



**COMILLAS**

UNIVERSIDAD PONTIFICIA

ICAI

ICADE

CIHS

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Bachelor in Global Communication

Final Bachelor Thesis

# Turning Science into Opinion:

The 2023 IPCC Report and the Murdoch  
Effect in the US Press

Student: **Elena Manzanares**

Supervisor: Prof. Elena Aguirre Fernández Bravo

Madrid, April 2024

## **1. ABSTRACT**

This research investigates the portrayal of climate science within opinion pieces published by Fox News and the New York Post, both media outlets owned by Rupert Murdoch. Employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study examines how these articles frame the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) Sixth Assessment Report (AR6) released in March 2023. The findings of this research will contribute to a broader discussion about the quality of journalism in the digital age and how discourse can frame science in opinion. Several research questions guide the analysis. To what extent does the portrayal of climate science in these articles undermine democratic debate? Do Fox News and the NYP provide fair coverage of the IPCC report, or do they undermine its credibility? What specific framing techniques are used in the discourse surrounding the report? By analyzing the framing techniques employed in opinion pieces, the study sheds light on how media outlets can potentially distort scientific discourse and influence public opinion of global warming and climate action. The analysis draws on McQuail's five fundamental values of journalism, and Public Citizen's (2019) analysis of common fallacies used by Fox News. Ultimately, this research aims to inform a more nuanced understanding of the complex relationship between media, science communication, and public opinion of pressing global challenges.

## **2. KEYWORDS**

IPCC report 2023, Murdoch Effect, Fox News, New York Post, framing science, climate science, media intrusion, Critical Discourse Analysis, United Nations.

## **3. ABBREVIATIONS**

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

NIPCC Non Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

NYP New York Post

UN United Nations

WSJ Wall Street Journal

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ABSTRACT .....	1
2. KEYWORDS.....	1
3. ABBREVIATIONS.....	1
4. INTRODUCTION .....	4
5. PURPOSE AND MOTIVES.....	5
6. STATE OF THE ART .....	9
6.1. Contrarian narratives in the US: actors and strategies.....	9
6.2. Murdochisation of the climate emergency.....	10
6.3. The Fox Corp and News Corp in the US .....	12
6.4. Climate Reporting: Role and Ethics of Media .....	14
6.5. Influence of the Press on Public Perception .....	14
6.6. Emerging Trends and Gaps in Literature.....	15
7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	16
7.1. Conceptualization.....	16
7.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	17
7.3. Public Citizen: Frequent fallacies on Fox News climate segments .....	19
8. OBJECTIVES, QUESTIONS & PROPOSITIONS.....	20
8.1. Research questions .....	20
8.2. Tentative propositions .....	21
9. METHODOLOGY.....	22
10. ANALYSIS.....	23
10.1. Fox News Article: “UN climate report is latest in string of cataclysmic predictions stretching back decades” .....	23
10.2. Conclusions to the Fox News article analysis.....	28
10.3. NYP: “UN climate study proves the fight to lower global temps won’t work” .....	29
10.4. Conclusions to the NY Post article analysis.....	33
10.5. Discussion and answer to the research questions.....	34
11. CONCLUSION .....	37
12. BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	40
10. ANNEX.....	44

A. Fox News article .....	44
B. Table of cited sources in the Fox News opinion article .....	48
C. Table with the links in the Fox News opinion article .....	50
D. Annex: NYP article .....	51
E. Table of the cited sources in the NYP opinion article .....	53
F. Table of links in the NYP opinion article .....	54
G. Table of false claims and fact check on the NYP and Fox News articles.....	55
H. Table: contrarian referential strategies from the Fox News and NYP articles .....	56
I. Table: five values of quality journalism by McQuail in the two articles .....	57
J. Table: Van Dijk's Ideological square.....	58
K. Referential, predicational, and perspectivization strategies of CDA.....	59

#### TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1.....	8
Table 1 .....	13
Table 2 .....	18
Table 3 .....	23
Table 4 .....	36
Table 5 .....	37

#### 4. INTRODUCTION

"He who molds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed" (Lincoln, cited in Zarefsky, 1994).

2023 has stricken up debate about the spread of fake news and disinformation in the United States, which sow confusion and difficult decision-making. On the one hand, the filing by the state of California of one of the most important cases against Big Oil, for its role in perpetuating global warming (Picciotto, 2023). On the other hand, Dominion's defamation lawsuit against Fox News alleged that Fox show hosts and guests deliberately made false claims that Dominion's voting machines had been rigged to steal the 2020 presidential election from Donald Trump, then President of the United States. These cases have reignited questions about the media's credibility and production industries' ability to craft misinformation narratives.

This research will connect both cases to media intrusion and Rupert Murdoch's news media empire by analyzing the Fox News and New York Post opinion articles on the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Sixth Assessment Report on Climate Change of March 2023. The framing in Murdoch's media outlets of the IPCC reports, the most reliable source of climate science, might shed some light on the American audiences' understanding of global warming.

The argument that global warming is not man-made has been incontrovertibly disproven by science again and again, yet many Americans believe that the global crisis is either not real, not anthropogenic, or both, in part because the news media have given climate change deniers a platform in the name of balanced reporting (Imundo & Rapp, 2022; Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). Despite the strong body of scientific evidence, global warming remains a contentious issue in the media, often treated as a matter of opinion rather than fact. This issue is partly due to how non-scientific media outlets portray global warming, focusing on its potential economic impacts, particularly in industries like oil. This way, certain industries can influence government policies and delay necessary actions.

To understand the role of the media in the American democracy, first it is necessary to look into its ownership and how it is exercised. Rupert Murdoch is a prominent media mogul and business magnate, founder and Chairman Emeritus of Fox Corporation and News Corporation. Through his company, Murdoch has shaped all types of journalistic media around the world, particularly in the United States, the United Kingdom, India and Australia. His media empire has been associated with yellow press and sensationalist scandals, notably the News International phone hacking scandal (Sabbagh, 2023). Often times, Murdoch has also faced criticism himself for prioritizing profit over journalistic integrity (Earth.org, 2021). Furthermore, many of his media outlets have been accused of promoting climate change skepticism, fostering a climate “delay” narrative (Young & McMahon, 2021; Goldenberg, 2010). While his influence on media and politics is undeniable, it is a subject of ongoing debate, with some hailing diversity and reach and others condemning the ethical and editorial practices within his media properties.

The case of climate science in the media raises questions once again on the meaning of journalistic quality, agenda setting, and the impact of the Fourth power in politics. According to Lacy and Rosenstiel (2015), increasing the quality of journalism will lead to better decisions by citizens and more accountability of government. Given the urgency of climate action, this power will be key for building the necessary consensus to undertake climate action in the American democracy. For these reasons, this research will delve into Murdoch's Empire framing towards so-called 'climate delay', and the potential discrepancies between their public and editorial stance, in Fox News and the NYP digital press.

## **5. PURPOSE AND MOTIVES.**

Reading the book; *A short story of nearly everything* by Bryson (2004), it is clear that scientific consensus has historically been extraordinarily difficult to achieve, and great discoveries often go under the radar for long periods of time. Nonetheless, climate science has reached a strong consensus for decades now, including the necessity for action. And yet some actors refuse to face and respect the science as such. Bryson narrates many stories about how often great minds die without any recognition and mankind fails to harness the gains of their knowledge for long periods of time. Many of them stress greed as a root of great suffering and mistakes, often times with total impunity for the actors involved. These cases

repeat themselves in new areas, including climate action. “There are three stages in scientific discovery. First, people deny that it is true, then they deny that it is important; finally, they credit the wrong person” (Bryson, 2004, p. 263). For these reasons, the analysis of the spread and trust of science is not only necessary, but also fascinating. Science, that affects lives and the preservation of the planet, will have great consequences on human development. More often than not, this lesson has been learned the hard way. It is easier to break a vase, or extinguish a species, than to rebuild it or revive it. Restoration is costly, when not impossible. With that in mind, this research delves into how the credibility of climate science is framed and the narratives that surround it. This is the first reason to investigate how science is framed nowadays in news media outlets.

On another note, technological innovation is accelerating faster than the human ability to adapt to it. This affects the media tools used to disseminate false narratives and journalism's ability to influence or set the agenda, as well as to complicate and obscure the ecological discussion. In the Information Age, a context of an increasingly digital, mobile, and platform-dominated media environment, people find themselves with access to more and more knowledge, but also less and less wisdom. Such information overload of the digital age creates new possibilities for misinformation. According to Byung-Chul (2014, p.89), with time, flows of additive information become outright misinformation. In the past, disinformation and propaganda were mainly analyzed through print media, radio and television. Now, the internet and social media have significantly expanded the field of written analysis of information and news. The digital era allows videos, new ways of contrasting information but also of better disinformation, creating bubble groups, etc. In this context, the changing role of the press in the Information Age is under scrutiny, as the future remains unclear. The need to understand the evolving impact of news media in the Information Age to address global problems such as global warming is the second reason for this study.

Media misinformation is not a new phenomenon, and yet never before the 20th century has there been such a bombardment of information as there is now. With the entry of the 21st century and smartphones that rule contemporary life, this trend has only increased. The more information absorbed, the more difficult it becomes to discern the relevant from the irrelevant (Taleb, 2008). US news media outlets are not exogenous to this phenomenon,

which not only raises concerns about polarization and disinformation, but also coincides with a shared sense of an accelerated society. The accelerated development of new technologies and globalization make the world an increasingly intricate and complex space to navigate, trust science, vote, and make policy decisions. Therefore, claims for Slow journalism are starker than ever before. According to Taleb (2008), journalism is “pure entertainment, not the search for the truth”. This highly critical view of the role of the press raises equally fascinating questions linked to the accelerating society and the need for science-based decision-making on global challenges. This science-based leadership can only work, in a Democratic country, under the support and participation of the citizenship. Understanding what journalists do, can or should do around climate science and political issues remains needful in academia and a necessary base for this research.

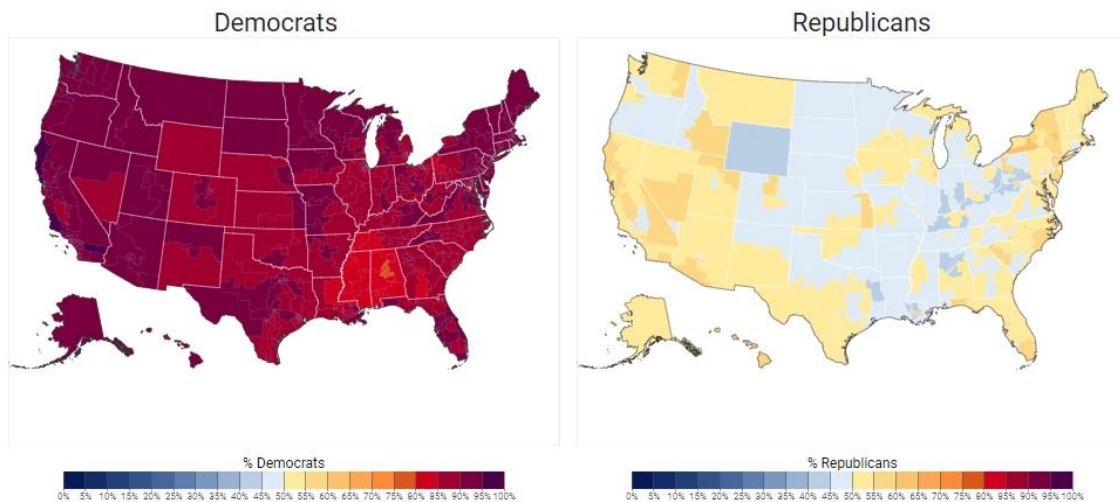
All humanity suffers from climate volatility and higher average temperatures, and benefits from its mitigation, yet each country has a preferred national perspective. The American press is a strong case to analyze media discourse, at the crossroads of the global trends and changes of the 21st Century. Furthermore, the Fourth Power shapes a great deal of American culture and politics. Abraham Lincoln (1858) affirmed; “with public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed” (Zarefsky, 1994). Public opinion on global warming in the US is a key piece of this research's motivation. According to a recent report of the Pew Research Center, 81% of French and 73% of Germans rate climate change as a major threat, in contrast with the US 54% figure, where 59% of Democrats and just 13% of Republicans call it a top policy priority (Tyson, Funk, & Kennedy, 2023). Moreover, the report warns there is little internal consensus on how current US efforts compare with those of other major economies. Thirty-six percent of Americans think the US is doing more than other major economies to reduce the effects of global warming, while the remaining 30% and 32% believe it is doing less or similar effort, respectively (Tyson, Funk, & Kennedy, 2023). Nevertheless, as the second-largest emitter of carbon dioxide, the US current trend of carbon emission reduction still falls short of the Paris Agreement target that Biden signed back into, or to actually be compatible with the 1.5°C threshold (Bearak & Popovich, 2022). This shows an important dissonance between what is needed and what is being done. Although no other country will be more crucial in lowering global emissions than China, the United States is, by far, the largest historical emitter of greenhouse gases, and remains one of the largest when measured per



capita (Bearak & Popovich, 2022). The US is, therefore, expected to lead by example in both setting ambitious emissions' reduction targets and helping other nations adapt to the change in climate.

