

All climate stories worth telling.

Moernaut, Renée; Mast, Jelle; Temmerman, Martina

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All Climate Stories Worth Telling. Salience and Positionality at the Intersection of News Values and Frames

Abstract

The world is too complex for humans to grasp. Frames and news values (i.e. ‘journalistic selection procedures’) make it more intelligible, foregrounding salient elements. Giving shape to reality, both concepts cannot be separated from ideological interests, either. Previous research suggests, accordingly, that frames and newsworthiness take shape in mutual interaction. Yet, the exact nature of these interactions remains unclear as in-depth discursive research is lacking. Therefore, we have conducted a combined framing-news value analysis, drawing on a corpus of climate articles published in three mainstream and two alternative media outlets in Northern Belgium. This article discusses the relations among five selected news values and the detected Anthropocentric and Biocentric Subframes. The presented schemata and exemplary analyses demonstrate the strong overlap between the salience-enhancing devices of subframes and news values. Also, they make tangible the ideological argumentations at the intersection of newsworthiness and framing, explicating the diverging realizations of news values in the context of various subframes. As such, this study lays bare some of the journalistic conventions which are often used in climate reporting to naturalize certain worldviews. Moreover, it contributes to the development of the Discursive News Values Analysis framework proposed by Bednarek and Caple (Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2017). *The Discourse of News Values. How News Organizations Create Newsworthiness*. New York, NY: Oxford UP).

Keywords

News value analysis; framing analysis; ideology; climate change reporting; salience; positionality

Highlights

- A combined framing-news values analysis allows for more profound insights
- (Most) news values and subframes facilitate each other
- The salience-enhancing devices of both methods complement and reinforce each other
- The same visual-verbal conventions are used across ideological contexts
- Subframes lay bare the various ideological views news values may help to convey

1 Introduction

The world is too complex for humans to grasp and, for that matter, for media to report on. Frames help us to distil ‘events’ by foregrounding certain issues, actors or interactions, backgrounding others and providing structure and context (Van Gorp, 2006). As Entman (1991, p.9) puts it, “[t]he essence of framing is sizing – magnifying or shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make them more or less

salient”. Media workers are (made) aware of many events. However, to make it into the news, events must appear to have a certain value for the audience (Hall, 1973). News values help to select and construct (the most) salient participants, attributes, actions, implications and/or contexts. As such, they also structure the reported ‘reality’ in certain ways (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Thus, framing and news values have salience in common.

Clearly, framing and newsworthiness must be understood from a social constructivist perspective. The construction of ‘reality’ is always entangled with ideological interests (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). Hall (1973) argues that news values function, on one level, as (‘neutral’) routines of newsmakers. On another, however, they reproduce ideological values. After all, questions like ‘what is negative or prominent’ assume consensus knowledge – the character of which may differ depending on the (production/reception) context (Dahl & Fløttum, 2017). Similarly, authors (2018) distinguished between levels of framing. While frames are, in theory, ‘neutral’ structures, their argumentations are, in practice, always operationalized in ideological contexts (Van Gorp, 2006). For instance, ‘leading heroes’ may have another character depending on the ‘ideologically coloured subframe’. Besides, framing *and* newsworthiness have also been described (Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Dahl, 2015) from the background of ‘Appraisal Theory’ (see 2.2 News Values). In short, news values *and* (sub)frames are constructed by, and may construct, various ideological ‘positionalities’ (Pulido & Peña, 1998). The argumentative structure of frames (Entman, 1991), in particular, allows to make these positionalities more tangible.

Unsurprisingly, frames and news values have been shown to have a special relationship. Boesman et al. (2017) contend that news values (e.g. negativity) can pave the way for (e.g. alarmist) frames. Elaborating on this, however, authors (2018) found that news values, as such, cannot explain the presence of (sub)frames. Their frame-building study showed that the same news values co-occur with different types of (sub)frames. The character of these news values differed depending on the context of the (sub)frame, though. The authors concluded that subframes and news values take shape in mutual interaction: the content of the news values we construct/attend to, is delineated by the (sub)frames we have (mental) access to; when trying to ‘sell’ certain subframes, we often construct their argumentations within the lines of news values. Thus, each concept/method allows for a more profound comprehension of the other, either furthering our understanding of salience (news values) or making ideological positionalities more tangible (subframes).

Being situated in the tradition of communication and journalism studies, however, the existing research lacks discursive analyses of texts. Yet, such systematic analyses may provide important insights, laying bare the exact nature of the mutually constitutive interactions of news values and frames (Bednarek & Caple, 2017).

Therefore, our study will combine a multimodal discursive news value analysis (DNVA) (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) with a qualitative framing analysis of climate change articles (n=256). The corpus was

harvested during the period 28 February 2012 to 28 February 2014 in three mainstream and two alternative news outlets in Flanders (Northern Belgium). The climate issue has been the topic of extensive framing and news value research before (e.g. Dahl & Fløttum, 2017; Molek-Kozakowska, 2018; O'Neill, 2013): while climate change constitutes *the* threat of the 21st century, it also presents a challenging topic for journalists (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). Throughout this research article we intend to answer these research questions: How exactly do the discursive (salience-enhancing) devices of news values and frames mutually interact, and inform each other? What varying (ideological) realizations of news values can we identify by focusing on the intersection of subframes and newsworthiness?

2 Literature Review

2.1 Frames

Frames are immanent structuring ideas which give coherence and meaning to texts. Framing is applying a frame to organize an area of life: It involves selecting, omitting, expanding and giving salience to certain aspects of a perceived reality, providing context and an argumentative structure. It facilitates, among others, the processing of new information by evoking (mental) structures (Entman, 1991; Van Gorp, 2006). Frames encompass a central organizing idea (e.g. 'Human Rights'), explicit/implicit reasoning devices which support this (the argumentative structure: a problem definition, causal responsibility, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation) (Entman, 1991) and manifest framing devices (e.g. depictions of participants and (inter)actions). Frames help to naturalize ideologies. We define ideology drawing on Carvalho (2007, p.225) as:

A system of values, norms and political preferences, linked to a program of action vis-a-vis a given social and political order. People relate to each other and to the world on the basis of value judgments, ideas about how things should be, and preferred forms of governance of the world.

The referents of ideology may further also include the economy or human-nature relations. One ideology never equals one frame, or vice versa (Van Gorp, 2006). We distinguish between three framing levels (authors, 2018):

- Masterframes are structured collectives of arguments, ideas, language and images about how the world is and should be. Masterframes reflect values of a particular ideology within their structure, but are more dynamic than ideologies (e.g. they may mutually influence each other).
- Frames structure particular topics of concern, like economics or justice. They constitute a rather stable group, which may reappear across various debates (e.g. climate change, migration).
- Ideologically coloured subframes are shaped by the available masterframes. Masterframes only become 'visible' within the context of particular frames.

2.1.1 Climate Change Frames

Many framing studies deal with climate change (e.g. Molek-Kozakowska, 2018; Nisbet, 2009; O'Neill, 2013). Although they provide interesting insights, we maintain that many of the presented frames – like ‘Uncertainty’ or ‘Risk’ – do not meet the framing definition of Entman (1991) and Van Gorp (2006): they are not generalizable, lack (clear) organizing ideas, framing or reasoning devices and/or do not lay bare underlying ideological interests (authors, 2018).

