative politics and consumption studies.

Consequently, this dissertation has benefited from my earlier work and experiences gained from resources and research tools developed by joint collaborative work by media scholars of the global South and North. We had our first workshop in Istanbul in 2009 where we shared our preliminary Bali coding and later re-coded the material based on the revised coding template suggested by the networks members. We gathered in Tampere in 2010 where we shared our common findings from the Copenhagen COP (2009), as well as doing a new inter-coder reliability test. Thus, the coding template has been revised and been used for the coding of journalistic data from later COPs such as Durban, Warsaw and Paris. The content analysis material directly gathered by this template contextualized the study with solid background of the general pattern of newspapers coverage of the COPs as well as contributing to Articles One, Four and Five. Data gathered by this template also contributed to the two other articles.

4.7 My Position as Researcher

 People are suffering from climate change and the result is a hitherto unbounded vulnerability among victim nations (Huq et al. 1999; Haque 2011; Akhter 2013). This vulnerability provides the context for demanding that more be done by journalists, and also by researchers investigating how journalism is employed to address climate change related issues. Two themes carry much more potential both in theorizing journalism by focusing on its role in

climate justice advocacy and helping policy makers and world leaders to come up with appropriate mechanisms for adaptation and mitigation. These themes are advocacy for reform to the existing consumption culture and pressure to ensure climate justice. Those who analyze journalistic issues regarding climate change have various views on these questions (Boykoff and Boykoff 2007; Boykoff 2004; Carvalho 2007; Painter 2010, 2011; Eide et al. 2010; Eide and Kunelius 2012; Schmidt et al. 2013). The research inspiring this thesis is all obviously important and embarks substantially on media and climate change research in general. However, the way I see it, one research imperative must be particularly addressed, namely, how journalism norms and values are negotiated in the newspaper coverage to pursue climate justice. Furthermore, it is important to examine the factors affecting the decline of coverage in the media of victim nations -- despite the existence and ongoing threats of climate change. My engagement as a researcher with the MediaClimate network since 2008 has substantially accelerated my desire to pursue this study toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Being an active member of the MediaClimate network, I came across literature which reveals clearly that climate change violates basic human rights; it impedes and damages people's right to live a healthy life, expect food security, a healthy habitat, a decent livelihood and public health. Whenever the potentials and capabilities of human endeavors are eroded, life chances are reduced. The general prosperity of most people on earth is threatened and obstructed due to climate change. Therefore, I became motivated and feel morally responsible to pursue this work, hoping that at least it might contribute knowledge to, and argue for, climate justice.

4.8 Limitations

Like other research this project also has limitations. It would have been better if additional newspapers were included in the sample for the study. However, as I have analyzed the coverage of four summits, I have a substantial body of data with which to document the rise and fall of coverage over time. Taking on more newspapers would not have allowed for completing the study on time. As well, I could have developed separate coding schema in the light of the focus of each article. However, since many of the research sub-questions look for qualitative analysis, I feared that including more detailed quantitative data might have