**Figure 1**

*Percentage of Democrats and Republicans agreeing on whether "Human warming is happening"*



Note. Scale not given. From *Democratic and Republican Views of Climate Change* (2018), by M. Mildenerger, J. Marlon, P. Howe, & A. Leiserowitz, 2020, Yale Program for Climate Change Communication.

The current context of US politics and public opinion on global warming, together with the inspiration of Bryson and Han's books, and previously mentioned court cases that have erupted in the past years, the question of media intrusion on the climate debate, policy and action is as relevant as ever. Similarly to the need for a Fourth Power to hold the other powers accountable, accountability and integrity should be a core value of any journalistic organization, hence their actions and interests must be under surveillance at all times (Lacy & Rosenstiel, 2015; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). "Thus, the study of media content and its influencing factors is not only relevant for scholars of journalism, but also for everyone seeking to understand how societies struggle to deal with the challenge of climate change" (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017, p. 3).

By analyzing the framing of the IPCC's 2023 Sixth Assessment Report on Climate Change, this research aims to shed light on how these media may be influencing the American public's trust in climate science. Driven by the historical struggles of scientific acceptance (Bryson, 2004) and the societal impacts of the constantly evolving media landscape (Byung-Chul Han,

2014), this research analyzes how narratives around climate science may be politicized in these media outlets.

The growing dissonance between public opinion and the urgency of climate action in the US (Tyson et al., 2023) calls for a closer look at the role of the media in discerning science from opinion, and agenda setting. Understanding the "Murdoch effect" in climate discourse (Young & McMahon, 2021; Goldenberg, 2010) will shed light on whether these media giants are fostering narratives that delay necessary climate action.

## **6. STATE OF THE ART**

### **6.1. Contrarian narratives in the US: actors and strategies**

Emerging initially as a reactionary movement against global climate policy initiatives such as the Earth Summit and the formation of the IPCC, denialism narratives gained momentum in countering these efforts in the 90s (Dunlap & McCright, 2010; Tucker, 2012). Key actors, including think tanks like the Marshall Institute and the Heartland Institute, have been prominent voices challenging the concept of human-induced global warming in the US (Begley, 2007; Dunlap & McCright, 2010). Nevertheless, a major sponsor of this movement has been the resource-based sector, particularly coal, oil, energy, and manufacturing, forming the "product defense industry"(Dunlap & McCright, 2010). Needless to say, these are the actors with the greatest interest in disproving global warming. Since the 1970s, oil companies such as ExxonMobil have acknowledged and predicted the impacts of their activities with stark accuracy, and yet their efforts have been contradictory (Picciotto, 2023). For this reason, the state of California is suing 5 oil companies for allegedly been responsible for decades of deliberate campaigns of deception.

US media historically portrayed climate debates as a clash between credible scientists and contrarians, fostering a misleading sense of equivalence (Begley, 2007; Dunlap & McCright, 2010; Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). These tactics involved personal attacks, questioning peer-review processes, and discrediting reputable science journals (Public Citizen, 2019; Dunlap & McCright, 2010; Begley, 2007; McCright, 2009). These actions can be a slippery slope for public debate on all fronts, not just environmental issues (Dunlap & McCright, 2010).

Although many US media outlets have started recognizing contrarian views as outliers since the 2000s, the denialist machine is unrelenting (Dunlap & McCright, 2010). The aforementioned Heartland Institute organizes events such as the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change (NIPCC) that directly aim to cast doubt on the IPCC (Dunlap & McCright, 2010; Singer & Idso, 2009). It is no coincidence that this Think Tank is also known for its denial of the harmful effects of tobacco. Many of the tactics used in the tobacco industry have been recycled for this new venture. For instance, the tobacco industry already discovered it was easier to fight science rather than policy (Tucker, 2012). The debate becomes even easier if it is brought into the public sphere, where the arguments are never solidly settled, and cannot be resolved over time through the peer-review process that scientific publications and academic journals offer (Dunlap & McCright, 2010). In this way, a focus on disproving climate science through non-scientific journals brings the debate to the public sphere and delays climate action indefinitely.

Dunlap and McCright (2010) also claim climate denialism stems from the Judeo-Christian view of nature, treating the environment primarily as a resource for human exploitation. This anthropocentric view on nature fits in well with the previous strategy, as it feeds on an optimistic psychological bias of endless growth that obstructs critical thinking on climate issues. This is to say that the environmental movement's reliance on scientific evidence and concern for the impacts of human activities directly challenges and contrasts with the prevailing idea of infinite growth. The conflict arises between "production science", focused on knowledge advancement and "impact science", which assesses the consequences of production activities (Dunlap & McCright, 2010).

## **6.2. Murdochisation of the climate emergency**

"With the news of Rupert Murdoch's resignation as chairman of News Corp and Fox Corp, it is hard to think of another person who has done so much to confuse public understanding of climate change" (Joëlle Gergis in Readfearn & Morton, 2023). While many aforementioned authors attribute a great deal of responsibility for promoting climate denial to Murdoch, and there have been a number of scandals and questionable practices linking back to him, it is necessary to fit this narrative to the wider scheme of his media Empire.

The 'Murdoch Effect' might be his most defining legacy to the mass-communication industry. Thussu (2006), defines it as a shift from a serious to a more popular news agenda, driven by the logic of maximizing profit and infotainment. This strategy has proven to be an integral part of the philosophy behind the media mogul's success. The sheer scope of Murdoch's conglomerate has prompted the thorough analysis of his recipe, having influenced numerous countries and their entire political, socio-cultural scene, as well as the global media industry. In the wake of his success, this trend was also coined 'Murdochisation' of the media. Only in the US, Murdoch owns News Corp and Fox Corp, with successful outlets such as: Fox News, the WSJ, NYP, or the Dow Jones.

This Murdochisation, also called "Murdochracy" continues to support climate change denialism editorial oversight that will likely not change unless there is an economic threat to Murdoch's outlets in doing so (Earth.org, 2021).

Murdoch and his media are best known for driving the UK, US and Australia to the right whilst surviving a string of scandals and controversies (Sabbagh, 2023). Although the most infamous are the aforementioned UK phone-hacking scandal and the US Dominion libel action, his outlets have continuously raised doubts about their agenda-setting and sown doubt on climate emergency warnings and policies. American outlets such as Fox and the WSJ have spread significant climate disinformation, endorsing biased and misleading commentary from climate change deniers and climate change delayers (Peter Gleick in Readfearn & Morton, 2023). While these networks may attempt to provide an expansion of the public sphere, they might actually be going in the opposite direction, reducing the ideological scope of discussion. There are numerous concerns around whether the growing marketisation of the mass media might be eroding the public sphere (Earth.org, 2021; Huertas & Adler, 2012; Public Citizen, 2019).

Murdoch (2015) has claimed to be "a skeptic, not a denier" and expressed News Corps's commitment to sustainability. There are, however, marked differences on how his media conglomerate approaches global warming compared to others, that raise concerns for the erosion of the public sphere. Fox News, for instance, has frequently faced criticism for highlighting scientific uncertainty in its coverage of global warming. This was the case of the leaked emails instructing staff to highlight controversy over climate data (Dembicki, 2021).

According to Goldenberg (2010), the timing was of essence, too: the email went out on 8 December, when the leaders of nearly 200 countries met in Copenhagen to try to reach a deal on climate change. This stance contrasts with News Corp's stated environmental concerns and desire to lead by example in reducing carbon footprints. The discrepancies between Murdoch's public statements and the editorial stance of his media properties on global warming have raised further questions about the consistency and impact of his media conglomerate's message in other areas.

### **6.3. The Fox Corp and News Corp in the US**

Particularly in the 1990s, global warming skeptics enjoyed remarkable salience and visibility in the press, aiming to present 'balanced' coverage (Dunlap & McCright, 2010). The strong support of the denial machine prompted them to be seen as notorious experts, even if often times their focus was on writing critical papers rather than creating scientific research of their own (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). However, after the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, and into the 2000s, many fossil fuel companies progressively ceased their efforts to discredit climate science (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017; Dunlap & McCright, 2010). With the notable exception of the largest channel, Fox News; the majority of the media gradually recognized the contrarian's outlier status, and they started receiving declining attention (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017).

Despite Murdoch's public claims, the gap between his statements and media coverage within his companies has raised concerns about the impact of his conglomerate's message. Examples, such as his 2014 statements downplaying global warming or the contradictions between his company's claims and the views of his Fox News hosts, highlight the complexities of his stance and its implications for the fight against global warming.

According to the research by Public Citizen (2019): Fox News ran 247 segments on climate change, 86% of them were dismissive of the climate crisis, casting doubt on its consequences or employed fearmongering when discussing climate solutions. Moreover, the study highlights three main dismissive messages and four preferred fallacies:

**Table 1**

*Fox News three main messages dismissive of climate change.*

<b>Message 1</b>	Global Warming Is a Vehicle for the Democrats' Radical Big-Government Agenda.
<b>Message 2</b>	Responding to the Climate Crisis would Kill Our Economy and Send Us Back to the Stone Age.
<b>Message 3</b>	Concern About the Climate Crisis Is Liberal Hysteria.

Note. Adapted from Public Citizen (2019)

The climate contrarian discourse revolves around ad-hominem attacks, especially against Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the UN and science journals, especially casting doubt on the peer-review process (Public Citizen, 2019). Furthermore, contrarians often claim bias against their work, which reflects a paranoia of conspiracy common within right-wing circles (Public Citizen, 2019). This trend coincides with the general problem of the denial machine. The lack of trust in science, even of the most prestigious journals such as Science magazine, steals valuable time to deal with the sustainability problem (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). It is postponing and hindering viable solutions. In order to cloud climate change science, Fox News breaks down on normal science. Anything or anyone that does not fit their narrative is biased.

News Corp has made strong sustainable commitments and initiatives in the last decades, becoming carbon-neutral in 2011 and making public statements affirming the seriousness of global warming repeated times (Huertas & Adler, 2012). Nevertheless, as the most read newspaper in the US and one of the world's top-ranked, the WSJ has a surprising record of undermining the seriousness of global warming in their opinion section.

In a study spanning two decades, Climate Nexus' analysis of WSJ opinion pieces on climate change revealed a recurring trend: routinely presenting only the dismissive side of the climate discussion, undermining the readers' ability to effectively evaluate the climate risk (2016). Rather than acknowledging the established scientific consensus, the articles consistently propagated skepticism about both the science itself and the potential effectiveness of actions (Dembicki, 2021).

#### **6.4. Climate Reporting: Role and Ethics of Media**

Giving citizens the information they need to be free and independent is journalism's main goal (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Ethical reporting is linked to journalistic quality, and involves balanced and fair reporting, avoiding sensationalization and highlighting alternative perspectives in an unbiased manner. How to measure the quality of journalism, however, is in the eye of the storm to figure out what is fair and what is not in this profession. This research will conceptualize the term fair journalism in the theoretical framework.