Hence, we have attempted to contribute to a more comprehensive, ‘universal’ frame set (authors, 2018), which encompasses five climate change frames, six Anthropocentric Subframes and four Biocentric Subframes (Figure 1; Appendix A). The organizing idea of the Anthropocentric Subframes, and thus the Anthropocentric Masterframe, is this: Humans are the main victims of the current changes, as their environment and/or natural services are threatened due to – largely – external pressures. Except for the status-quo subframes ‘Rights of the Free Market’ and ‘Nature is a Machine’, the hegemonic subframes envision ‘reform’ within the contours of the capitalist society. The biocentric view underlying ‘Natural Web’, ‘Unequal Attribution’ and ‘Civil Rights’, however, denounces the capitalist system as the roots of various socio-environmental problems. Accordingly, alternatives based on values like harmony, diversity or human moderation are provided (Verhagen, 2008). ‘Gaia’ diverges from the other Biocentric Subframes in that it does not encourage climate action. In authors (2018, pp.242-245), we explicate how each (sub)frame is related to the frames in the literature, drawing on visualized continuums.

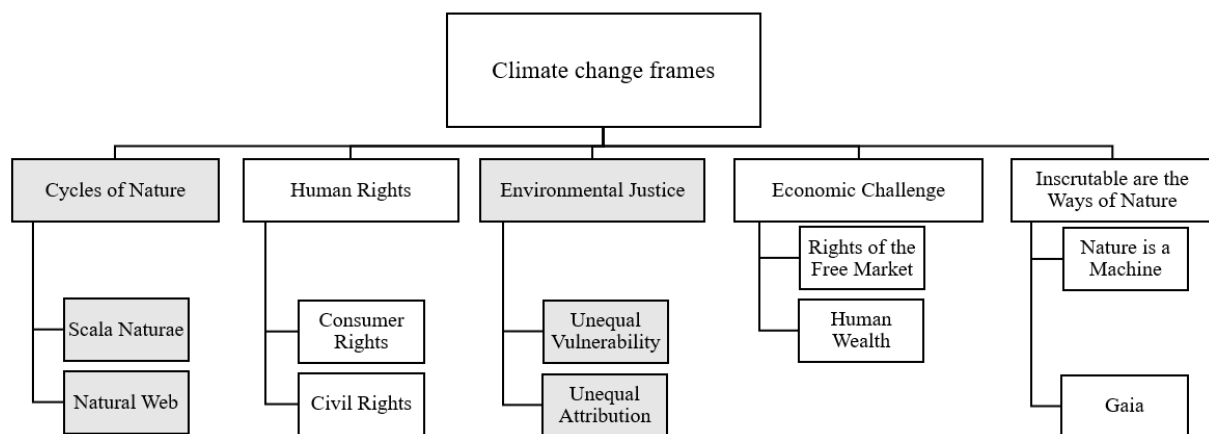


Figure 1: Overview of the frames and subframes identified in authors (2018). The (sub)frames which this study will focus on are highlighted in grey.

2.2 News Values

News values help journalists to select certain events and construct them as ‘newsworthy’, or ‘salient’. That is, they allow to predict what will be ‘sellable’ to intended audiences, and superiors (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Galtung and Ruge (1965) is considered as *the* landmark study on newsworthiness. Their ‘news factors’ – among others Frequency, Consonance, Elite(nation)s and Negativity – have recently

been updated by Harcup and O'Neill (2017). The latter added values like Entertainment, Exclusivity and Shareability. We will, however, adopt the news values distinguished by Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017), who critically assessed a large number of studies: Aesthetic Appeal (only visuals), Consonance ((stereo)typicality), Impact (having significant effects/consequences), Personalization (having a personal/human face), Prominence (of high status, important), (geographical/cultural) Proximity, Superlativeness (of high intensity/large scope), Timeliness (recent, ongoing, about to happen, new, current, seasonal), Unexpectedness (unexpected), Valence (negative/positive).¹

News values have four interacting dimensions: material (an event's potential news values in a given community), cognitive (news workers/audiences' beliefs), social (journalistic routines) and discursive (the ways in which news values are communicated through discourse) (Bednarek & Caple, 2017; Bell, 1991; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The latter dimension, in particular, has been largely overlooked. Most previous work draws on content analysis, which does not allow to evaluate how exactly news values are entextualized. Therefore, Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014, 2017) have proposed a multimodal DNVA framework. This encompasses verbal-visual discursive strategies which help to operationalize each of the(ir) news values (Appendix B).

This framework might, as the authors argue, constitute an additional tool for critical discourse analyses (CDA) or, for that matter, framing analyses. After all, sets of news values are not only ideological constructs as such but are also mutually constitutive with ideological worldviews (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, 2017; Bell, 1991; Hall, 1973). Drawing on Appraisal Theory, Bednarek and Caple (2012) argue that particular discursive news value strategies like evaluative vocabulary, express, and encourage the audience to adopt, a certain value position, or – as Pulido and Peña (1998) phrase it – 'positionality'. Managing or constructing interpersonal relations, this interacts with the (ideological) viewpoints of communicators and/or audiences. While Dahl (2015) describes appraisal mechanisms in the context of framing, authors (2018) consider positionality as core point of difference between ideological subframes.

2.2.1 News Values and Climate Change

News values have been discussed before in the context of climate and environmental reporting. However, the majority of these studies do not take a discursive approach or only refer to the construction of newsworthiness in general terms. Boykoff and Boykoff (2007), for instance, focus on the lack of news values 'in(ternal to)' climate events. Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014) and Dahl and Fløttum (2017), however, provide more extensive discussions of recurring visual-verbal conventions in the construction of newsworthy environmental stories, like intensified lexis (e.g. 'apocalypse'), capitals or

¹ We will use 'Prominence' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, 2014; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014) rather than 'eliteness' (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) as the former allows for broader (non-hegemonic) interpretations of importance/leadership. Also, we will substitute 'dissonance' for 'unexpectedness' (see 3 Materials and Methods).

depictions of extreme emotions highlighting Superlativeness. Also, they found that Negativity, Prominence, Impact and Superlativeness are the most prevalent news values in this context, suggesting that certain issues are often associated with certain values. Analyzing the discursive constructions of climate frames and news values in popular science journalism, Molek-Kozakowska (2018) identified the same news values as most prevalent, adding Timeliness. She concluded that the preoccupation with newsworthiness produces coverage that forestalls public mobilization.

3 Materials and Methods

Firstly, the corpus comprises articles from three Flemish mainstream newspapers: *De Standaard* (broadsheet, historical catholic-nationalist background) (DS), *De Morgen* (broadsheet, historical social-democratic background) (DM) and *Het Laatste Nieuws* (popular, liberal roots) (HLN). While the commercial context does no longer allow for pronounced ideological stances, ideologies may still play a role as marketing strategies (De Bens & Raeymaeckers, 2010). This may be reflected in the (strategic) application of certain discursive strategies (authors, 2018). Further, articles were also collected from the online websites of the alternative outlets *DeWereldMorgen* (DWM) and *MO* Magazine* (MO) (both openly left-wing). Those demonstrate the main characteristics of progressive alternative media described by Atton (2002), diverging from mainstream media in terms of organizational context (e.g. anti-commercial), content (e.g. redefining journalistic routines, like newsworthiness) and production process (e.g. citizen-journalists). Alternative media are, for instance, more inclined to problematize broader political, economic and social contexts around the climate problem (authors, 2018).

The selection was based on maximum variation sampling: The three mainstream outlets represent the various ideological viewpoints found in the Flemish media landscape. *De Standaard* and *De Morgen* are the most widely circulated broadsheet dailies. *Het Laatste Nieuws* is the most widely read (popular) newspaper among all strata of the population. *DeWereldMorgen* is the major, *MO** the second, alternative outlet in Flanders (Centrum voor Informatie over de Media [CIM.be], 2016; DeWereldMorgen.be; mo.be).

Employing the search tools of the Belgian press archive Gopress and/or the archives of the individual outlets, we conducted key word searches ('climate change', 'global warming', 'greenhouse effects'). Additionally, we carried out a manual search in the paper archives of the national and university libraries. The searches yielded a total of 1,256 articles for the period February 28, 2012 to February 28, 2014. A two year period allows for a sample that is large enough to reflect the diversity of its parent population.