diverted the focus of attention from the important qualitative research questions. For qualitative analysis and interpretation, I have used theoretical insights and knowledge gained from available literature; as such, my interpretation and analysis should not be overly generalized.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the methods used for this study. However, each article is accompanied with a brief methodological discussion adopted for its theme. Ethical issues relevant for this study have been discussed with supervisors and duly followed with respect to data collection, use and preservation and also elaborating the methodologies of this study. However, writing from my home country, and being a member in the global network has helped me enormously when it comes to remaining updated with the research context and sharing the findings and research process with other colleagues in the network. Thus, this study has benefitted from a rich local perspective including Bangladesh's challenges and initiatives as member of vulnerable South and its strong position for pursuing climate justice as well as from global intellectual insights by international scholars. Still there are backdrops that other scholars can think of and future research may address, such as, how journalistic norms and values about climate change reporting are negotiated in the newsroom can be studied by participant observation as well as how civil societies, grassroots organizations and different citizen initiatives strategies media use and capture attention to address adaptation, mitigation and climate justice issues. Climate change and media studies may also benefit investigating how different social media outlets, activist media and websites address climate change leading to methodological innovations.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This thesis looks into the printed narratives of Bangladeshi newspapers using the concepts of issue attention cycle, climate justice, advocacy journalism, and development journalism as theoretical and analytical lenses. It consists of two parts: a summary several chapters in length, and second, a set of articles. The summary presents five chapters including this conclusion. The first chapter introduces the research context and relates it to the research questions answered in the second part of the thesis which is composed of five articles. Chapter Two problematizes the concepts of objectivity in journalism, juxtaposing different varieties of journalistic practices and particularly reflecting on the barriers of journalism to achieve objectivity in the context of Bangladesh. Thus, this chapter works as point of departure for the discussion and analysis of the empirical data. However, the connection between the theory of journalism and its practice in Bangladesh in the context of climate change is woven into this thesis based on the theory of climate justice and global and local politics associated with climate change. Chapter Three elaborates on the literature about climate justice and shows how this complex concept is problematized, and reveals ways in which journalistic scholars question whether there is any consensus among the nations for establishing climate justice for the victim countries. It also outlines how development and advocacy journalism can be useful for achieving climate justice. After having discussed the context, concepts and the theories on which the whole thesis is based, I move on the Chapter Four. Here I discuss the methodologies applied in collection of data as well as the analysis. And finally this chapter, Chapter Five concludes the first part of the thesis. In light of the

research questions, it makes a brief summary of findings from the five papers included in the second part of the thesis.

5.2 Summary of Findings in the Light of Research Questions

This thesis investigated the COPs coverage of the selected newspapers using the theoretical lenses of advocacy and development journalism which are types of journalism that inherently address justice. The orientation provided by advocacy and development journalism proved useful for exploring journalistic domestication of climate change issues. The focus here was explicit evidence of negotiating journalism's norms in Bangladesh by examining the grounding of these professional varieties of journalistic practices in light of the specified COPs.

The first research question of this study was as follows. What is the pattern of Bangladeshi newspaper coverage of climate change related issues during four selected COPs, and how did this pattern relate to structural, cultural and institutional issues affecting the rise and fall of coverage?

The study finds that Bangladeshi newspapers published a significant number of items on climate change issues during the study period in general. However, it is clear from the empirical evidence (see Article 1) that the selected newspapers' attention to climate change issues has sharply declined since the Copenhagen Summit, although no international binding agreement for global climate governance had been achieved by 2015, nor had the negative consequences been reduced. Yet, the pattern of the coverage suggests that Bangladeshi newspapers follow Downs's "issue attention cycle" in covering climate change related issues. Downs' (1972) theory of issue attention refers to the broad range of domestic issues that systematically shape the scale and length of issue attention of media, issues which seem strongly to influence public attitudes and behavior concerning most problems in society. "Each of those problems suddenly leaps into prominence, remains there for a short time, and then – though still largely unresolved – gradually fades from the center of public attention" (Downs 1972: 38).

With occasional fluctuations, climate change coverage during the COPs was influenced by the other competing news issues in Bangladesh. The country had witnessed many big

domestic issues during the period when climate change coverage declined, such as the mutiny of former BDR (Bangladesh Rifles) at their headquarters with a death of 58 army officials, the tribunal for the trail of war crimes which created and exacerbated conflicts between the parties, the political uncertainty around the national parliamentary election, the movement of *Gonojagoron Mancho* at Shahbag dividing the whole nation, and subsequently the hanging of *Abdul Kader Mullah* which led to severe violence across the country. These issues with high news value captured the media attention and justified the decline of climate change coverage in the selected newspapers. The cultural-editorial factors used to determine what exciting news is often shift the calamities of climate change into the category of soft news; as soft news they are overshadowed by breaking news.

The second research question was: How is climate change framed as an issue of climate justice in the selected newspapers and how does that framing shift over the course of one or another selected summit?

The study finds that Bangladeshi newspapers pursue climate justice consistently through their coverage. The concept of climate justice is arguably debated, while some argue for historical responsibility principles that advocate compensation for victim nations at the level of international justice; some others say climate justice should address issues from a transnational justice point of view where tribal and ethnic communities within a nation state are stakeholders. Although climate justice operates at different levels and layers, which may be termed distributive, procedural, corrective and so on, the newspapers' framing of climate justice in Bangladesh is limited in typology (see Article 2).