Furthermore, a story that an audience might find too detailed, long, or technical may strike a different audience as highly informative and well sourced (Lacy & Rosenstiel, 2015). It might be difficult to measure the level of detail required to give a reasonable understanding of certain scientific topics. For this reason, "Every designer of media message has the audience in variable" while designing the messages (Adibe Nwafor & Chinasa Alegu, 2018, p. 1019).

#### **6.5. Influence of the Press on Public Perception**

In the face of these issues, one of the first questions authors confront is: the media influences and shapes society, or the other way round? Already in 1858, Lincoln realized the power of public sentiment and the power of who wield it (Zarefsky, 1994). According to Habermas, the formation of public opinion was a necessary condition for the public sphere, advocating for undistorted communication in a more or less autonomous, open *space* for public debate (McQuail, 2010, p. 154).

Chomsky and Herman have highlighted the complex relationship between the US media and the American society in their work *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1995). They lay out how the media can influence public perception by selecting stories and presenting information influenced by political and economic interests. Their propaganda model (PM) allows a useful systematization of the following five filters: concentration of media ownership, dependence on advertising revenue, corporate and government-connected news sources, media response to flak and ideological control (Chomsky & Herman, 1995). Furthermore, the concept of "manufactured consent", suggests that the media can shape public opinion by selecting and presenting information in a certain way. Their analysis criticizes the idea of neutrality of the "fourth estate" and argues that the media disseminate

dominant views and suppress inconvenient facts that serve the agenda of the elites. This model continues to be relevant with the rapid development of the internet, which has reinforced the role of the 5 filters in media conglomerates and leading newspapers.

Additionally, George Gerbner's cultivation theory argues that prolonged exposure to certain media content can affect the way people view reality. Long-term exposure to media content and narratives can shape individuals' perceptions of reality, hence influencing people's beliefs and perspectives on various societal issues. Nevertheless, McQuail argues that, although cultivation theory is one of the most investigated, any process of 'cultivation' is difficult to separate from general socialization (2010, p. 415).

By contrast, other authors such as Stuart Hall emphasize how audiences receive and interpret media messages, which also helps to understand the media's impact on society (Adibe Nwafor & Chinasa Alegu, 2018). While he suggested that audiences don't passively accept media messages but engage with and interpret them based on their social and cultural contexts, this theory highlights the active role in decoding content.

## **6.6. Emerging Trends and Gaps in Literature**

A study of 51,230 scientific articles published in 2020 on climate change in the top tier journals shows that the 100 most mediatized articles report on a limited and narrow facet of climate science, underreporting researches on the efficacy of potential measures, for instance (Perga, Sarrasin, Steinberger, Lane, & Butera, 2023). Therefore, the importance of Climate science salience and comprehensive reporting needs to be underscored and further studied.

Finally, with the culmination of COP28 in Dubai, the latest developments on climate action have lacked significant progress and detail, as has the press coverage. Above all, the role of developing countries, major emitters, and food and energy security, especially oil production, are shaping the media discourse and the study of media influence on global warming perception (Perga et al., 2023). Studies on how journalism drives climate action, however, are limited, due to the complexity of factors and reduced practicality of small-scale research.



## 7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter lays the groundwork for analyzing how the media frames the 2023 IPCC report, particularly within outlets owned by the Rupert Murdoch media conglomerate (NYP, WSJ, and Fox News). The analysis centers on the influence of wording choices, ideology, unbalanced reporting, and inaccurate information in persuading others of the article's opinion. Subtle variations in language can significantly impact how audiences interpret complex scientific information like the IPCC report. To illuminate these nuances, this study adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the primary theoretical framework, which will be further elaborated upon in the following section.

This study acknowledges the potential for varied audience interpretations and will consider the framing techniques employed by the media outlets within the context of potential audience reception.

### 7.1. Conceptualization

For a thorough analysis of media framing, particularly of climate science topics, a clear understanding of key concepts is essential. Defining these concepts will be crucial for interpreting the data and differentiating between genuine scientific debate and potential media bias.

1. Climate contrarian: Being "skeptical" can be related to an integral part of the scientific method, while being "denialist" is often reminiscent of Nazi denialism (McCright, 2009). To prevent confusion, McCright defines climate contrarians to be those who vocally challenge what they see as a false consensus of mainstream climate science through critical attacks on the science and eminent climate scientists, often with financial support from fossil fuels industry organizations and conservative think tanks (2009).
2. Climate scientists: experts in natural or physical sciences, who study the Earth's climate and its changes over time. For the purpose of this study, any other 'experts' will be considered non-scientists.
3. The *AR6 Synthesis Report: Climate Change March 2023* is the first comprehensive report from the U.N. Climate Panel (IPCC) since the 2015 Paris Agreement (Meredith, 2023). It summarizes the Sixth Assessment Report (AR6), including the state of knowledge of

climate change, its widespread impacts and risks, and climate change mitigation and adaptation (IPCC, 2023).

4. Murdochisation of the media: Thussu (2006) offers several aforementioned definitions of the impact of Murdoch's Media Effect. For one, Murdochisation is a process involving the shift of media power from the public to privately owned, transnational, multimedia corporations controlling both delivery systems and the content of global information networks (Thussu, 2006).
5. UN Secretary General: the chief administrative officer of the UN.
6. Fair journalism: in the case of an opinion article, persuasion of the author's arguments is fair, provided that the reader is aware of the bias. However, this bias may not replace reasoned and good arguments, nor should it substitute treating opposing viewpoints with respect. According to McQuail, quality journalism requires 5 fundamental values: freedom, fairness in access to media, diversity of issues and perspectives, objectivity in reporting facts, and promotion of social harmony (2010, p. 162-175). The media's ability to live up to these values determines its ethical performance and its contribution to an informed and participatory society.
7. Framing: Frames are systems of pre-conceived ideas that allow people to quickly process news and interpret information. Framing theory is related to agenda-setting theory, as both focus on how the media draws the public's attention to specific topics and sets the agenda by organizing and presenting information in a particular way.
8. Agenda-setting: coined by McCombs and Shaw (1972, 1993), cited in McQuail (2010) is "The process by which the relative attention given to items or issues in news coverage influences the rank order of public awareness of issues and attribution of significance" (p. 388).

## **7.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has emerged as a robust framework for analyzing the relationship between language, power, and social structures. However, CDA is not a monolithic theory. Fairclough's critical approach, Wodak's discourse-historical approach and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach make the CDA a very comprehensive tool for discourse

analysis, but also theoretically and analytically quite diverse. This section explores these three prominent approaches within CDA that will be particularly relevant to this study.

According to Jahedi, Abdullah, and Mukundan (2014), power relations are realized and constructed through discourse, which forms society and culture and exists within a prior historical context. As shown in Table 2, CDA goes beyond language analysis and focuses on the linguistic nature of social and cultural processes and structures (Fairclough, Wodak, & Mulderrig, 2011; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 271). CDA also focuses on how discourse structures influence mental representations: for instance, the use of the term “climate change” may entail a lesser sense of urgency or severity than “global warming”. According to Jahedi, Abdullah, and Mukunda (2014), referential strategies connect certain traits, characteristics, qualities and features to certain names and meanings, while predicational strategies build on this by establishing relationships between entities. Discourse may rely on strategies to guide meaning. Perspectivization and framing strategies involve the perspective or points of view used for these namings, attributions and arguments, highlighting specific viewpoints, by emphasizing certain aspects or using particular language choices (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, cited in Jahedi, Abdullah, & Mukunda, 2014).

**Table 2**

*Main 8 tenets of CDA*

1. CDA addresses social problems.	2. Power relations are discursive.	3. The link between text and society is mediated.	4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical.	6. Discourse constitutes society and culture.	7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.	8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Note. Adapted from Fairclough and Wodak (1997).

On one hand, Chouliaraki and Fairclough define hegemony as domination based on consent rather than coercion, hence hegemony highlights ideology in achieving and maintaining

relations of domination (1999, p. 24). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) previously summarized the main 8 tenets of CDA, as shown in Table 2.

On the other hand, Van Dijk (1988) emphasizes that the main aim of CDA is to describe and explain how the abuse of power is carried out, replicated, or legitimized through text and conversation by dominant groups or institutions. Based on textual, pragmatic and cognitive approaches, his theory is particularly suitable for this research. Van Dijk's model involves studying text structure, vocabulary, intertextuality and literary devices at the micro level, and the relationship between discourse, ideology and sociomaterial at the macro level (n.d.). For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the microlevel of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro level (Van Dijk's, n.d.). These connections can be seen between members-groups, actions-processes, context-social structure and personal-social cognition.

Furthermore, Van Dijk presents the "ideological square", which consists of four principles for analyzing ideology: emphasizing positive aspects about us, negative aspects about them, de-emphasizing positive aspects about us and positive aspects about them (1998, p266). This ideological square contributes to polarization between in-groups and out-groups, representing us favorably and them negatively (Van Dijk's, n.d.).

Lastly, Van Dijk proposes categories of ideological analysis such as actor description, authority, categorization, lexicalization, polarization, confusion and victimization, which contribute to the representation of 'Us versus Them' in the discussion (1998, p66). Any of these categories may be used to identify the creation of group identities and both the insiders and outsiders of these groups.

### **7.3. Public Citizen: Frequent fallacies on Fox News climate segments**

Building upon the established concept of fair journalism, and the Critical Discourse Analysis, this section explores how media bias can manifest in news coverage. Of particular relevance will be previous research on the Fox News Channel by the non-profit consumer rights organization Public Citizen (2019). Here, the specific focus is on identifying fallacies commonly employed within Fox News climate segments. Although the medium may affect

their frequency of use, analyzing the fallacies used in the TV channel can serve as a foundation for examining similar tactics potentially used by Fox News and the NYP in their coverage of the IPCC report.

Public Citizen has conducted research on the prevalence of fallacies within climate change segments on Fox News (2019). Their findings suggest that 80% of such segments employed tactics that dismissed the scientific consensus on climate change. This section defines several predominant fallacies identified by Public Citizen in Fox News discourse:

1. Ad Hominem Attacks: attacking the person instead of attacking their argument.
2. Red Herring: changing the subject. Introducing irrelevant information or a tangent into an argument to divert attention away from the main topic.
3. Slippery Slope: the assumption that one thing will lead to a series of increasingly negative events or consequences of providing enough evidence for this causal chain.
4. Cherry Picking: selectively choosing evidence or information that supports their argument while ignoring or dismissing evidence that contradicts it.

## **8. OBJECTIVES, QUESTIONS & PROPOSITIONS**

The previous sections established the theoretical foundation for analyzing media framing within the Murdoch media conglomerate in the US. This chapter outlines the specific objectives, research questions, and analytical framework that will guide the investigation, based primarily on Critical Discourse Analysis. By employing CDA, this research aims to:

1. Identify and analyze the political-communicative dynamics that deny climate science and contribute to the erosion of the public sphere of contemporary American democracy.
2. Explore the extent to which the devaluation of journalistic intermediation undermines democratic debate, presenting science as opinion and impeding the advancement of debate towards climate action.

### **8.1. Research questions**

Drawing on the established concept of fair journalism and the potential for media bias to influence public discourse, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent has the devaluation of journalistic intermediation undermined democratic debate, by presenting science as opinion and preventing the debate from moving towards climate action?
2. Have Murdoch's newspapers; Fox News, and the New York Post informed of the Sixth assessment report *fairly* or are they undermining the climate science credibility?
3. What specific framing techniques are employed by these outlets in their discourse surrounding the IPCC report?

These questions guide the analysis towards understanding how the media's portrayal of complex scientific information can potentially influence public understanding and democratic discourse on climate action. In addition, this research presents several tentative propositions that inform the study's initial expectations.

## **8.2. Tentative propositions**

The approach on which this analysis is based, considers the following outcomes within the framework of the Murdochisation of media, and the influence of the press in public perception:

1. Under the umbrella of Murdoch's conglomerate, the credibility of climate science is ostensibly minimized, seeking to at least delay climate action.
2. Both articles will downplay the credibility of climate science and the Sixth Assessment Report by framing science into opinion.
3. To frame the report as opinion, the counter-narrative will use arguments that are based on or appear to be based on more 'reasonable' science, than the IPCC's.
4. Said "stronger science" might be based on actually "weaker" experts or non-scientists.
5. There are important differences in the reporting style and choice of the Sixth assessment report between the Murdoch's outlets.