A qualitative framing analysis (inspired by Grounded Theory) of the whole corpus was carried out in the context of earlier studies: First, 28 percent of the articles were analyzed inductively, informed by insights from the existing literature. This gave rise to eighteen frame matrices. These facilitated

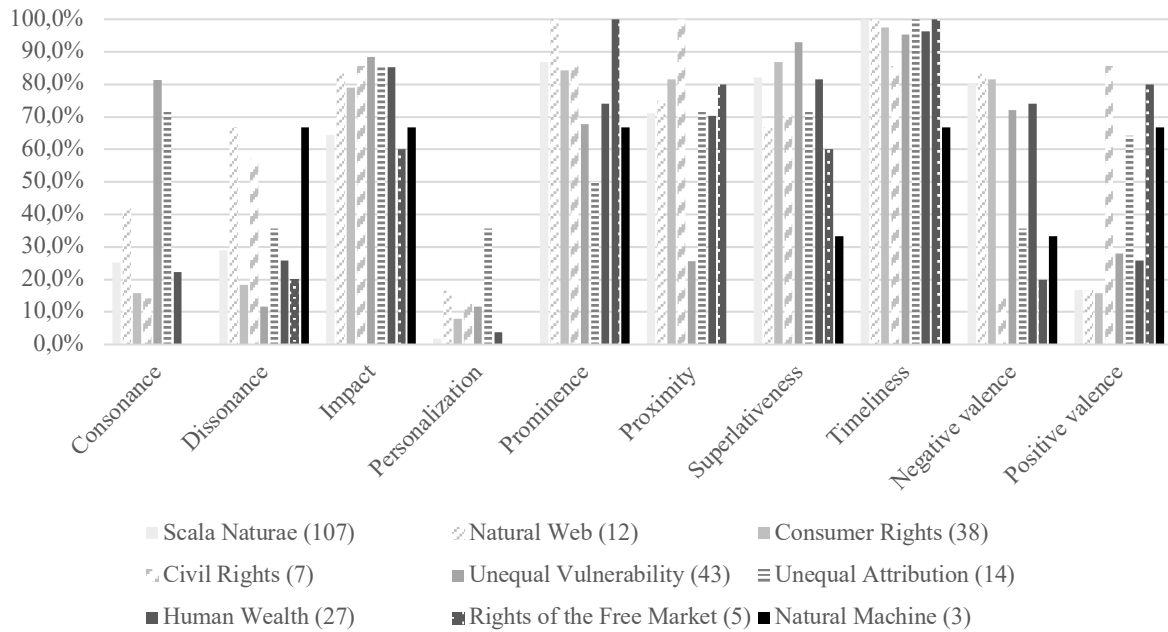
subsequent deductive analyses (Van Gorp, 2006). Extensive discussions of the research design (and results) can be found in Appendix C and authors (2018).

Based on quota sampling, we selected 256 articles (about 20 percent of the corpus, containing a proportional number of all subframes). This sample allowed for in-depth qualitative analyses of the news values. The analyses only embraced the heading and lead of articles (verbal part) and, if available, the visual(s) and caption(s) (visual part). These are crucial parts for the identification of (the most salient) frames *and* news values (Bell, 1991; Dahl, 2015; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Molek-Kozakowska, 2018). Entman (1991) points out that readers are only likely to discern the most salient frame in an article. Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2017) demonstrate that news values detected in the salient parts are usually identical to those in the remainder of articles. The DNV analyses were facilitated by the computer software package NVivo and carried out in the files which also contained our earlier framing analyses. They were largely informed by the ten news values described by Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014, 2017). In the first round of analysis those served as general categories ('nodes'). In subsequent rounds, however, they were further divided into subcategories ('child nodes'). These arose inductively, based on our analyses, and deductively, based on the subdivisions/scales suggested by Bednarek and Caple (2017) and insights derived from our framing study. In a final step, we questioned the data (e.g. through coding stripes in NVivo) to further lay bare the interactions among the various (framing, salience-enhancing and news value) devices in diverse (ideological) contexts.

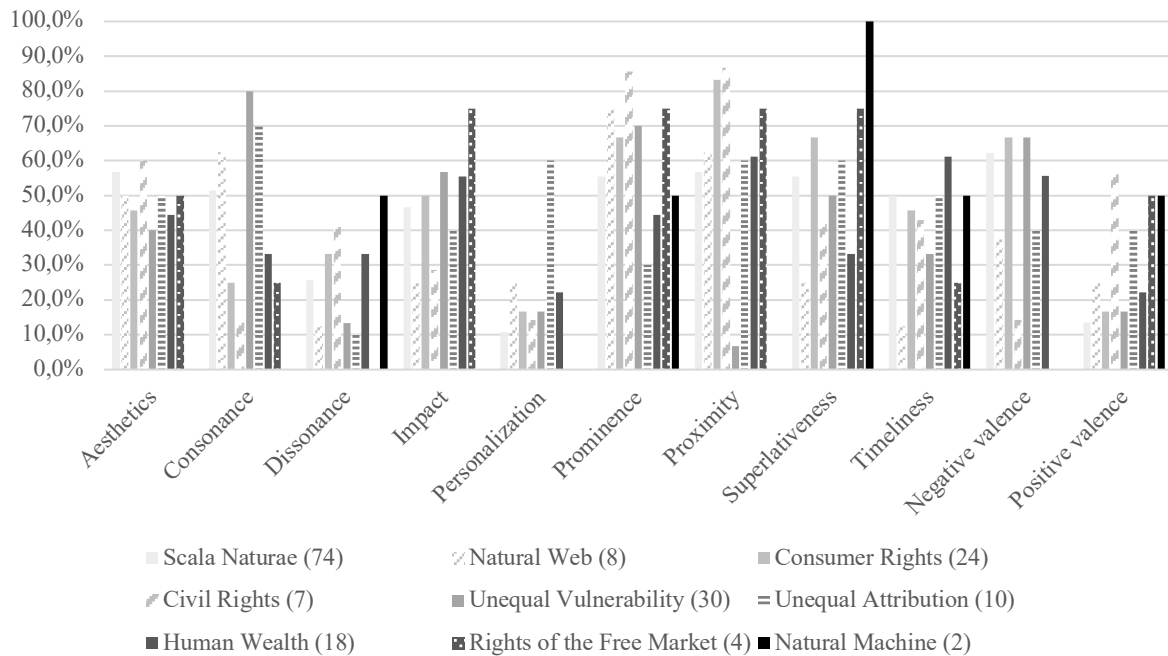
We have slightly adapted the framework of Bednarek and Caple (2017), substituting 'Dissonance' for 'Unexpectedness'. As such, we want to emphasize the antithetical relation of this news value with 'Consonance'. This relation – suggested by the authors who define unexpectedness as events “establishing contrast with the expected” (p.66) – is particularly relevant from an ideological perspective (see 4.1.1 Consonance-Dissonance). Also, it allows to draw a clearer distinction with the narrower definition of 'Unexpectedness' by Galtung and Ruge (1965) (i.e. “unexpected *within the meaningful and the consonant* (...)” (p.67; italics in original)). The broader interpretation of Bednarek and Caple (2017) also subsumes the ideas of unusuality/rarity. This is of secondary importance in the current discussion.

4 Results and Discussions

4.1 Interacting News Values and Frames



Graph 1: The co-occurrence of subframes and news values in the verbal part of the articles. The total number of articles is shown per subframe.



Graph 2: The co-occurrence of subframes and news values in the visual part of the articles. Not all articles are accompanied by visuals. The total number of visual compounds (i.e. all visual illustrations of one article) is shown per subframe.

Graphs 1 and 2 demonstrate the co-occurrence of subframes and news values in the verbal text and in the visuals respectively. As the corpus is too small for broad generalizations, these quantitative overviews are only intended to illustrate recurring patterns.