When it came to framing issues, the extracts of the newspaper reports are self- evident. They reveal editorial selection, as well as values governing salience and exclusion--be it about compensatory, distributive, procedural or corrective justice. While framing the issues in various ways, the newspapers generally view climate justice in relation to achieving a legally binding fair accord governing emissions reduction, a green fund for the victim countries as compensation as well as technology transfers from developed countries to those of the developing world who are most in need of adaptation programs to face changing climatic conditions. The newspaper frames seemed mainly to reflect compensatory and distributive justice. With regard to realizing compensation from polluter countries as part of addressing

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climate justice, Bangladeshi newspaper discourses choose the strategy of increasing their demands from the period of the Bali COP in 2007 till the Warsaw COP in 2013. In the course of time, what had been an "appeal" for compensation during the Bali Summit emerged as a "demand"; the earlier soft and docile tone was transformed later into assertive actions and movement. Issues regarding procedural and corrective justice were framed occasionally but in a less salient manner than other varieties of climate justice. Moreover, intergenerational justice, climate justice between rich and poor within the country and climate justice for other species is hardly detectable in the framing.

The third research question was: To what extent is development journalism exercised in connection with climate change related issues during the selected COPs period by the selected Bangladeshi newspapers and how does this variety of journalism relate to the wider issue of general development and its problems in Bangladesh?

The study finds that the practice of development journalism in covering COPs is evident in the coverage, and is applicable in relation to the pro-process, pro-participation and pro-government dimensions of development (see Article 3). Although sometimes perceived as an approach to investigative journalism (Kunczik 1988), due to its misuse by many African, South Asian and ASIAN leaders, development journalism has been widely criticised as propaganda (Skjerdal 2011; Sharma 2007). However, properly applied, development journalism may help connect the dots from everyday life experiences of citizens, and by means of journalists' critical eye, contribute to strengthening democratic nation building, increasing the empowerment of marginal classes, preventing corruption and wrong-doing by surveillance and upholding the need for transparency in governance. However, with regard to climate change coverage during COPs, Bangladeshi newspapers seem more interested in summit reporting which highlights the hard facts and aspects of the specific summit issues rather than using climate change to connect the dots between various development-related issues faced by the country between summits; Bangladeshi journalism tends to cover climate-related events rather than the effects of climate change on the country's development processes.

However, to some degree, non-institutional journalistic genres such as op-eds refer to process reporting. This activity is more important for journalism when we consider the gravity of climate change consequences. The over-emphasis on the political nature of the COPs and the embeddedness of journalists, in fact, marginalizes development reporting thus important areas of climate change consequences lapse media attention. Realizing the vulnerabilities of climate change effects, Bangladesh is committed to building the capacity of the country to meet the challenges of climate change and build the country in ways that are climate-resilient. Projects are undertaken, funds, though insufficient, are made available, therefore development journalism can connect and disconnect from all view points between the projects planning and implementation as well justification of them to address climate consequences and relate them to development processes of the country and people's participation in them. Yet, in the period studied here, Bangladeshi newspaper journalism did not really take DJ seriously with respect to climate change related issues during the COPs. Instead, newspapers brought DJ components into their coverage in scattered and haphazard manner. Development journalism though was seen as passive news beat during the 1980s and 1990s, recently its practitioners have become more active and thus development journalism as a whole acquired renewed interest in the context of covering the COPs and climate change with all its variations. This coverage attests to the fact that DJ is no longer only a tool for propaganda for supporting the government, obscuring shortcomings and building public opinion and a good image, but also is being strategically applied to issues, viewing them with a processual orientation.

The predominance of embedded DJ carries stigma though journalists find it prestigious and heroic since it affords them opportunities for foreign travel, being members of party delegations and meeting high profile companions. Such event-centred celebrity-reporting makes DJ on the subject of climate change less effective and less incisive. The resultant reporting does not generally provide insight into development problems associated with climate change.

The fourth research question was: Do Bangladeshi newspaper journalisms take an advocacy turn when they deal with climate change related issues during the COPs, and how do they negotiate with the journalistic norms in their coverage?