While many of these propositions cannot be definitively confirmed or refuted within the limited scope of this study, they provide a framework for analyzing the media coverage and identifying potential patterns.

## 9. METHODOLOGY

This research is based on a case study of the interpretations of opinion articles on the IPCC AR6 Synthesis Report for March 2023 in various print media run by Rupert Murdoch in the United States. For this purpose, information has been gathered from the articles themselves, as well as from other academics and journalists. In some cases, the research has been supplemented by examining relevant articles linked within the primary sources or briefly discussing the WSJ news article on this event. This approach helps to gain a deeper understanding of the context in which audiences interpret the messages.

Different methodologies are applied to analyze them: from McQuail's 5 fundamental values of journalism, VanDijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA, and the 4 most frequent fallacies of Fox News according to Public Citizen (2019). With these resources, the research may carry out a critical, qualitative analysis of the two opinion articles published in Fox News, and the NYP (See Annexes A and D).

For each paper, the structure this research will follow is: background of the author, description, analysis, and mention of relevant related articles. After covering these topics in each, the comparison and measurement of aforementioned fallacies, framing and discourse characteristics will be undertaken, facilitated by the use of tables in-text and in the Annex, and the color coding shown in Table 3 below.

For the text presentation and analysis, this study follows several guidelines. Firstly, as online articles, the texts have several interjections with links to other media, that almost act as Red Herrings. Frequently, these interjections are political and related to the author of each article. These have been included between parenthesis () signs, to difference them from the text, but will also be analyzed. As the medium affects the experience of the reader, and this research has found use of their interpretation, the 'unrelated' interjections in the article are included in the analysis to understand the bigger picture they stem from (See Annex C and F). Secondly, the theoretical elements will be marked by color-coding, even if sometimes two or more categories may apply to the same word. Therefore, some sentences and words might have a mixture of styles and categories such as: highlighted, bold, and blue, for instance. This case

would indicate that it is a relevant message explicitly discussed in the analysis, whilst being a keyword of contrarian jargon and containing a link to other media.

**Table 3**

*Legend for the discursive identification of theoretical elements.*

<i>Italic</i>	Sources and Authors.
Blue	Messages that contain a link to other articles.
Dark Green	Accurate: Objective and presumably a fair report, consistent with McQuail’s 5 principles of quality journalism.
Grey	Opinion, not factual information.
Orange	Inaccurate or questionable: misleading or inconsistent with one or more of McQuail’s principles.
Red	False claims.
<b>Bold</b>	Relevant messages discussed during the analysis.
<u>Highlighted</u>	Keywords of the contrarian jargon.

## 10. ANALYSIS

### 10.1. Fox News Article: “UN climate report is latest in string of cataclysmic predictions stretching back decades”

The author, Thomas Catenacci, is shaping climate coverage and energy news at Fox News. He has worked at local Boston news channels, CNBC, and The Daily Caller, after graduating from Northeastern University in 2019 with a B.A. in Communication Studies (Fox News, 2024). As this research will explore, he covers numerous climate and energy topics, but he is not a climate scientist. To balance this, Catenacci will support his arguments with several sources, whose authority will be reviewed.

Furthermore, Catenacci writes both news and opinion articles, with a blurring line between them at times. For both cases, he often starts with strong headlines and factual information to introduce the topic. This blur will be illustrated below with the contrast between his two articles on the same matter: the AR6 Synthesis Report of March 2023. Nevertheless, the



analysis will look closer at the opinion article of March 26 that figures in Annex A, and use the other article, of March 20, only as a contrast. At the end, the two main articles will also be compared with another News Corporation outlet, the WSJ, which has not been included further in this analysis because it does not have an opinion piece.

To begin with, through the title and subtitle, the main focus of the article already becomes apparent. They emphasize how “extreme” and “cataclysmic” the predictions of the UN are, and for how long they have been around (See Annex A). These two arguments are then set against each other, implying contrast or dissonance: an urgent matter cannot be warned for decades without losing credibility.

In the first paragraph, the author focuses on the direct implications of the report on national interests and politics, making the readers have their interests in mind during the reading. While this focus might be demand-oriented and remains informative and objective, it may predispose the reader to judge the IPCC's message in a certain way. According to CDA theory, discourse structures influence mental representations (Van Dijk, 2011). “Discourse can be interpreted in very different ways, due to the audience and the amount of context information which is included” (Fairclough & Wodak, p. 278). If the reader is already skeptical of the United Nations and internationalist ideals, the decision to say UN instead of the IPCC, panel of experts, may also affect, ever so slightly, the reader's interpretation of the report's message. This is an example of how language and discourse can be used to construct and reinforce certain ideologies and power relations, as highlighted by the concept of hegemony in CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

The Fox News presentation of news with images on every page and numerous links to other articles, sometimes quite unrelated to the topic, may influence the readers' experience, especially if most articles are opinion articles by the same author. These links and interjections may reinforce the audience's ideology further. Recalling the cultivation theory of George Gerbner and Van Dijk's CDA, this lack of diversity and unbalanced reporting may, in the long run, shape individuals' perceptions of reality through long-term exposure to media content and narratives, hence influencing people's beliefs and perspectives on various societal issues. This aligns with Van Dijk's emphasis on how language creates social realities and mediates socioeconomic and political structures (2011).

Even before the first line, the first image is linked to a video of a non-scientist described as a “legal philosopher”, calling “climate rhetoric” extreme on a Fox News outlet. This is, again, another predisposition that will back the argument Catenacci will sustain, even when the issue is not directly connected to the IPCC.

In the first line, there is another link to a Catenacci article titled: “UN calls for mass fossil fuel shutdowns to prevent 'climate time bomb'” (Annex A, para.1). In this article, of March 20, 2023, he covers the same topic as in March 26th. Nevertheless, the first article remained much more focused on direct quotations that review the content of the report and nothing more. He did not quote any sources outside the UN and IPCC. The comparison between both of them, written by the same author, starkly contrasts the opinions and facts.

The next two paragraphs continue a similar factual style of reporting used in the first article from Catenacci, and a link to the second article attributed to him in this text: “Fossil fuel profits are vital for green energy projects Dems routinely tout” (See Annex A, para. 2). The paragraphs end with yet another, this time rather unrelated, Catenacci article with the headline: “DEMOCRATS BLAMING CLIMATE CHANGE FOR HURRICANE IAN AT ODDS WITH SCIENCE, EXPERTS SAY”. This third article, clearly political and asserting that climate change is not responsible for climate events, features very prominent contrarians. Some of them are the geologist Gregory Wrightstone, the president of the aforementioned think tank Heartland Institute; James Taylor, and Steve Milloy; a senior legal fellow at the Energy & Environment Legal Institute. For these reasons, these two articles further emphasize a sentiment against the Democrats, as the out-group, and links them to “green” and “at odds with science” policy, setting the stage for his thesis through a predicational strategy (See Annex K). So far, whilst constant interjections interrupted the reading, the opinion article in itself has kept close to the original story.

In the fourth paragraph, Catenacci puts greater emphasis on long-standing warnings that contrast with the apparent urgency they underline. With Steve Milloy as the expert, they make the argument that “the ticking time bomb stuff” is rhetoric, it is ‘stuff’, extreme, and unreliable (See Annex A, para.5). The repeated appearance of certain figures as experts for Fox News articles will be analyzed below. In the text, the lack of diversity and unbalanced reporting in Fox News' coverage can be seen as a way to influence the audience's beliefs and

perspectives on societal issues, reflecting the discursive means of mental control and social influence emphasized in CDA.

The figure of the aforementioned Steve Milloy is particularly worth review, due to his “financial ties to the tobacco, chemical and oil and gas industries” (Public Citizen, 2019). Public Citizen not only highlights Milloy's recurrent appearance on Fox News, but also his track record. “In 1998, he helped write the American Petroleum Institute’s strategy to challenge climate science” (Public Citizen, 2019). Milloy is not a climate scientist, but an “energy expert” employed by the energy industry. Therefore, his opinions may be taken with a pinch of salt.

In the next paragraph, Milloy continues with: "Since they never report that they've been wrong before, it doesn't really matter. They just go on to the next one," (See Annex A, para.6). This claim is easily disproven: not only the IPCC has a transparent error protocol, but also because there have been very high-profile instances when the IPCC has made a correction, particularly with the AR4. Even if a mistake may not be entirely attributable to the panel, but to the source of information, any errors are published with due diligence. According to RealClimate (2010) of The Guardian, journalists who had never glanced at the IPCC report before were suddenly outraged that an erroneous figure appeared on page 493 of Volume 2, and falsely making the error look more serious and vital to the report.

On another note, Milloy puts the words “greens” and “Democrats” together again (See Annex A, para.6). Not climate scientist, not liberals, but greens and Democrats. Milloy might minimize global warming concerns by antagonizing its carriers. These ideas are more subtle than an Ad Hominem described by Public Citizen (2019) or direct attack to ethos, but the choice of words may not be aimless. The conservative think tanks, journalists and energy-related experts seek to persuade a conservative audience. Therefore, the constant repetition of the terms “democrats” and “greens” may succeed in antagonizing them to conservative readers. Under this article’s light, they appear to be more hysteric, extreme and unreliable in nature: the climate change 'believers' are not based on science, rather on politics, beliefs or emotions. This aligns with Fairclough and Wodak’s focus on the interrelationship between discursive and other social practices and structures, and the importance of context in understanding discourse (1997, p.276). While discussing the IPCC warnings, the reader is constantly reminded of the actions the Democrats are taking on energy, as well as the

economic context, rather than the future of the planet. In this way, the reader keeps their economic concerns close at hand. In addition, Fox News gives prominence to the concerns and interests of the energy industry in these broadcasts and with the use of Steve Milloy. Furthermore, Milloy may use a referential strategy to link the "greens" with being: dishonest, elitist, and with different concerns and interests from the "us" (See Annex A, para. 6). "This is an elitist driven scare. It's very important to the green energy industry, to the greens and to Democrats, but it's not really important to anybody else. I think people are kind of getting bored with it" (See Annex A, para. 6).

Up to this point, Catenacci is mostly giving a fair opinion of a well described topic, with facts that might not be scientific, but are not untruthful or unfair. This text could be simply categorized as political and opinionated, if he were not disagreeing with the panel of scientists as if they were a political body. The accumulation of questionable claims, and use of non-scientist sources will increase from here. Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square could be applied to the choice of sourcing Catenacci makes, which emphasizes contrarians and their arguments, while emphasizing the mistakes of climate scientists. The angle he seeks to portray, is not discussing the scientific details of the report, just the hidden agenda and politics behinds.

The seventh paragraph contains an important inaccuracy that again is focused on Ad Hominem attacks (Public Citizen, 2019). The questionable quote was rightly attributed to a former UN director of the Environment Program (Kasprak, 2019). To warn "that entire nations would be wiped off the face of the Earth by 2000 if warming trends aren't reversed" would be very visibly wrong and damaging to confidence in the scientific consensus. According to Kasprak (2019), the original sentence warned that entire nations would be wiped off the face of the Earth, if warming trends were not reversed by 2000. A simple change in the order of the sentence made the prediction significantly more urgent, and evidently wrong. "While admittedly alarmist, this senior U.N official's statements appear to have been muddled further by the Associated Press's somewhat imprecise reporting on the topic" (Kasprak, 2019). However, it is also the responsibility of journalists that spread this misinformation to check their sources. Kasprak's fact check is online since 2019.

Paragraphs 8 to 12 review factual quotes from IPCC reports, that warn of some of the starker consequences of global warming. Nonetheless, Catenacci's tone may imply these are not to

be taken seriously. “The IPCC continued publishing reports with stark warnings and bold predictions throughout the 1990s and 2000s” (See Annex A, paragraph 9). With this sentence, he can reinforce an argument on green hysteria and unreliability.

Catenacci follows this with quotes from the UN personnel between paragraphs 13 and 16, where they continue to make “stark warnings”. To conclude, he gives a sour depiction of the current situation. He underlines that, despite this emphasis on reducing emissions, carbon emissions and fossil production have reached new records in 2022 (See Annex A, paragraph 17).