Our findings partly confirm those of Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014), Dahl and Fløttum (2017) and Molek-Kozakowska (2018): Prominence, Impact, Superlativeness and (verbal) Timeliness are, overall, the most prevalent values – especially in the verbal mode. Yet, our results also suggest a relatively strong presence of Aesthetic visuals and a balance among Positive and Negative Valence (rather than the prevalence of Negativity). This might be due to differences in methods, corpuses and/or underlying (sub)frames. For instance, our colleague-researchers did not look at alternative media, which are more likely to distribute Biocentric Subframes (authors, 2018). As explained below, these seem to co-occur more often with Positivity.

All news values appear with all types of subframes. Only the status-quo subframes are exceptions. For instance, not one of their realizations foregrounds Personalization. That is no surprise: their argumentations highlight nature and/or elites as responsible agents, rather than ordinary humans. Further, Consonance and Scala Naturae, Natural Web, Unequal Vulnerability and Unequal Attribution often co-occur. (Verbal) Dissonance is regularly established in the context of the Biocentric Subframes, but also in the status-quo Natural Machine Subframe. A similar pattern (in both modes) can be detected for Positivity, which is also prevalent in the Economic Challenge Frames.

Within the limited scope of this article, we are only able to provide lengthy discussions of four out of ten values. We selected Consonance, Dissonance, Prominence and Valence because they appear to be most crucial for (the understanding of) the intersection of framing, newsworthiness and ideology. They often co-occur with the selected subframes and/or have been discussed by other authors in relation to ideology (Bednarek & Caple, 2014; Dahl & Fløttum, 2017; Hall, 1973). Moreover, our analyses show that their devices overlap with the salience-enhancing *and* framing devices in our framing analysis toolkit (Appendix C): they do not only enhance salience but may also add (ideological) content. Obviously, each news value may function on various levels. However, given our research questions the ideological level will be the focus of our discussions.

In the remainder of this article we will concentrate on the Cycles of Nature and the Environmental Justice frames and their respective subframes. Cycles of Nature is the dominant frame across the various Flemish news outlets. Environmental Justice is pivotal to the alternative outlets (authors, 2018).

4.1.1 Valence

Verbal devices:

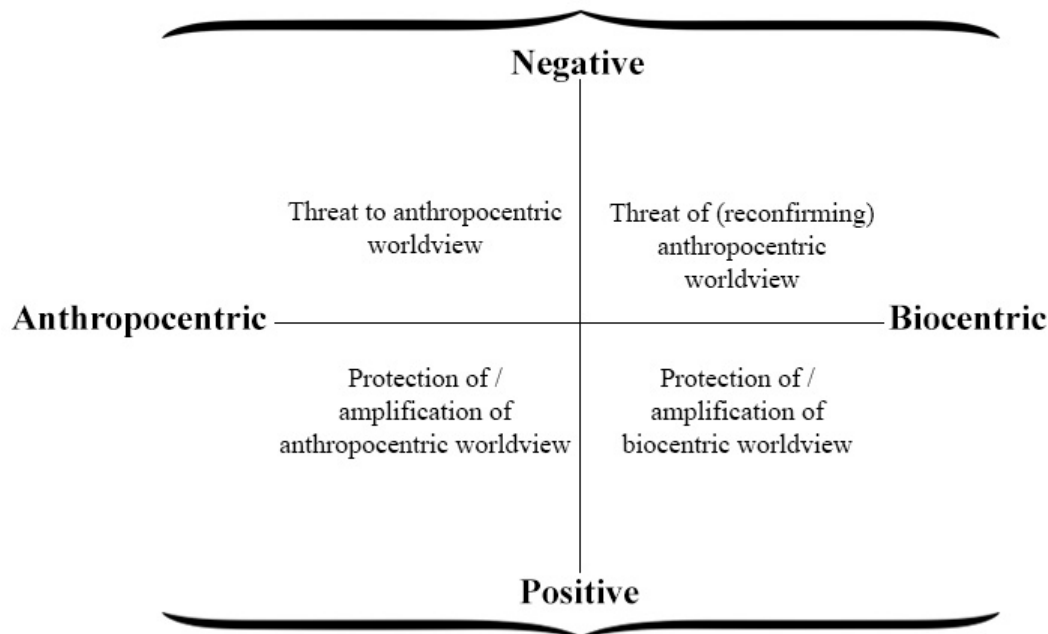
- Negative evaluative language
- Negative lexis

Visual devices:

- Movement/blurring involving negative content, resulting in poor quality*
- Noise, underexposed images (lack of light), dramatizing and intensifying negative content*
- Focus: where extreme circumstances mean inability to provide sharp and detailed image content (e.g. water/mud on the lens during a hurricane)*

Verbal and visual devices:

- References to negative emotion and attitude or showing people experiencing negative emotions (*especially through intimate shots of human faces*)
- An emphasis on participants as victims and/or villains
- Descriptions or representations of behaviour, state-of-affairs, activity sequences or events which are generally considered as negative (e.g. disasters, norm-breaking)
- Lack of a manageable or clear time frame, especially in relation to negative events or threats, intensifying the latter ('Apocalypse now')
- Rhetorical devices or argumentative strategies that evoke ideas of negativity (such as metaphors, metonyms (including colour metaphors), similes, contrasts, negations, personifications, semantic reversals, presuppositions...)



Verbal devices:

- Positive evaluative language
- Positive lexis

Visual devices:

- (Slightly) overexposed images, intensifying positive content*

Verbal and visual devices:

- References to positive emotion and attitude or showing people experiencing positive emotions (*especially through intimate shots of human faces*)
- Emphasis on participants as heroes (or helpers)
- Descriptions or representations of behaviour, state-of-affairs, activity sequences or events which are generally considered as positive (e.g. success)
- Presence of a manageable, clear time frame, especially in relation to positive events or solutions, amplifying a sense of positivity
- Rhetorical devices or argumentative strategies that evoke ideas of positivity (such as metaphors, metonyms (including colour metaphors), similes, presuppositions...)

Figure 2: Intersection between Negative-Positive representations and Anthropocentric-Biocentric Subframes, including the (exclusively) verbal and visual devices, and the verbal-visual devices used to construct Negativity/Positivity across subframes.

‘Deconstruction-reconstruction’ is an important engaging strategy in climate change framing: While unsettling truths may raise a sense of urgency through the deconstruction of trusted worldviews, these must always be balanced with reassuring alternatives (O’Neill, 2013). Unsurprisingly, Negativity and Positivity tie in with this framing strategy.

Three groups of conventions construct Negativity (Dahl & Fløttum, 2017): (1) War: War is *the* metaphor used to construct climate change as a society-external villain in the anthropocentric context, especially in Scala Naturae (e.g. “(...) that prospect clashes with the battle against global warming” (DS, 19/12/2012, p.37) [1]). In the biocentric context, however, sentences like “The real enemy is human” (DWM, 01/06/2012) [2] replace the natural villain with a human villain, emphasizing the destructive consequences of our global(ized) culture. (2) ‘Threat’, ‘drama’, ‘alarm’, ‘disaster’: A sentence like “Red climate alarm in all of Europe” (DM, 24/11/2012, p.3) [3] is exemplary. It combines colour symbolism (red or dark colours may convey a sense of threat (O’Neill, 2013)) with negative lexis. Scala Naturae is mainly concerned with natural ‘decay’, ‘loss’, or ‘lack of’ (e.g. multiple satellite images showing the melting of a glacier (DWM, 19/07/2012)). Also, the alarming increase of GHG, depicted in graphs, is often marked in red (e.g. DS, 20/06/2012, p.14). Unequal Vulnerability foregrounds ‘economic crises’, ‘poverty’ or ‘loss’ *and* human ‘suffering’, ‘vulnerability’ or ‘death’. In the biocentric context, however, a sentence as “Like the typhoon, which raged through the country, a ‘second wave’ will hit the Philippines soon: the wave of international emergency aid” (DM, 13/11/2013, p.31) [4] employs ‘flood’ and ‘disaster’ as metaphors to highlight the destructive consequences of (patronizing) emergency aid – and thus the hegemonic view in general. (3) ‘Figments’, ‘lies’, ‘myths’: In the Anthropocentric Subframes individualized villains are often constructed as threat to the scientific consensus and/or hegemonic – scientific-technological – solutions (Molek-Kozakowska, 2018). “‘Merchants of doubt’ undermine the overwhelming consensus in climate science” (DM, 27/11/2013, p.30) [5], for instance, employs negative lexis. Similar devices in the Biocentric Subframes are used to deconstruct these exact solutions foregrounded by anthropocentrism. For instance, “Emission trading as magic trick” (DWM, 10/11/2013) [6]. Additionally, contrasts, comparisons and negations often reinforce negativity (balancing it with positivity).