The study finds that newspapers in Bangladesh tend to advocate for climate justice through their coverage. Furthermore, newspapers extend their cooperation for advocacy of climate justice by promoting and supporting the movements organized by civil society and grass roots organizations.

While advocacy is considered in climate summit journalism, it refers to taking sides and basing such partisanship on grounds of justice. Advocacy does not entail filing fake and fabricated stories in pursuit of certain goals which is a characteristic of propaganda. Rather, it is based on true facts and is brought into play where one party in an issue is deprived of voice or oppressed due to the other party's influence and privileges. It is a communication arena for struggle where media actors try to establish a perspective allowing the marginalized and the victims to gain primacy and justice.

It is understood that advocacy suffers if there are powerful opponents such as governments. However, in the context of climate change, Bangladeshi newspaper advocacy has been strengthened as there has been consensus among the stakeholders when it comes to arguing for justice. Along with the established agents of advocacy such as the journalist-advocate model and the civil society model of advocacy, climate justice advocacy has been multiplied by the voice from government, though theoretically government is not included as an agent in the advocacy model. Thus, the use of advocacy journalism in Bangladeshi newspapers about climate change issues goes beyond the existing model and offers an extension to present theorizing, seeking to integrate the triangles of advocates: journalists, civil society groups and governments to pursue climate justice.

The fifth research question was: How is the future imagined in the climate change coverage of Bangladeshi newspapers in contrast with Western newspapers i.e., in the present case, Finnish newspapers?

The study finds that with respect to the future orientation of climate change coverage, the newspapers in Bangladesh and Finland tend to situate voices in different 'time-zones' in their coverage; they do so in a similar manner (see Article 5). The future is particularly important as climate change is a worry extending into future generations and the future habitat. If the

society is to respond positively to this worry, adequate knowledge is necessary. Such knowledge is at least partly dependent on who sees and talks about the future and how they explain themselves. Imagining the future also helps make the intangible tangible and brings different scenarios into the ongoing debates. These debates currently have sides which perceive the issue of climate change as 'present future' or 'future present'. The 'present future' entails controlling the future for the benefit of the present and the 'future present' entails actions and deeds on the way to making an impact on the life conditions of future generations. In the coverage of all the chosen and analyzed summits in both countries, political actors were always clearly more visible in stories considered as future oriented, while civil society actors such as NGOs are more likely to appear in stories with no future orientation.

The similarity between the approaches to futures manifested itself in the two countries. This was evident at the very core of 'summit journalism', in stories concentrating on the negotiation process. The most common way of approaching futures is through references to emissions reduction targets discussed in the negotiations; these were replicated in the coverage, using a precise, technical language. Along with emissions reduction, climate funding was sometimes used as the currency in describing futures. This type of funding narrative was more prominent in the Bangladeshi newspaper coverage but appeared sporadically in the Finnish coverage as well.

As a counterpart to the precise target narratives, implicitly or explicitly explaining why the emissions reduction targets were important, there often appeared a more vague narrative concentrating on the possible consequences of climate change. Recurrent points of reference were the small island states, floods, droughts and glaciers melting. The main difference between the two countries was not in the futures referred to, but in their connection to present day realities. The Bangladeshi coverage was deeply embedded in the idea that the fate of Bangladesh was at stake during the negotiations. While the Bangladeshi journalists did not challenge or elaborate the futures put forward as targets in the negotiations, they did construct a pronounced nationalistic perspective from which the negotiations were interpreted. The role of Bangladesh in the negotiations, the difference between 'rich' and 'climate-hit' countries, and the possible consequences of climate change at the present time were all highlighted in a

way that was markedly different from the Finnish coverage. The view from Bangladesh was that the future is now.