## 10.2. Conclusions to the Fox News article analysis

1. “Discourse is not produced without **context** and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.276). For this reason, the frequent links to interrupt the read in Fox News articles have a role in predisposing the audience to believe a dominant narrative, giving it more salience. This case particularly focused on implicit political judgements of Biden and the Democratic Party that are connected to the ‘green agenda’. Six out of the 9 links redirected to Fox News articles written by Catenacci (See Annex C).
2. The links reinforce the narrative that Catenacci and Milloy presented: connecting the concepts of greens and democrats and antagonizing them to the conservative audience (See Annex B). Political context and the audience’s attitude towards Democrats at time of the reading, may affect the article’s persuasion (Van Dijk, 2011, p.393).
3. The text argues that climate science is politicized: the UN and IPCC have a climate ideology and agenda that goes beyond the scientific method. This strategy aligns with CDA's focus on how discourse constructs meaning. By employing such techniques, the text potentially influences readers' emotional responses and perceptions, thereby contributing to the construction of a specific ideological framing of the issue.
4. The article uses a predicational strategy that aims to portray the IPCC and the “greens” as hysteric and frequently very mistaken, this is attempted through rhetoric and, at times, by using a questionable and a false example.

5. Several referential strategies are collected in the Annex H. For instance, the use of the word Climate change, never global warming, and the “greens”, instead of activists, may be a referential strategy, that affects the perception of the concept discussed.
6. The false claim that the IPCC is unreliable because “they never admit they've been wrong before”, was disproven by Kasprak (2019).
7. Catenacci may have used a predicational strategy by certain traits, characteristics, qualities and features to the repeated UN warnings and calls for action. These are negatively described as: “aggressive”, “authoritative”, “cataclysmic”, and “boring”.
8. The source that backed the authors arguments was not a climate expert, but an “energy expert”: Steve Milloy (See Annex B). The perspectivation, and framing strategies may be biased towards the energy industry, whose salience is unbalanced with the panel of experts (See Annex K).

### **10.3. NYP: “UN climate study proves the fight to lower global temps won’t work”**

The NY Post has garnered attention for its incendiary front-page headlines and sensationalist approach to news coverage. However, critics have accused the outlet of aligning its editorial stance with Murdoch's business interests, questioning its editorial independence (Barron & Robertson, 2007). This analysis will delve into the arguments, jargon, and media ramifications of the March 20th, 2023 opinion written by The Post opinion Board. This assessment will be compared with the analysis of the preceding Fox News article, to answer the research questions on the presentation and framing of climate science inside Murdoch's media empire and its possible influence on democratic discourse.

Similarly to the first article, the NYP begins with a predicational strategy, emphasizing a "doomsday" or cataclysmic attribute to a warning that has been repeated numerous times. In addition, the NYP emphasizes a failure to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. This defeatist attitude on climate warnings, policies and efforts will play an important role in the article. Moreover, the tone is more direct and without any frills.

The article makes no attempt to disguise its status as an opinion piece, both in its argumentative style and in the red square at the top of the page. To further illustrate this, the

second line already presents its main thesis: “the absurdity of the climate war” (See Annex D, para. 1).

The use of keywords or referential strategies is even more notorious and significant than in the Fox News article. For instance, in the use of the term “climate war”, the editorial frames climate action as a political agenda against a similar adversary. The article then adds a new predicational layer by coining climate activists; “climate warriors” and considers “arbitrary” the 1.5°C goal (See Annex D, paragraph 4). While the referential strategy in “climate warriors” is used without apostrophes, this is not the case for “climate action”, indicating a sense of disbelief in the latter. The term “climate warriors” may fall under Van Dijk’s categories of ideological analysis under categorization and polarization, as the term deepens the breach between this outgroup and the in-group where the reader may be unconsciously positioned (1998). Moreover, the disbelief on climate action is further demonstrated by calling past plans to achieve the 1.5°C goal “a joke” (See Annex D, paragraph 4). The attribution of certain characteristics to the 1.5°C goal, such as ‘arbitrary’ and ‘a joke’, may be considered one of the main predicational strategies of the article (See Annex K).

In paragraph 6 of Annex D, the article begins to emphasize the role of “wealthier nations” on climate action and its costs. The actions of “the West” are framed as futile, emphasizing a portrayal where it appears solely the West is pursuing this goal. This is contrasted with another out-group: China and India, “adding new emissions faster than Western nations can reduce their own, at great cost to their economies” (See Annex D, paragraphs 7 to 9). The article again insists that “for all the progress reducing CO<sub>2</sub> output”, the challenge is only growing, according to the AR6 (See Annex D, para. 10).

The rhetorical question: "Anyone want to bet the IPCC's next 'assessment' likewise sees the 'challenge' greater still?", further emphasizes the sense of distrust in climate action (See Annex D, para. 11). However, the irony used throughout the text not only belittles the efforts of nations, but also the warnings of the UN and the IPCC. Even if criticizing the UN was solely a political issue, the authors are not only skeptical of the UN commentary, but directly critical with the scientific panel's report. In doing so, they do not use scientific sources, but confuse political agenda with science in order to bring the discussion to the stage of public opinion.

While the quotes extracted from the IPCC itself are factual, there is significant cherry-picking of the information from the 81-page report, aligned with Public Citizen's list of fallacies (2019). Even the summary for policymakers has 40 pages, where the pre-eminent messages are endorsed with a high degree of confidence by the panel, and none are mentioned by the NYP. Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square is useful to understand the selective emphasis of the article (See Annex J). The weakest aspects of the report are accentuated, while the most relevant and reliable are omitted.

The IPCC clearly highlights, in their first assertion, that current energy use is unsustainable, and it is likewise underlined in bold in the Summary for policymakers. Without addressing the following scientific arguments, any rejection of climate action without a policy alternative might be contrarianism and a hazardous or unwise idea to express in the absence of scientific backing. Especially when the majority position is: "Deep, rapid, and sustained reductions in greenhouse gas emissions would lead to a discernible slowdown in global warming within around two decades, and also to discernible changes in atmospheric composition within a few years (high confidence)" (IPCC, 2023, p.18). Following Van Dijk's ideological square, the article not only avoids discussing, hence de-emphasizing, high-confidence statements, but also emphasizes arguments without clear scientific backing and authority (1998).

On one hand, the UN gives a glimmer of hope for urgent action to achieve "acceptable" solutions (IPCC, 2023, p.110). On the other hand, the NYP focuses on failure and costs, implying there will be no "doomsday". If this is not denying or ignoring the consequences of global warming, it may at least discourage action and consider the UN warnings and the panel of experts: "hysteria" (Annex D, para. 16), using a predicational strategy.

To further demonstrate this point, the following sentence requires fact checking: "the costs of global warming don't come anywhere close to the mind-numbing price of trying to halt it" (Annex D, para. 12). This sentence appears to be subjective rather than based on a comprehensive analysis of the costs and benefits associated with addressing climate change (See Annex G). The anticipated annual cost of damage caused by climate change by 2050 will range between \$1.7 trillion to \$3.1 trillion worldwide" (Bennett, 2023). Whereas, the annual cost to fight climate change, protect biodiversity and cut pollution, for the 48 developing economies included in the calculations, is projected to cost nearly \$5.5 trillion annually from



2023 to 2030 (UNCTAD, 2024). Upon careful examination, the statement in question is more appropriately categorized as inaccurate rather than explicitly false, as there is insufficient data to make a stronger affirmation. However, the claim lacked fact-checking and may be misleading.

To further prove their point, the NYP reiterates the climate contrarian narrative that divides between “Us” and “them” (Brokensha, 2011). Through emphasizing “Our good things” and “Their bad things”, respectively, discursive manipulation comes into play (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 359, cited in Brokensha, 2011). In this case, the aggressive climate warriors are framed as the outgroup, against the interests of a non-elite majority where the audience may easily be included. “Climate warriors want to upend the entire global economy, reduce living standards in the developed world” (Annex D, para. 13). Additionally, “western elites caught in a quasi-religious fervor are simply refusing to face facts, at huge cost to the non-elite majority” (Annex D, para. 14). With just two sentences, the article defines three “others”: the climate warriors, the developing world and Western elites. The “majority”, or in-group is victimized.

Lastly, the NYP reaffirms its opinion on the economic impact of climate change with a link to another article worth of study. It is cited in the following sentence: “(...) if the world does nothing, climate change will slow economic growth only slightly”. This claim is particularly harmful and misleading because it presents a position of absolute inaction and downplays the harm it will cause. Not only they focus solely on the economy and ignore any social impacts, but also, they are wrong in their estimation of the costs of climate change, already fact-checked by Bennet (2023). Therefore, this claim will be attributed as false.

To conclude, the NYP covers its back with the proposal to promote **innovation**. The article attempts to make the point that its arguments are not to ignore climate change or to deny it, although it is implying to limit action and is skeptical of the severity of the issue. If adequately directed, innovation is key to fight climate change, even if the article does not express much concern for the issue in the first place. However, this global problem needs a comprehensive plan to tackle the crisis on several fronts, and not to put all its eggs just in one basket. To pretend to solve this problem solely in the hope of new technological developments that are quick to implement is to disregard the urgency underlined by the scientific consensus. Finally,

he also gives a final blow to the climate warriors, inferring that they intend to send "us back to the Dark Ages". While hardly true, it fits Public Citizen's (2019) list of Fox News' messages.

#### **10.4. Conclusions to the NY Post article analysis**

The article's main highlights consist on two false claims and one inaccuracy, as well as a repeated use of outgroups and ingroups outlined in the CDA, and several messages from Public Citizen's (2019) research.

1. As in the first article, links interrupt the read, which may have a role in predisposing the audience to believe a dominant narrative, giving it more salience. This case particularly focused on the linked to a "green agenda" and two out of three links redirected to other NYP articles (See Annex F).
2. The links reinforce the narrative presented: connecting the concepts of greens and Democrats and antagonizing them to the conservative audience (See Annex F and K).
  - a. The first out-group is delineated as: "Screaming", hysteric and irrational, "quasi-religious western elites" and "climate warriors". The in-group would be the non-elitist majority.
  - b. The second in-group would be western nations. The article argues that India and China, as part of the out-group, will continue growing and polluting, hence Western efforts will only harm them economically and accomplish nothing. This argument is not only defeatist, it assumes that the efforts of some of the highest emitters will have an insignificant impact on mitigation.
3. Similarly to the previous text, the NYP argues that climate science is politicized: the UN and IPCC have a climate ideology and agenda that goes beyond the scientific method. This may be considered a predicational strategy, establishing relationships between separate entities and attributing meanings (See Annex K).
4. The article uses Cherry Picking and Slippery Slope fallacies mentioned by Public Citizen (2019), as well as inaccurate and false claims, to downplay the severity of climate change and to stress the costs of taking action, while minimizing the costs of inaction (See Annex G).
5. Arguments are not backed by climate scientists or scientific sources, nor by contrarian authors, in contrast to Milloy's appearance in the other article (See Annex E).

6. There are several referential and predicational strategies, compiled in Annex H. The authors only use the term global warming when they are citing UN quotes.
7. Following Van Dijk's Ideological square, this study finds numerous instances of emphasized topics and de-emphasized topics, that coincide with the perspectivization and framing intentions expected for the out- and in-groups. (See Annex J). 'Medium confidence' is highlighted in red, to underscore the unreliability of the AR6's claim, and linked to another skeptical article on "media climate change propagandists" (See Annex E).
8. The article follows a markedly defeatist tone, expressing little confidence and little need for change to curb climate change. While it does not deny climate change, it downplays it and its approach virtually rejects action.

### **10.5. Discussion and answer to the research questions**

First, within the analyzed outlets owned by Murdoch's conglomerate, a trend emerges where the credibility of climate science appears minimized, potentially delaying climate action. This minimization is achieved through framing mechanisms previously discussed, such as a predicational strategy linking IPCC warnings to 'green hysteria' and downplaying economic impacts.