Positivity is constructed by two major groups of devices: (1) ‘Collective battle’ (‘We will prevail’): The Anthropocentric Subframes foreground ‘inclusive or exclusive we’, as individualized producers or consumers, as heroes. For instance, “The Arctic has a new fierce fighter, [tv-presenter Francesca Vanthielen]” (HLN, 16/10/2012, p.12) [7]. Conversely, Biocentric Subframes depict ‘collective we’, as society (or societal-environmental system), as heroes: “We must reconquer the future” (MO, 29/03/2013) [8]. (2) ‘Hope’, ‘help’, ‘protection’, (desirable) ‘increase/decrease’ are pivotal in the Anthropocentric Subframes and are mainly controlled by western(ized) humans, that is economic-technological developments. For instance, “American government triples use of clean energy” (MO, 06/12/2013) [9]. The Biocentric Subframes, however, highlight that salvation and protection can be

found in more equal, mutually dependent and respectful human-nature and human-human interactions (Verhagen, 2008). For example: “Forest, fruits and fish protect vulnerable coastal areas of Bangladesh” [10].

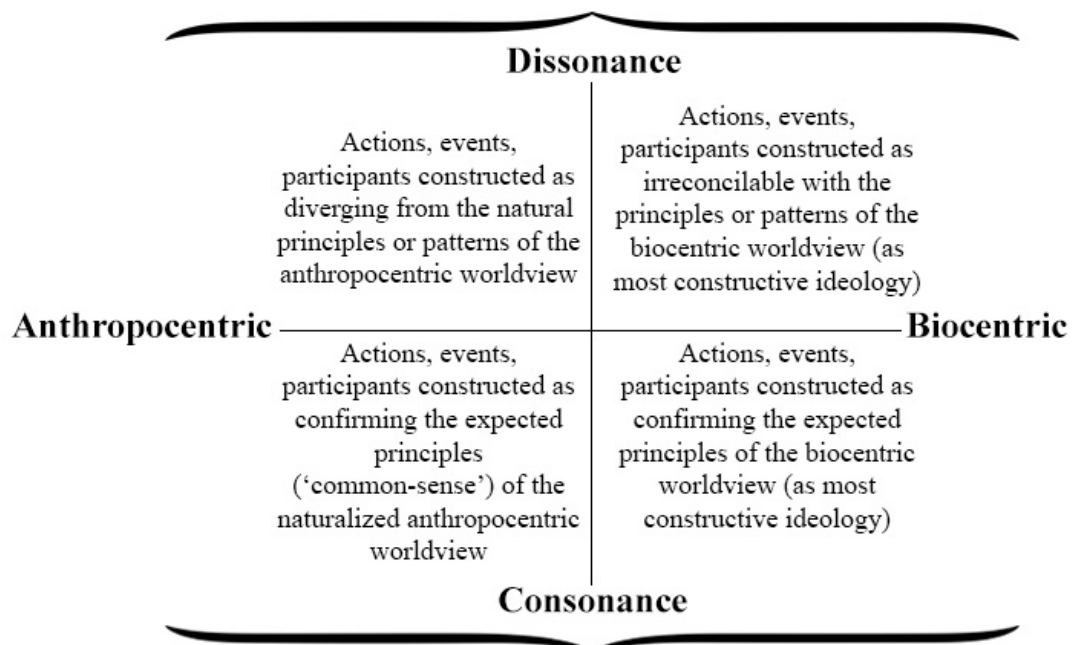
4.1.2 Consonance-Dissonance

Verbal devices:

-Evaluations of unexpectedness

Verbal and visual devices:

-References to surprise/expectations or showing people being shocked/surprised
 -References to or depictions of unexpected happenings
 -References to or depictions of actors (individuals/groups) and their attributes that do not fit stereotypes, preconceptions or expectations
 -Activity sequences that are unexpected
 -Rhetorical devices or argumentative strategies that indicate/highlight unexpectedness (e.g. contrast, juxtaposition, comparison, rhetorical question, metaphor, hyperbole, negation, concession, irony...)



Verbal devices:

-Assessments of expectedness/typicality
 -Similarity with past (e.g. 'once again')
 -Explicit references to general knowledge/traditions

Verbal and visual devices:

-References to or depictions of happenings which are presented as expected or (stereo)typical (but not conforming to the news agenda/cycle or expectations of processes or types of reporting, like (the phases of) a yearly international summit)
 -The representation of actors (mostly 'them') as generalized groups, often in (stereo)typical (narrative) roles, such as victims, villains, heroes or helpers
 -References to or depictions of actors and their attributes that fit stereotypes or preconceptions
 -Activity sequences that are typically associated with certain actors
 -The presence of (culturally resonant) metaphors, metonyms, allusions, intertextual references...

Figure 3: Intersection between Consonant-Dissonant representations and Anthropocentric-Biocentric Subframes, including the (exclusively) verbal and verbal-visual devices used to construct Con/Dissonance across subframes. The bold-italicized text highlights devices that cannot simultaneously act as framing devices (i.e. they only add salience, no content). Based on Bednarek and Caple (2017) and authors (2018).

As said, ‘deconstruction-reconstruction’ is an important engaging strategy in climate framing. Dissonance and Consonance seem to mutually interact with this strategy.

Anthropocentric Subframes. Dissonance mainly constructs contrast with societal expectations, worldviews or stereotypes. The digressions are not presented as systematic, but rather as individual ‘system faults’. Hence, the anthropocentric worldview gets – implicitly – reconfirmed as ‘natural’.

An accepted belief that is often challenged is this: We live in a safe and beautiful world, with humans in control. Nature is serving our needs. In *Scala Naturae*, however, we find phrases like “Help, the rainforest is withering” (DM, 09/11/2013, p.80) [11]². Dissonance is constructed through the juxtaposition of ‘the rainforest’, as metonym for sublime nature, and a negative verb suggesting decay. The resulting hyperbole – overgeneralizing ‘withering’ – adds to the salience-potential. Explicit references to unusualness are often added (e.g. “This year is expected to become one of the ten hottest since measurements started in 1850” (HLN, 14/11/2013, p.5) [12]).

Also, both Anthropocentric Subframes often foreground the lack of certain solutions as unexpected, confirming these as the natural way forward. This example, for instance, draws on an explicit opposition between current government actions (causal responsibility) and green growth as envisaged treatment recommendation: “Instead of welcoming the increased production of green energy, the government is now pulling the emergency brake” (DWM, 10/06/2013) [13].