On the other hand, the Finnish coverage reflected a gradualist approach to climate change: futures related to climate change can and should be controlled by appropriate mechanisms, such as international climate treaties, enabling societies to adjust and adapt to the rather slow changes climate change is bringing with it. The gradualist approach was also evident in the ways futures were approached in stories diverging from the summit context and in pieces discussing climate change in more general terms.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

This study has been conducted on two national newspapers published from Dhaka, Bangladesh. They are: 1) *The Prothom Alo*, 2) *The Daily Star* 3). I selected the *Daily Star* published in the English language since it has the highest circulation among the English language dailies and is considered as elite, independent, prestigious daily paper by the eyes of the general consumers. Among the selected Bangla newspapers, the *Prothom Alo* has the highest circulation and readership as it is the most widely read, popular, independent daily general consumer newspaper in Bangladesh. This selection of newspapers has placed limits on the study. Other types of newspaper such as the financial and the tabloid have quite different focus and news selection. If those were taken into the sample, this study might reveal diversified views of print press with regard to the research questions undertaken. In particular, financial newspapers may reveal the standpoint of entrepreneurs, industrialists and the business sector on climate change and its economic implications. They could well have provided more detail with respect to climate funding and revealed their relevance towards development funding.

Newspaper materials produced during three week periods around certain global climate summits (the Bali Summit [COP13], the Copenhagen Summit [COP15], the Cancun Summit [COP16] and the Durban Summit [COP17]) have been investigated to reveal journalistic values and norms. My initial assumption was that values were triggered by the big events compared to the "normal times." I assumed that the values adopted during the big events

would continue to be manifested during normal times too, yet there is no certainty that "big event values" are to be found during normal times. Specific studies might prove this, but they have not been conducted; therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized over the longer time period.

There are also theoretical limitations. The content published in the newspapers, irrespective of their ideological/political leaning, is largely determined by the political economy of the media management and ownership; moreover, the media system has developed within the bigger political culture where editorial responsibility is linked to content filtering and gatekeeping in relation to the news. However, this study largely relied on the assumption of journalistic autonomy, particularly on media and journalistic agency, on how their participants shaped their own practice and set forth their own societally specific journalistic culture, a practice contrary to the standard norms of Anglo-Saxon journalistic objectivity.

5.4 Conclusion

Climate justice, the question of how the costs of mitigation and adaptation to climate change should be distributed between rich and poor countries, is a central one in the discussion of climate politics in Bangladesh. This thesis is concerned with the mediation of this political discussion and sheds light on how the journalistic norms of objectivity and balance are negotiated by Bangladeshi media whose actors frequently take on the role of advocate on behalf of climate justice for the country. By exploring the journalistic practices in the context of climate change issues this study aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of journalistic norms in the confrontation with the pressing issues of climate change and climate justice in Bangladesh. More specifically, I have investigated the pattern of selected Bangladeshi newspaper coverage of climate change related issues during three-week periods of some selected COPs to find underlying norms in the coverage. The central question of this thesis has been answered by articles 1-5, providing answers to five sub-questions, or five facets arising from it. The overall answer to the central question is that the newspaper attention of climate change journalism varies in Bangladesh, as in most parts of the world, with the fluctuations of attention paid to the issue, according to the rise and fall of importance awarded to other issues in the society. The journalistic norms and values are

supportive of the professional practice of journalism and its processes; the exercising of respective agencies is largely defined by the national interest regarding climate change: mitigation, adaptation and justice. Therefore, the practice of journalism in Bangladesh cannot be labelled as normatively Anglo-Saxon. It has developed according to its own history and traditions, which have given rise to the practice of development journalism and advocacy journalism regarding climate change, especially as it affects vulnerable countries. This practice may find inspiration in the historical legacy of past domination and deprivation where the media in general took the side of the nation in order to protect their own interests.
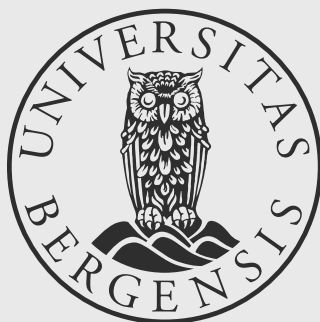
I hope this thesis may generate some insights useful to journalism studies, particularly with regard to theorizing journalism that draws upon the dilemma of journalistic norms of objectivity and advocacy with respect to climate change issues in Bangladesh. Further, it may inform the policy makers about the state of the art, and the state of the science, of climate change, such that appropriate policy decisions can be made by government and industry, and climate policy can be formulated to address and prepare for climate change; finally it may help journalistic institutions, academia and industry, so that all communicators can promote better understanding about climate change in Bangladesh.

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PART II

ARTICLES

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