Both Fox News and New York Post articles analyzed in this research seem to downplay the credibility of climate science and the Sixth Assessment Report. This downplaying is achieved by framing scientific findings as mere opinion. These considerations coincide with the predicted outcomes of the two first tentative propositions.

Nonetheless, the third tentative proposition suggesting the counter-narrative would frame the IPCC report as opinion through arguments based on seemingly more reasonable science requires reformulation. The analysis suggests these outlets politicize climate science to present their arguments as more logical, rather than leveraging stronger expertise. The use of the term 'scientist', however, has been omitted by both authors, so "focusing on more reasonable science" should be understood only as downplaying the climate science in order to make their arguments heavier.

The fourth tentative proposition, predicting that this "stronger science" might rely on weaker expertise or non-scientific sources, finds support in this study. The NYP arguments solely rely

on the authors' opinion, while the Fox News article cites a non-scientist, Steve Milloy, as its only contrarian source. Moreover, their claims were not substantiated by any scientific reports or bodies. Lastly, the main differences outlined in the tables in the Annexes vary from the tone and referential strategies, to the sources used. While in the fox News article 2/10 sources were contrarians and 5/10 UN sources (Annex B, the NYP had 0/3 and 1/3 respectively (Annex E). Annex C shows a 6 to 9 ratio of articles from the Fox News author linked to his article, as interjections, while the NYP, albeit a shorter text, has 2/3 articles from themselves. Lastly, as shown in Annexes H and K, the NYP shows a more abundant and aggressive referential strategy. While Catenacci refers to elites, the NYP refers to climate "warriors". For this reason, regarding the five values of quality journalism, the only significant difference is the disputable value of solidarity of the NYP (See Annex I).

On another note, the sole article found regarding the AR6 Synthesis Report of March 2023 published in the WSJ, another News Corporation outlet, was not an opinion piece (Niiler, 2023). While that is the reason for not been included in this analysis, it is also in itself a relevant comparison. The article merely announces the publication and cites the most pertinent data from the report. The WSJ cannot be compared and analyzed on an equal footing because it has not published an op-ed on this event. The causes may be various and difficult to attribute, but it may be a sign in itself, that it does not offer an opinion on a report by a panel of experts. It could be argued that publishing an opinion piece on a report one is not an expert on is not the norm. In addition, it may influence the writing of such an article whether there is an opposing opinion or, any other interests, following the perspectivization and framing strategy.

Annex G examines the articles' statements where verification is limited or challenged by other sources. Catenacci makes one unverified and one questionable statement. The NYP makes one more false-claim than Fox News, with a total of three claims in need of fact check. Regardless of the existence of false claims, to consider these articles within the definition of 'fair journalism' above, this analysis does not yet cover a number of problems that fall within this definition, such as proportionality and sourcing. First, it is arguable whether the reader is 'aware of the bias'. In both cases, the opinion of the authors is made clear just from reading the title. However, the presentation of the contrarian opinion of Steve Milloy in the Fox News

article may have concealed his background and agenda. He is only described as an energy expert, on the title, and “a senior legal fellow at the Energy & Environment Legal Institute” (See Annex A, para.5). Nonetheless, this bias may not replace reasoned and good arguments, nor should it take the place of treating opposing viewpoints with respect.

Using the definition of climate scientist in this research, the analysis of the sources mentioned by the authors will allow judging their proportionality, diversity and objectivity (See Annexes B and E). As shown in Table 5, in neither of the two opinion articles the contrarian opinions come from climate scientists.

**Table 4**

*Comparison between the ratio of UN-related bodies and personnel per total of cited sources and the ratio of contrarian voices per total in each article.*

<b>Fox News</b>	<b>Ratio of contrarian sources out of the total</b>
<b>5/10.</b> Within the UN, the sources are varied and frequently cited.	<b>2/10,</b> both non-scientists. Nevertheless, Milloy is the only relevant contrarian directly cited by Catenacci, and the most frequently used source.
<b>NYP</b>	<b>Ratio of contrarian sources out of the total</b>
<b>1/3</b>	<b>0/3.</b> The voice of the authors, however, would fit in this category, and they have based half of the article on their opinions.

*Note.* Data extracted from Annex B and E.

Furthermore, both articles employed two of Public Citizen frequent fallacies on Fox News climate segments: the Slippery Slope and Cherry-Picking fallacies. The absence of clear Ad Hominem or Red Herring fallacies might be explained by the different medium that was analyzed by Public Citizen (2019): television. Red Herring fallacies in particular may be especially effective during debates where there is a topic to be avoided, which is less necessary on the written press. However, the use of constant interjections and links could be seen as a Red Herring, if the intention were to not concentrate too strongly on the articles. And although the authors did not directly attack a person, the UN or the IPCC panel in any clear sentence, there is a dismissive intent when linking climate activists and science 'believers' with terms such as: 'climate believers' and 'quasi religious fervor' of the 'greens',

using predicational and referential strategies. These concepts are repeated in both texts, further supporting the argument of green 'hysteria' and linking it to the presumable political adversary of the editorial and of the conservative audience.

Lastly, all three main messages dismissive of climate change, as identified by Public Citizen's analysis of Fox News climate segments, have appeared in the articles, as shown in table 6. The only exception was the emphasis on climate response “sending us to the Stone Age”, that only appeared on the NYP article in this case. However, the message that global warming is a vehicle for the Democrat's Radical Agenda and that it is liberal hysteria feature in both outlets.

**Table 5**

*Existence of Fox News main messages dismissive of climate change in the articles pertinent to this research.*

Fox News three main messages dismissive of climate change	Fox News	NYP
Global Warming Is a Vehicle for the Democrats’ Radical Big-Government Agenda.	Yes	Yes
Responding to the Climate Crisis would Kill Our Economy and Send Us Back to the Stone Age.	No	Yes
Concern About the Climate Crisis Is Liberal Hysteria.	Yes	Yes

Note. Messages adapted from Public Citizen (2019).

## 11. CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the role of media conglomerates in shaping public discourse on climate change by analyzing two opinion articles: one from the New York Post (NYP) and another from Fox News. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), the analysis revealed the use of specific strategies to construct narratives that downplay the scientific consensus on climate change, that aligned with previous studies, such as Public Citizen (2019). Moreover, the findings demonstrate how media outlets can leverage framing techniques to influence public perceptions (Van Dijk, 2011).

By examining the role of media conglomerates in shaping public discourse on climate change, it appears that “journalists’ individual attitudes towards climate change are reflected in their articles”, and one person in the right environment can do much harm (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). Additionally, the salience of certain contrarians on media coverage highlights the need for a better understanding of balanced and fair journalism. While it's essential for journalism to include diverse perspectives, it's equally important to ensure that these perspectives are based on credible evidence and scientific research.

The cases of this study, may indicate towards a trend where the devaluation of journalistic intermediation may undermine democratic debate, by presenting science as opinion and preventing the debate from moving towards climate action. Fox News, and the NYP informed of the Sixth assessment report may not pass Quail’s test on quality journalism (See Annex I). The research design acknowledges limitations to answer its two first research questions, and focuses on the specific framing techniques by Fox News and the NYP in these articles surrounding the IPCC report and discourse.

Upon careful examination, the opinion presented in the articles appears to lack a balanced perspective, especially in the NYP. This is supported by the analysis of false claims used (Annex G), how each article follows the five values of quality journalism and accountability by McQuail (Annex I), as well as the identification of outgroup-ingroup distinctions, and predicational treatment, employed by the NYP and Fox News (Annex H & J). Additionally, the brevity of the articles and the lack of sources cited in support of the arguments raise doubts about the overall credibility of the information presented. The terminology used and contrarian jargon should also not be underestimated, as coded messages exist in the choice of words (Adibe Nwafor & Chinasa Alegu, 2018). Nonetheless, Catenacci’s article uses Steve Milloy as an expert, when his ties with the energy industry are far from the scientific field. For this reason, annexes B and E have categorized the sources of authority mentioned in the Fox News and NYP articles, respectively. Whereas Annex C and F analyze the use of interjections during the article, giving importance to the political and economic context, as well as the medium in itself (Van Dijk, 2011; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Lastly, Van Dijk’s (n.d.) ideological (See Annex J) serves as a useful tool to separate in- and out-groups and observe

different framing and perspectivization strategies studied by Jahedi, Abdullah, and Mukunda, 2014.

Terminology such as “elitism”, “going back to the Dark Ages”, “Democratic hysteria”, “climate warriors” or “climate skeptic” to justify contrarian viewpoints underscores the importance of linguistic precision in scientific discussions, as well as the use of referential strategies to establish the out-groups and the contrarian discourse. As seen above, even Murdoch has called himself skeptic (Murdoch, 2015). A more useful term to define the stance of the individuals seen above, due to the constant undermining of climate science, may be: contrarian. Besides, the scientific nature of the IPCC should also be highlighted, rather than omitted, as treating scientific consensus as opinion carries many layers of risk. These actions can be a real slippery slope for public debate on all fronts, not just environmental issues (Dunlap & McCright, 2010).

Future research could be expanded by increasing the number of articles analyzed, examining a wider range of media and exploring a broader range of climate-related topics. This would provide a better understanding of the evolving media landscape and its influence on public perceptions of climate change. In addition, research on the geographic distribution of media coverage and its impact in areas with varying degrees of climate awareness might clarify discrepancies in climate communication and their consequences for public participation and policy formation.

To conclude, the reluctance to acknowledge the scientific consensus on climate change perpetuates a dangerous narrative that undermines effective action. “97% of climate scientists agreeing that human beings are causing global warming” (Public Citizen, 2019). Rather than acknowledging the established scientific consensus, the articles consistently propagated skepticism about both the science itself and the potential effectiveness of actions (Dembicki, 2021). There is a need for continued vigilance in ensuring that journalistic practices adhere to principles of accuracy, balance, and integrity to foster informed public debate. Approaching research with a skeptical eye plays an essential and healthy part of the scientific process (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). Ideologically driven attacks on mainstream climate science, however, are a dangerous perversion of the scientific process.



## 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adibe Nwafor, K., & Chinasa Alegu, J. (2018). Stuart Hall's Encoding-Decoding Model: A Critique. *World Applied Sciences Journal*, 36(9), 1019-1023. doi:10.5829/idosi.wasj.2018.1019.1023
- Barron, J., & Robertson, C. (2007, May 19). Page Six, Staple of Gossip, Reports on Its Own Tale. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 15, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/19/nyregion/19six.html>
- Bearak, M., & Popovich, N. (2022, November 8). The World Is Falling Short of Its Climate Goals. Four Big Emitters Show Why. *The New York Times*. Retrieved December 1, 2023, from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/climate/cop27-emissions-country-compare.html>
- Begley, S. (2007, August 13). The Truth About Denial. *Newsweek*, pp. 20-9. Retrieved January 2, 2024, from <https://climateshift.com/newsweek-hoax.pdf>
- Brokensha, S. (2011). NOTICING US AND THEM CONSTRUCTIONS: THE PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF REFERRING IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE. *Per Linguam*, 56-73. Retrieved April 20, 2024
- Brüggemann, M., & Engesser, S. (2017, January). Beyond false balance: How interpretive journalism shapes media coverage of. *Global Environmental Change*. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2016.11.004
- Bryson, B. (2003). *A short story of nearly everything*. Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited.
- Catenacci, T. (2023, March 26). UN climate report is latest in string of cataclysmic predictions stretching back decades. *Fox News*. Retrieved October 2, 2023, from <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/un-climate-report-latest-string-cataclysmic-predictions-stretching-back-decades>
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press. Retrieved January 11, 2024, from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/30522922\\_Discourse\\_in\\_Late\\_Modernity\\_Rethinking\\_Critical\\_Discourse\\_Analysis](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/30522922_Discourse_in_Late_Modernity_Rethinking_Critical_Discourse_Analysis)
- Chul-Han, B. (2014). *En el Enjambre*. Barcelona: Herder.
- Climate Nexus. (2016). *How The Wall Street Journal Opinion Section Presents Climate Change*. Climate Nexus. From [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/534ec657e4b03c887dde2641/t/575f6edd20c647ff95c170a0/1465872094069/FINAL\\_CN\\_WSJ\\_white\\_paper-0613.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/534ec657e4b03c887dde2641/t/575f6edd20c647ff95c170a0/1465872094069/FINAL_CN_WSJ_white_paper-0613.pdf)
- Comeforo, K. (2010). Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media. *Global Media and Communication*, 6(2), 18-230. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742766510373714>
- Dembicki, G. (2021, September 23). Rupert Murdoch Has Known We've Been in a Climate Emergency Since 2006, Documents Show. *VICE*. Retrieved from <https://www.vice.com/en/article/n7byqw/rupert-murdoch-climate-change-fox-news-news-corp>
- Dunlap, R. E., & McCright, A. M. (2010). Climate change denial: sources, actors and strategies. In *Routledge Handbook of Climate Change and Society* (pp. 240-259). Abingdon, UK: Routledge. Retrieved January 2, 2024, from <https://cssn.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/DunlapMcCrightRoutledgeHB2010.pdf>