The anthropocentric worldview is, however, also reconfirmed in more explicit ways, through consonant constructions. Non-human nature and ‘the South’ are often foregrounded as victims (Chouliaraki, 2006; Verhagen, 2008). Names and predications identify them as ‘(the) underdeveloped’, ‘victims’, ‘endangered’, ‘(those) suffering’... Rather than individuals, the victims are generalized groups or generic types. Natural vulnerability is suggested through stereotypical metonyms like the polar bear, contrasting awe-inspiring power and death (O’Neill, 2013). Human participants often represent traditional tribes, living in close interaction with nature (MO, 05/01/2014). Visually, these are often represented through cultural and physiognomic attributes, like stereotypical garments. The child – *the* western metaphor for vulnerability of ‘the others’ – is dominant too (Chouliaraki, 2006). The actions or activities in which the victims are involved, confirm the same ideas: They often act as patients, undergoing processes or – ‘expected’ – events (e.g. famines, natural disasters). For example, “The derogation of the environment renders Africa highly vulnerable” (DM, 18/06/2012, p.15) [14]. If acting as agents, they hold ‘conditional agency’ (Chouliaraki, 2006) at most; their acting does not fundamentally change, or even worsens, their situation, and/or is involuntary. For example, “Two years ago, the glacier already lost a sizable chunk of ice” (DWM, 19/07/2012) [15].

² Translating the original Dutch texts (see Appendix D and E), we strived for dynamic equivalence, taking into account denotations, connotations and contextual factors.

The emphasis on helpless victims often implicitly, or explicitly, evokes the stereotypical image of western(ized) humans – the in-group of the audience – as heroes. Verbal and visual devices foreground them as agents who ‘help’ or ‘show compassion’, transferring money, means and/or knowledge to natural and/or human victims (Chouliaraki, 2006). Visually, their hierarchical status is often implied by high angles. Air views and globes (DS, 10/12/2012, p.14), for instance, position humans – as ‘pilots’/‘astronauts’/‘scientists’ – above abstract nature, rendering the latter easy to ‘develop’ (Hughes, 2012).

Finally, the Anthropocentric Subframes single out individualized (out-)groups of villains, especially corporate actors (e.g. Gazprom), or countries or political leaders (the US, China) who are expected to hamper climate action. The stereotypical metonym of the smokestack (DM, 27/12/2013, p.4), for instance, associates the emission of GHG (symbolized by the smoke) mainly with the industrial world (O’Neill, 2013). Consonance is often explicitly highlighted. “Climate summit is again climate failure” (DS, 08/12/2012, p.36) [16], for instance, emphasizes similarities with the past.

Biocentric Subframes. More than on Dissonance, the focus of the non-hegemonic subframes appears to lie on Consonance: participants, events or issues are constructed that confirm the biocentric ideal. “Redistribution of labour and incomes must save the environment” (DM, 27/10/2012, p.27) [17], for instance, explicitly foregrounds an ideal of a socially just system.

Nevertheless, many constructions could be considered as Consonant *and* Dissonant, depending on the communication/reception context. A majority of the audience still holds strong mental Anthropocentric Subframes. As the interview analysis of authors (2018) confirms, journalists often have this majority in mind when constructing newsworthy Biocentric Subframes. Accordingly, they use a strategy of ‘politicization’ described by Maesele and Raeijmaekers (2017): Fundamental debate – and thus, the (re)construction of another ideology as equal alternative – requires the deconstruction of the hegemonic worldview as the only rational perspective. This is considered as crucial as the anthropocentric view has proven to be destructive for the Planet and all living beings (Verhagen, 2008). We argue, thus, that a majority of the newsworthy constructions is intended to simultaneously deconstruct hegemonic perspectives – drawing the attention of the ‘mainstream audience’ through Dissonance – *and* construct alternatives – drawing the attention of those who have (adopted) biocentric views through Consonance.

The phrase “The green economy is a myth” (DM, 24/11/2012, p.72) [18], for instance, presents a generally accepted biocentric view while explicitly deconstructing an anthropocentric solution as untenable. The sentence “The real enemy is human” (DWM, 01/06/2012) [2] works in similar ways, replacing the anthropocentric ‘climate villain’ with a ‘human villain’. ‘Real’ reinforces the biocentric presupposition.

Finally, (biocentric) Consonance is also constructed through the reversal of anthropocentric stereotypes. Unequal Attribution, in particular, tends to activate associations of non-western humans living close to

nature. However, such human-nature interactions are no longer (merely) presented as weakness, but mainly as strength: drawing on unique knowledge or insights, southern locals may provide valuable solutions. Being both victims as well as heroes, they are presented as not much different from any other group (Verhagen, 2008). Individualizing and/or functionalizing (i.e. focusing on what one does) names and attributes of sovereign agency (Chouliaraki, 2006) are prevalent. For instance, “Farmers in the African Sahel rediscover the traditional technique of ‘fertilizing trees’ (...)” (MO, 15/02/2013) [19]. The stereotypical child metaphor features next to the ‘mother and father metaphor’, which may evoke universal expectations regarding the caring role of parents (DM, 13/11/2013, p.11).

4.1.3 Prominence

Verbal devices:

- Construction of prominence through various status markers, including role labels, status-indicating adjectives, naming, descriptions of achievements/fame

Visual devices:

- Known and/or easily recognizable actors
- Props, clothing, facial expressions... suggesting a prominent role

Verbal and visual devices:

- Activity sequences which are associated with prominent societal actors (or acting)
- Contexts associated with prominent professions or roles
- Construction of prominence through suggested alignments between audience and depicted participants (e.g. type of address, distance, angle, (absence of) gaze)
- Salient placement (e.g. in the structure of the narrative; in the centre/foreground of a visual) or exclusive/repeated presence of participants/sources*
- Legitimation of the quotes of sources (e.g. objective/subjective viewpoints; verbal hedging, modality, quoting verbs)*

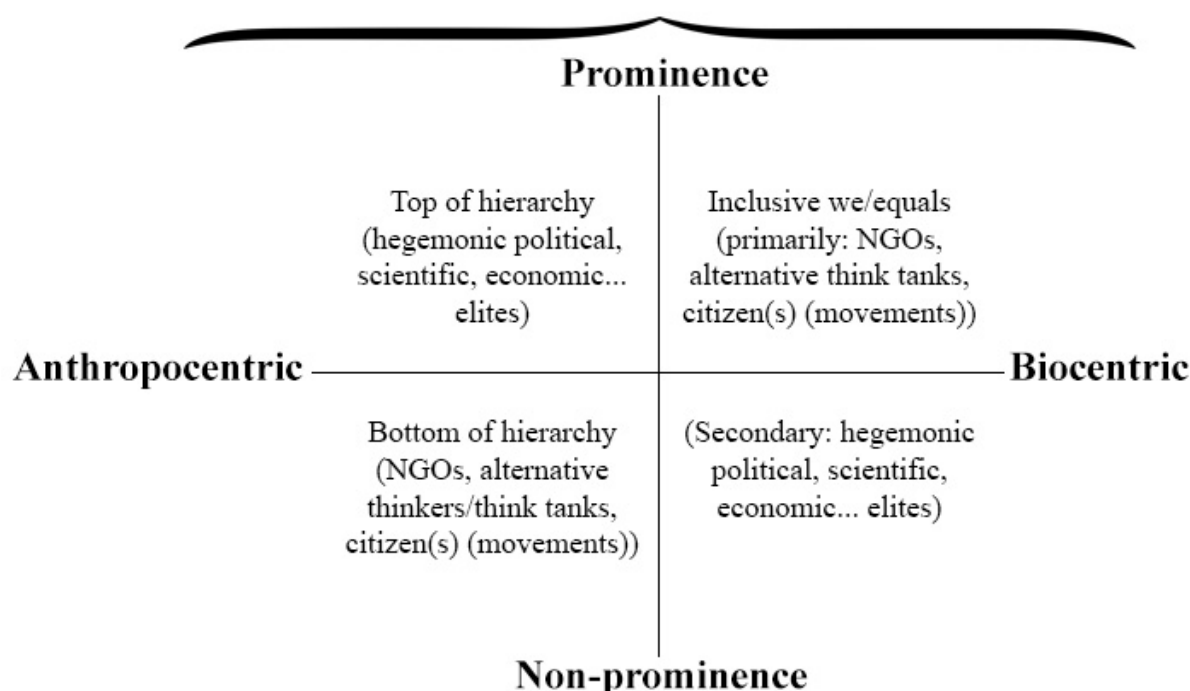


Figure 4: Intersection between Prominent-Non-prominent representations and Anthropocentric-Biocentric Subframes, including the (exclusively) verbal and visual devices, and the verbal-visual devices used to construct Prominence across subframes.