- Earth.org. (2021, March 15). As Rupert Murdoch Prepares to Hand Over His Media Empire, A Look At His Legacy of Climate Change Denialism. Retrieved October 8, 2023, from <https://earth.org/rupert-murdoch-climate-change-denialism/>
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. Van Dijk, *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258-284). London: Sage. Retrieved January 12, 2024
- Fairclough, N., Wodak, R., & Mulderrig, J. (2011). "Critical Discourse Analysis," in T.A. van Dijk. Retrieved January 12, 2024, from [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ruth-Wodak/publication/238105100\\_DCA\\_-\\_Critical\\_Discourse\\_Analysis/links/0a85e535bc18f09787000000/DCA-Critical-Discourse-Analysis.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ruth-Wodak/publication/238105100_DCA_-_Critical_Discourse_Analysis/links/0a85e535bc18f09787000000/DCA-Critical-Discourse-Analysis.pdf)
- Fox News. (2024, March 11). *Thomas Catenacci*. Retrieved March 11, 2024, from Fox News.com: <https://www.foxnews.com/person/c/thomas-catenacci>
- Goldenberg, S. (2010, December 15). Fox News chief enforced climate change scepticism – leaked email. *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 3, 2023, from <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/dec/15/fox-news-climate-change-email>
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1995). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1st ed.). New York: Vintage.
- Huertas, A., & Adler, D. (2012). *Is News Corp. Failing Science?: Representations of Climate Science on Fox News Channel and in the Wall Street Journal Opinion Pages*. Union of Concerned Scientists. Retrieved October 15, 2023, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep00040>.
- Imundo, M. N., & Rapp, D. N. (2022). When fairness is flawed: Effects of false balance reporting and weight-of-evidence statements on beliefs and perceptions of climate change. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 11(2), 258–271. Retrieved October 8, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2021.10.002>
- IPCC. (2023). *Climate Change 2023: Synthesis Report Contribution of Working Groups I, II and III to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [Core Writing Team, H. Lee and J. Romero (eds.)]*. Geneva, Switzerland: IPCC. doi:10.59327/IPCC/AR6-9789291691647
- Jahedi, M., Abdullah, F. S., & Mukundan, J. (2014, October 30). An Overview of Focal Approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 2 (4), 28-35. doi:10.7575/aiac.ijels.v.2n.4p.28
- Kasprak, A. (2019, September 20). Did UN Official Say Nations Would Vanish If Global Warming Not Reversed by 2000? *Snopes*. Retrieved February 26, 2024, from <https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/nations-vanish-global-warming/>
- Klaehn, J. (2009). The Propaganda Model: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 6(2), 43-58.
- Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2014). *The elements of journalism: What journalists should know and the public should expect*. Three Rivers Press.
- Lacy, S., & Rosenstiel, T. (2015). *Defining and Measuring Quality Journalism*. Rutgers. Retrieved October 22, 2023, from <https://www.issuelab.org/resources/31212/31212.pdf>
- McCright, A. M. (2009). Dealing with climate change contrarians. In S. Moser, & L. Dilling, *Creating a Climate for Change: Communicating Climate Change and Facilitating Social Change* (pp. 200-212). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press. doi:0.1017/CBO9780511535871.015

- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (6th ed.). London: SAGE Publications. Retrieved January 8, 2024
- Meredith, S. (2023, March 23). World's top climate scientists issue 'survival guide for humanity,' call for major course correction. *CNBC*.
- Mildenberger, M., Marlon, J., Howe, P., & Leiserowitz, A. (2020, July 1). *Democratic and Republican Views of Climate Change*. Retrieved from Yale Program on Climate Change Communication: <https://climatecommunication.yale.edu/visualizations-data/partisan-maps-2018/>
- Murdoch, R. (2015, August 27). Retrieved from Twitter: [https://twitter.com/ruPERTmurdoch/status/636740873401700352?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E636740873401700352%7Ctwgr%5E58900fcd524aac291b41d46f3f1535ff6fa95da%7Ctwcon%5Es1\\_c10&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.theguardian.com%2Fmedia%2F2019](https://twitter.com/ruPERTmurdoch/status/636740873401700352?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E636740873401700352%7Ctwgr%5E58900fcd524aac291b41d46f3f1535ff6fa95da%7Ctwcon%5Es1_c10&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.theguardian.com%2Fmedia%2F2019)
- Niiler, E. (2023, March 20). Time Is Running Out to Curb Climate Change, IPCC Report Says. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved October 2, 2023, from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/time-is-running-out-to-curb-global-warming-u-n-panel-report-says-83205040>
- Painter, J. (2013). *Climate Change in the Media Reporting: Risk and Uncertainty*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Perga, M.-m., Sarrasin, O., Steinberger, J., Lane, S. N., & Butera, F. (2023). The climate change research that makes the front page: Is it fit to engage societal action. *Elsevier*, 1-9. Retrieved January 8, 2024 from <https://pdf.sciencedirectassets.com/271866/1-s2.0-S0959378023X0003X/1-s2.0-S0959378023000419/main.pdf?X-Amz-Security-Token=IQoJb3JpZ2luX2VjEFUaCXVzLWVhc3QtMSJIMEYCIQDP1uelfehKT3npCy7A1jrMnaZVjz3cAQF%2B25GVqqWduwIhAKiEbEsYhpxoEy9MEfIH4v8DoFI4qal8q9k%2FZOm>
- Piccioletto, R. (2023, September 18). California suit against Chevron, Exxon, Shell, others, alleges public deception on climate change. Retrieved October 8, 2023, from <https://www.cnn.com/2023/09/18/california-sues-chevron-exxon-oil-giants-on-climate-change-deception.html>
- Post Editorial Board. (2023, March 20). UN climate study proves the fight to lower global temps won't work. *New York Post*. Retrieved October 8, 2023, from <https://nypost.com/2023/03/20/un-climate-study-proves-the-fight-to-lower-global-temps-wont-work/>
- Public Citizen. (2019, August 13). *Foxic: Fox News Network's Dangerous Climate Denial 2019*. Washington, DC: Public Citizen. Retrieved October 8, 2023
- Readfearn, G., & Morton, A. (2023, September 23). 'Climate villain': scientists say Rupert Murdoch wielded his media empire to sow confusion and doubt. *The Guardian*. Retrieved November 15, 2023, from <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2023/sep/23/ruPERT-murdoch-climate-change-denial>
- RealClimate. (2010, February 15). IPCC errors: facts and spin. *The Guardian*. Retrieved Marzo 11, 2024, from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/feb/15/ipcc-errors-facts-spin>
- Sabbagh, D. (2023, September 21). Power and scandal: how Murdoch drove the UK, US and Australia to the right. *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 2, 2023, from <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2023/sep/21/power-and-scandal-how-murdoch-drove-the-uk-us-and-australia-to-the-right>

- Singer, S., & Idso, C. (2009). *Climate Change Reconsidered: The 2009 Report of the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change (NIPCC)*. Chicago, IL, United States of America: The Heartland Institute. Retrieved December 22, 2023, from [https://petaluma.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?meta\\_id=205363&view=&showpdf=1](https://petaluma.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?meta_id=205363&view=&showpdf=1)
- Taleb, N. N. (2008). *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable*. New York: Penguin.
- Thussu, D. K. (2006). "Murdochisation" of the Media: An Asian Perspective. *Revista da Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação*.
- Tucker, W. C. (2012). Deceitful Tongues: Is Climate Change Denial a Crime? *Ecology Law Quarterly*, 39(3), 831-894. Retrieved January 8, 2024, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24113621>
- Tyson, A., Funk, C., & Kennedy, B. (2023, August 9). *What the data says about Americans' views of climate change*. Retrieved September 28, 2023, from Pew Research Center: <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/08/09/what-the-data-says-about-americans-views-of-climate-change/>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse*. Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Retrieved January 12, 2024, from <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1988-News-As-Discourse.pdf>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London, England: Sage Publications. Retrieved January 12, 2024, from <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1998-Ideology.-A-Multidisciplinary-Approach.pdf>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2011). Discourse and Ideology. Retrieved January 12, 2024, from <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2011-Discourse-and-Ideology.pdf>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (n.d.). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 352-371. Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2001-Critical-discourse-analysis.pdf>
- Young, R., & McMahon, S. (2021, November 9). 'Climate denial' to 'climate delay': Rupert Murdoch's News Corp pivots media narrative in Australia. *wbur*. Retrieved November 15, 2023, from <https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2021/11/09/climate-change-tabloids-murdoch>
- Zarefsky, D. (1994). "Public Sentiment Is Everything": Lincoln's View of Political Persuasion. *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, 15, 23-40. Retrieved January 5, 2024 from Michigan University: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jala/2629860.0015.204?view=text;rgn=main>

## 10. ANNEX

### A. Fox News article

Article analysed using the color categories from Table 3:

TITLE: UNITED NATIONS UN climate report is latest in string of **cataclysmic predictions stretching back decades.**

SUBTITLE: 'They really are running out of extreme rhetoric,' energy expert tells Fox News Digital

AUTHOR: By Thomas Catenacci ·

OTHER: Fox News Published March 26, 2023 8:55am EDT

(Climate rhetoric is always a 'rules for thee, but not for me' situation: (...) **Legal philosopher Eva Vlaardingerbroek** calls out **extreme climate change rhetoric** on Tucker Carlson Tonight.)

1. *The United Nations (U.N.)* issued its **latest climate change report** which warned the "climate time bomb is ticking," **sparking renewed calls for nations including the U.S. to take more aggressive actions to curb carbon emissions.**
2. The report, published Monday by the U.N.'s *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)*, concluded that sustained **global fossil fuel usage** has caused the world to warm 1.1 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, close to the 1.5-degree emergency threshold, and has pushed the world closer to a point of no return. U.N. *Secretary-General Antonio Guterres* said the report represented the most stark warning for humanity yet.
3. "The climate time bomb is ticking. But today's IPCC report is a how-to guide to defuse the climate time bomb. It is a survival guide for humanity," he said. "As it shows, the 1.5-degree limit is achievable. But it will take a quantum leap in climate action." Following the report, news outlets highlighted the findings and included comments from additional climate experts and environmentalists who said the report should be a final warning and that "there is no more room for compromises."

And White House press secretary *Karine Jean-Pierre* on Tuesday called the report a "sobering report on the state of our climate."

(**DEMOCRATS BLAMING CLIMATE CHANGE FOR HURRICANE IAN AT ODDS WITH SCIENCE, EXPERTS SAY**)

*(United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres speaks during an interview in New York City. (AP/Robert Bumsted))*

4. However, the IPCC's report is just the most recent in a **long string of cataclysmic climate change warnings** and calls to action from the U.N. dating back decades. The international body first called attention to emissions-caused climate change during its 1972 First Earth Summit in Sweden and zeroed in on the issue in the late 1980s when it began issuing its first major warnings about global warming.
5. "The **ticking time bomb** stuff — I mean, they really are running out of **extreme rhetoric**," *Steve Milloy*, a senior legal fellow at the Energy & Environment Legal Institute, told Fox News Digital in an interview. "What's the rhetoric going to be like next time or is it just going to be the same? I guess it could just be the same. We could have another **stark, stark warning**."
6. "Since **they never report that they've been wrong before**, it doesn't really matter. They just go on to the next one," he continued. "This is an **elitist driven scare**. It's very important to the **green energy industry**, to the **greens and to Democrats**, but it's not really important to anybody else. I think **people are kind of getting bored** with it."