The Anthropocentric *and* Biocentric Subframes legitimate their main participants and sources as ‘Prominent’. The Anthropocentric Subframes mainly naturalize the Prominence of those at the ‘top of the anthropocentric staircase’ (elite superiors). The Biocentric Subframes focus mainly on prominent leaders (stewards/guides) within the in-group of the audience (i.e. equals/‘inclusive we’). Hegemonic elites are also present but usually play a secondary role. Accordingly, the devices which construct Prominence are operationalized differently.

The Anthropocentric Subframes often repeat well-known names (e.g. ‘Obama’, ‘Harvard’) or depict these agents or institutions. Also, role labels (‘president’, ‘expert’) or status-indicating adjectives (‘leading’, ‘prestigious’) are prevalent. Similarly, visual attributes (e.g. microphones, formal clothing) or composition (size, centrality...) as well as the depicted contexts (e.g. a conference room or laboratory) reflect hegemonic interpretations of Prominence. The agents are often described or depicted as carrying out actions which set them apart from ordinary citizen: they play a decisive (positive/negative) role in debates and decision-making (Molek-Kozakowska, 2018); they act as sources (e.g. former chairman of the IPCC Rajendra Pachauri giving an interview (MO, 16/06/2012)); they conduct research (e.g. “Scientists from Harvard have calculated that at the current rate all records will be broken by the year 2100” (DM, 09/03/2013, p.4) [20]). Specialized terminology – often scientific terms related to GHG and/or temperature rise – and scientific graphs are prevalent. Sources, in particular, are often presented from a personal or social distance, eye-level and a head-on perspective. This may help to legitimate them (Tuchman, 1978). High angles often evoke a hierarchical perspective on nature (and non-western humans), suggesting expertise or domination (Hughes, 2012).

The Biocentric Subframes more often construct Prominence through role labels (e.g. “the alternative British economist Andrew Simms” (DM, 27/10/2012, p.27) [21]) and descriptions of achievement or fame (e.g. “Habib Maalouf, a Lebanese writer, journalist and professor who published two books about environmental philosophy” (MO, 14/11/2013) [22]). The prominent role of such participants is probably less self-evident for – a large group of – the audience. Clearly, this requires more explicit construction work. While some word choices, such as ‘alternative’ or ‘activist’, or the association with bottom-up organizations (e.g. ‘Andean Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations’), suggest a leading role outside the hegemonic hierarchy, the verbal construction work is similar to that in the anthropocentric context. Visually, most realizations draw on the legitimating conventions described by Tuchman (1978). Yet, the absence of traditional elite props, contexts or activity sequences and the direct gaze of the (smiling) actors may also close the gap between audience and prominent actors, suggesting equality and connection (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

4.2 Exemplary Analyses

The following illustrations (see Appendix E) demonstrate how exactly news values get shape (and co-occur) in four articles, each evoking one of the discussed subframes. Also, the parallel analyses show how the news value analyses and framing analyses overlap *and* complement each other. The bold text highlights exclusive salience-enhancement functions.

Example 1: Best known Swiss mountain Matterhorn crumbling away

<u>Discursive analysis</u>	<u>Scala Naturae Subframe</u>	<u>News values</u>
<p>The word “mighty” and the aesthetic image construct a stereotypical image of ‘pristine’ nature (Verhagen, 2008). The focus lies on the Matterhorn, which is said to have an altitude of “4,478 meters”/“almost 4.5 km”. Similarly, the wide-angle photograph shows the mountain ‘reaching up to the sky’. It is constructed as geographically and culturally near the Belgian target audience: heading and lead contain three references to Switzerland. Some readers may recognize the Matterhorn as an iconic natural landmark symbolizing (metonymy) one of the most beautiful natural areas in Europe. “Best known” makes this more explicit.</p>	<p>The focus lies on singled out fauna/flora, preventing us to take into account the whole natural system, including geographically or culturally distant parts (Verhagen, 2008)</p> <p>The focus on an impressive European/culturally resonant metonym for natural beauty may add salience</p>	<p>Consonance</p> <p>Aesthetic Appeal</p> <p>Superlativeness</p> <p>Proximity</p>
<p>The negative relational (“is in danger”) and material processes (“crumbling away”, “is suffering”) (Halliday, 2000) suggest the extent of nature’s passivity and vulnerability, exacerbated by external pressures. The contrast between the sublimity of nature and the verb “crumbling away” may add drama and unexpectedness.</p>	<p>(The most vulnerable parts of) nature as main victim</p> <p>Drama and unexpectedness may add salience</p>	<p>Negativity</p> <p>Impact</p> <p>Dissonance</p>

Climate change is identified as “cause” (or agent) of suffering by means of a relational process (verb: “to be”), which may add to the factuality of the events (Halliday, 2000). The prepositional construction with “under” has a similar meaning.	Climate change as major villain	Consonance
The role label in “a study by Swiss geologists” foregrounds a hegemonic elite source. The novelty of this study is implied.	The trustworthiness of sources makes their (sub)frames more salient	Prominence Timeliness
Negative lexis and descriptions of negative events in the verbal mode and the red backdrop (colour symbolism) in the visual mode add alarmism (O’Neill, 2013). The present tense may add momentum.	An overall dramatic style may heighten salience	Negativity Timeliness

Example 2: Habib Maalouf: 'Religion and development dogma are disastrous for environment'

<u>Discursive analysis</u>	<u>Natural Web Subframe</u>	<u>News values</u>
“The whole human culture” (i.e. “collective we”) is foregrounded as destructive agent in lead and heading, which refers to two well-known elements of globalization: (western) “religion and the development paradigm”. Similarly, the gaze of the non-western interviewee may give rise to a sense of collectivity among various groups of people. The verbs “is disastrous” and “is responsible” (for destruction) suggest that a(n	Human culture as major villain Familiar people, issues, contexts may add salience	Proximity Negativity

unquestioned) relation exists among culture and destructive attributes (Halliday, 2000). Intertextually, this may give rise to the – intensifying – metaphor ‘human is a predator’ (authors, 2018). The explicated negative emotional state/attitude of the interviewee may add to the overall “pessimistic” representation of human culture.

Drama and unexpectedness may add salience

**Dissonance /
Consonance

Superlativeness**

The “environment” – as object in a prepositional phrase (“disastrous for”) – is constructed as patient, which is impacted in far-reaching ways. The latter is emphasized through the intensifying word choice.

Nature (‘the whole natural web’) as main victim

**Negativity
Impact
Superlativeness**

Maalouf is verbally legitimized through role labels and extensive descriptions of his achievements, visually through the conventions described by Tuchman (1978) (personal distance, eye-level, head-on perspective). The gaze (and friendly smile) connect viewer and viewed, placing them – as equals – in the same reality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

The trustworthiness of sources makes their (sub)frames more salient

**Prominence

Proximity**

Example 3: Poorest hardest hit by extreme weather

Discursive analysis

The negation of “The old adage that nature does not discriminate” implicitly confirms the ‘expected truth’ that nature affects human safety, while

Unequal Vulnerability Subframe

Climate change (consequences) as main villain

Cultural resonance, drama and repetition may add salience

News values

**Consonance

Negativity**

conveying a sense of unexpectedness and change at a more superficial level. The extreme power of the natural villain is emphasized through repetition (of the destructive natural agent in prepositional constructions) and the intensifier “extreme”.

Unexpectedness may add salience

(Dissonance - Timeliness)

Superlativeness

Stereotypical collocations like “Poorest hardest hit” (passive voice), “The poor suffer most” (behavioural process), “the urban poor are most vulnerable” (relational process) (Halliday, 2000) may implicitly resonate with audience expectations regarding the helplessness and suffering of the generalized out-group. The child metaphor summarizes these ideas visually, with the diagonal line emerging from the child drawing attention to his ‘poor’ domestic setting. The begging gaze of the child – situated in the forefront – may give rise to a hierarchical connection between givers (viewers) and receivers (viewed) of help (Chouliaraki, 2006). The superlatives (“hardest”, “most”) emphasize the significance of the climate-induced suffering.

Certain socio-economic groups (in the South) as disproportionately vulnerable
Drama and cultural resonance may add salience

Consonance

Negativity

Personalization

The in-group of the audience (in the West) is called upon to provide solutions
Contact and foregrounding of participants may add salience

(Weak Proximity)

Impact Superlativeness

The audience is likely to recognize “The World Bank” as the name of a hegemonic elite source.

The trustworthiness of sources makes their (sub)frames more salient
Prominence

Example 4: There is life after Philippines Typhoon, thanks to local social movements

<u>Discursive analysis</u>	<u>Unequal Attribution Subframe</u>	<u>News values</u>
Quantifiers (“half a million”), intensifiers (“hideous”, “severely”) negative lexis (“destruction(s)”, “homeless”, “did not survive”, “disaster”, “hit”), depictions of the after-effects of the disaster (destroyed home, affected people, the child metaphor (Chouliaraki, 2006)) emphasize the disproportionate suffering of a certain group. This may resonate with certain audience expectations.	Certain socio-economic groups are disproportionately affected by climate change	Superlativeness Negativity
	Drama and cultural resonance may add salience	Impact
		Consonance
Simultaneously, the positive lexis (“life after”) and descriptions and depictions of positive behaviour (“organize help to local communities”, locals taking rubble away and starting reconstruction) emphasize the agency of local actors (see material processes (Halliday, 2000)). “Thanks to” explicitly emphasizes their hero role. This contrast, marked by the adverb “nevertheless”, may highlight unexpectedness for those holding anthropocentric worldviews, while implicitly confirming the expectations of those with biocentric values.	The affected groups are resilient and know best how to help the most vulnerable among them. They can and should fruitfully interact – as equals – with the in-group of the audience.	Positivity Personalization
	Unexpectedness may add salience Cultural resonance may add salience	Dissonance / Consonance
The names and role labels (“local social movements”, “Belgian structural NGOs”, “11.11.11”) foreground non-	The trustworthiness and/or proximity of sources/actors may add salience	Prominence

hegemonic ‘leaders’. Being introduced as “partners of” Belgian organizations, the Philippine agents are brought closer to the Belgian audience.

Proximity

5 Conclusions

Our discussions have illustrated that most subframes (in the corpus) co-occur with all types of news values. Nevertheless, we have also demonstrated that news values tend to be operationalized differently depending on the ideological context of subframes. Since similar conventions are used across Anthropocentric and Biocentric Subframes, however, the broader context (i.e. argumentations) of the subframes is usually required to fully appreciate the various worldviews which are (likely to be) evoked. That is, positionality only clearly emerges if we look at the intersection of framing and newsworthiness. The fact that some news value-(sub)frame combinations are more prevalent than others, then, is mainly due to the overlap of particular types of frame and news value conventions, rather than to material characteristics of events (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). For instance, devices which give rise to Positive Valence are more salient characteristics of some types of subframes than of others. Accordingly, we believe that this article contributes in important ways to the existing literature.

Firstly, it provides a preliminary response to the call of Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017) to further develop their proposed DNVA framework and implement it into existing CDA toolkits. While we employ a framing approach, our toolkit is – just like the method of Bednarek and Caple – strongly influenced by neighbouring traditions like CDA, semiotics and linguistics (e.g. Halliday, 2000; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Anyhow, our discussions demonstrate how the two frameworks mutually interact, both overlapping as well as providing each other with additional devices. Some of those are exclusively catered to salience enhancement (mainly those provided by DNVA), others allow to simultaneously grasp content (mainly those provided by framing). Thus, combining the methods allows for more nuanced discussions. Future research may look for more systematic ways to do so. Newsworthiness may, for instance, be implemented into framing methods as a complementary layer of salience-enhancing devices.

However, our adherence to Bednarek and Caple (2017) might also be a weakness. It goes beyond the scope of this research to address the exact ways in which news values can/should be delineated. Hence, the choice to largely adopt the comprehensible framework of Bednarek and Caple (2017) was partly pragmatic. Yet, we admit that other approaches could have facilitated additional insights. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) and Harcup and O’Neill (2017), for instance, identify ‘conflict/controversy’ as news value, while Bednarek and Caple (2017) see this as subcategory of ‘Negative Valence’. However, conflict might constitute a pivotal news value in climate reporting (Molek-Kozakowska, 2018):

Anthropocentric Subframes (scientific and political conflict as problematic) and Biocentric Subframes (broad societal conflicts or debates as solution) are likely to operationalize it in diverging ways (authors, 2018), demonstrating that conflict is not necessarily negative.

Secondly, our study has identified a number of frequently used conventions in news writing. Follow-up research needs to clarify whether these are typical for climate reporting or if they can also be found in the context of other topics (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). These conventions, as such, are not necessarily problematic: They help practitioners to efficiently/effectively convey the results of their journalistic research (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Besides, most conventions may facilitate the reproduction of entirely different ideological argumentations. It might be problematic, though, if conventions get exclusively entangled with one type of (anthropocentric) argumentations, especially if phraseology takes precedence over (conscious evaluations of) the constructive character of the conveyed or evoked messages. Previous research suggests that this might be the case in mainstream media, which almost exclusively reproduce Anthropocentric Subframes and are largely preoccupied with newsworthiness, as goals, rather than as means (authors, 2018). We agree with Molek-Kozakowska (2018) that newsworthiness in this context may forestall broad public engagement. That is, it may contribute to depoliticization (Maesele & Raeijmaekers, 2017): The fight against an ‘external’ villain calls for pragmatic – scientific-technological – solutions. The hierarchical worldview confirms the exclusive role of the elites as providers of these solutions, while distancing us from the victims and/or those with alternative perspectives. However, we have shown that in other (mainly alternative media) contexts, news values – as means, rather than goals – may mutually interact with biocentric argumentations. These are more likely to politicize the debate (Maesele & Raeijmaekers, 2017): Fundamental society-internal problems call for society-wide debate and action. While the thorough deconstruction of trusted worldviews may be unsettling, the emphasis on hope for a better future (i.e. reconstruction), the idea of connectivity and the message that (every)one can actually contribute may encourage engagement (authors, 2018).

Summarizing, this study has demonstrated the capital gain of combining framing and newsworthiness approaches. Framing may deepen our understanding of the ‘what’ of news values, providing us with more tangible tools to assess what newsworthiness ‘means’ and what contents it helps to convey, in various contexts and throughout the communication process. In short, it allows for more profound understandings of (ideological) positionality in the approach of news values. The newsworthiness approach may deepen our understanding of the ‘how’ of framing, sensitizing us to the continuous struggle to create value and the various ways in which ‘what is (in) the news’ is constructed and legitimated. In short, it allows for a more profound understanding of ‘salience’ in the approach of frames.

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