(BIDEN CONSIDERING TEARING DOWN KEY GREEN ENERGY SOURCE OVER ECO CONCERNS)

7. **In 1989, Noel Brown, the former director of the U.N. Environment Program, told The Associated Press that entire nations would be wiped off the face of the Earth by 2000 if warming trends aren't reversed.** He added that if warming wasn't reduced, humanity could expect "more ferocious storms, hurricanes, wind shear, dust erosion."

*(A paper carton mill is pictured in Canton, North Carolina, in 2014. (Asheville Citizen-Times))*

8. One year later, the *IPCC published its First Assessment Report* which stated with certainty that human activity, namely the **burning of fossil fuels for energy**, "will enhance the greenhouse effect, resulting on average in an additional warming of the Earth's surface." The report also predicted that increases in emissions could cause "irreversible change in the climate which could be detectable" by 2000.
9. **The IPCC continued publishing reports with stark warnings and bold predictions throughout the 1990s and 2000s.**
10. "Emissions of greenhouse gases and aerosols due to human activities continue to alter the atmosphere in ways that are expected to affect the climate," the agency's *Third Assessment Report* published in 2001 stated. "There is new and **stronger evidence** that most of the warming observed over the last 50 years is attributable to **human activities**."

(REPUBLICANS DEMAND **BIDEN'S ENERGY SECRETARY RETRACT 'UNSERIOUS'** COMMENTS PRAISING CHINA)

11. In 2007, the IPCC released its *Fourth Assessment Report* which **gave the world eight more years to reverse warming and emissions trends** to avoid the worst effects of climate change.
12. Seven years later, the *Fifth Assessment Report* stated the increased emissions were "increasing the likelihood of severe, pervasive and irreversible impacts for people and ecosystems."

(The United Nations headquarters is seen in New York City. (AP Photo/Osamu Honda))

13. "Time is running out. The more we delay, the more we will pay. Climate change is accelerating, and human activities are the principal cause, as documented in a series of authoritative scientific reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change," former *U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon* wrote at the time.
14. "Climate change poses sweeping risks for economic stability and the security of nations."

(CLICK HERE TO GET THE FOX NEWS APP)

15. Then, in 2019, *U.N. General Assembly President Maria Fernanda Espinosa Garcia* said "11 years are all that remain to avert catastrophe," giving the Earth until 2030. During the same event, *Guterres* said, "we have no excuse not to act."
16. And last year, the U.N. warned in a sustainable development report that, to avoid irreversible damage, peak before 2025, [global greenhouse gas emissions](#) need to decline 43% by 2030 and reach net-zero by 2050.
17. **Despite the years of warnings, though, the world has continued to see increased carbon emissions and fossil fuel production.** In 2022, energy related carbon emissions reached an all-time high and global oil consumption is projected to reach an all-time high of 101.7 million barrels per day in 2023, according to the *International Energy Agency*.



**B. Table of cited sources in the Fox News opinion article**

Nº	Name	Professional activity	Message as described and-or quoted by Catenacci
1	Eva Vlaardingerbroek	Legal philosopher: non-scientist	Climate rhetoric is always a 'rules for thee, but not for me' situation. Calls out extreme climate change rhetoric.
2	The United Nations		Issued its latest climate change report which warned the "climate time bomb is ticking," sparking renewed calls for nations including the U.S. to take more aggressive actions to curb carbon emissions.
3	IPCC	The only climate scientists cited on the article.	Repeated quotes and reviews of their First, Third, Fourth and Fifth Assessment Reports.
4	Antonio Guterres	UN Secretary-General	Said the report represented the most stark warning for humanity yet.
5	Steve Milloy	A senior legal fellow at the Energy & Environment Legal Institute: non-scientist	-"The ticking time bomb stuff — I mean, they really are running out of extreme rhetoric," "What's the rhetoric going to be like next time or is it just going to be the same? I guess it could just be the same. We could have another stark, stark warning." "Since they never report that they've been wrong before, it doesn't really matter. They just go on to the next one," and more.
6	Karine Jean-Pierre	White House press secretary	Called the report a "sobering report on the state of our climate."
7	Noel Brown	Former director of the U.N. Environment Program	In 1989, he told The Associated Press <b>that entire nations would be wiped off the face of the Earth by 2000 if warming trends aren't reversed.</b> He added that if warming wasn't reduced, humanity could expect "more ferocious storms, hurricanes, wind shear, dust erosion."
8	Ban Ki-moon	Former U.N.	"Time is running out. The more we delay, the

Nº	Name	Professional activity	Message as described and-or quoted by Catenacci
		Secretary-General ()	more we will pay. Climate change is accelerating, and human activities are the principal cause, as documented in a series of authoritative scientific reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change,"
9	Maria Fernanda Espinosa Garcia	UNGA U.N. General Assembly President	In 2019: "11 years are all that remain to avert catastrophe," giving the Earth until 2030. During the same event, Guterres said, "we have no excuse not to act."
10	International Energy Agency		In 2022, energy related carbon emissions reached an all-time high and global oil consumption is projected to reach an all-time high of 101.7 million barrels per day in 2023
<b>Ratio of UN-related bodies and personnel per total</b>		<b>Ratio of contrarians per total</b>	
5/10. Within the UN, the sources are varied and frequently cited.		2/10, both non-scientists. Nevertheless, Milloy is the only relevant contrarian directly cited by Catenacci, and the most frequently used source.	

**C. Table with the links in the Fox News opinion article**

<b>Words</b>	<b>Embedded link</b>	<b>Author</b>
“latest climate change report”	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/politics/un-calls-mass-fossil-fuel-shutdowns-prevent-climate-time-bomb">https://www.foxnews.com/politics/un-calls-mass-fossil-fuel-shutdowns-prevent-climate-time-bomb</a>	Catenacci (1/1 links)
“global fossil fuel usage”	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/politics/fossil-fuel-profits-vital-green-energy-projects-dems-routinely-tout">https://www.foxnews.com/politics/fossil-fuel-profits-vital-green-energy-projects-dems-routinely-tout</a>	Catenacci (2/2)
“Karine Jean-Pierre”	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/media/karine-jean-pierre-warns-house-republicans-want-raise-gas-prices-say">https://www.foxnews.com/media/karine-jean-pierre-warns-house-republicans-want-raise-gas-prices-say</a>	Lindsay Kornick
“cataclysmic climate change warnings”	<a href="#">Climate Change   Fox News</a>	Fox News Climate Change filter
“BIDEN CONSIDERING TEARING DOWN KEY GREEN ENERGY SOURCE OVER ECO CONCERNS”	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/politics/biden-considering-tearing-down-key-green-energy-source-eco-concerns">https://www.foxnews.com/politics/biden-considering-tearing-down-key-green-energy-source-eco-concerns</a>	Catenacci (3/5)
“REPUBLICANS DEMAND BIDEN'S ENERGY SECRETARY RETRACT 'UNSERIOUS' COMMENTS PRAISING CHINA”	<a href="#">Republicans demand Biden's energy secretary retract 'unserious' comments praising China   Fox News</a>	Catenacci (4/6)
“REPUBLICANS DEMAND BIDEN'S ENERGY SECRETARY RETRACT 'UNSERIOUS' COMMENTS PRAISING CHINA”	<a href="#">Republicans demand Biden's energy secretary retract 'unserious' comments praising China   Fox News</a>	Catenacci (5/7)
“click here to get fox news app”		No author - Not an article
“global greenhouse gas emissions”	<a href="#">China unleashes massive coal power expansion despite John Kerry's climate pleas   Fox News</a>	Catenacci (6/9)
<b>Linked articles from Catenacci</b>	<b>Other links</b>	<b>Ratio of articles from Catenacci linked to his article</b>
6	3	6/9

## D. Annex: NYP article

UN climate study proves the fight to lower global temps won't work

By Post Editorial Board

Published March 20, 2023

Updated March 20, 2023, 6:57 p.m. ET

(The latest [UN climate change report](#) found global temperatures "could exceed 1.5°C relative to 1850-1900 with a probability between 40% and 60%" by 2030. AP Photo/Martin Meissner, File)

(MORE FROM: POST EDITORIAL BOARD ...)

1. **Here we go again — another climate-change doomsday warning** about the world's **failure** to cut greenhouse-gas emissions. In reality, though, Monday's report from the UN's International Panel on Climate Change just highlights the **absurdity** of the climate war.
2. "By 2030," it asserts (with just "medium confidence"), global temps "could exceed 1.5°C relative to 1850-1900 with a probability between 40% and 60%."
3. And?
4. Well, limiting warming to 1.5°C (2.7°F) is a key goal of climate warriors, though it's a **fundamentally arbitrary figure** and past plans to achieve it were **always a joke**.
5. Naturally, the *New York Times* headline left no doubt: "Earth to Hit Critical Warming Threshold by Early 2030s, Climate Panel Says" — though the story did concede that a 1.5°C rise hardly spells Armageddon.
6. The UN **folks** say the world (er, **wealthier nations**) need to shell out three to six times as much as they are now on "climate action" to keep **global warming** between 1.5°C and 2°C.
7. Yet **it's only the West that's chasing this goal**. **China**, for one, last year issued 168 permits for coal fueled power plants with a capacity equivalent to two large facilities

a week, per the *Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air*. New construction on such plants soared 50% from the year before.

8. Beijing is **adding new emissions faster than Western nations can reduce their own, at great cost** to their economies.
9. **India**, too, has continued spewing emissions apace.
10. Temps are already up by 1.1°C compared to the late 19th century, the *UN report* notes. And for all the progress reducing CO2 output, “the challenge has become even greater” than flagged in the last report in 2018.
11. **Anyone want to bet the IPCC’s next “assessment” likewise sees the “challenge” greater still?**

(SEE ALSO My ‘low confidence’ in media’s climate change **propagandists** 2/7 )

12. Truth is, when push comes to shove, **the costs of global warming don’t come anywhere close to the mind-numbing price of trying to halt it** (if that’s even possible).
13. **Climate warriors want to upend the entire global economy**, reduce living standards in the developed world (though they pretend the “transition” will be a winner) and stop the developing world from developing.
14. China and India refuse to go along except in lip service; Western elites caught in a quasi-religious fervor are simply refusing to face facts, at huge cost to the non-elite majority. **Yet if the world does nothing, climate change will slow economic growth only slightly.**
15. That doesn’t mean we should ignore climate change, but **the answer is in encouraging innovation**, not sending **us back to the Dark Ages**. All the screaming is as useless as any other fit of hysteria.

**E. Table of the cited sources in the NYP opinion article**

<b>Nº</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Message as described and-or quoted by Catenacci</b>
1	IPCC	<p>Just highlights the absurdity of the climate war.            “By 2030,” it asserts (with just “medium confidence”), global temps “could exceed 1.5°C relative to 1850-1900 with a probability between 40% and 60%.”            And for all the progress reducing CO2 output, “the challenge has become even greater” than flagged in the last report in 2018. (..)</p>
2	New York Times	<p>“Earth to Hit Critical Warming Threshold by Early 2030s, Climate Panel Says” — though the story did concede that a 1.5°C rise hardly spells Armageddon.</p>
3	Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air	<p>China, for one, last year issued 168 permits for coal fueled power plants with a capacity equivalent to two large facilities a week.            New construction on such plants soared 50% from the year before.</p>
<b>UN to other sources ratio</b>		<b>Ratio of contrarian sources out of the total</b>
<b>1/3</b>		<b>0/3.</b> The voice of the authors, however, would fit in this category, and they have based half of the article on their opinions.

**F. Table of links in the NYP opinion article**

<b>Words</b>	<b>Embedded link</b>	<b>Author</b>
“with just 'medium confidence'”	<a href="https://www.nypost.com/2019/05/22/my-low-confidence-in-media-s-climate-change-propagandists/">My 'low confidence' in media's climate change propagandists (nypost.com)</a>	Steven F. Hayward
“New York Times headline left”	<a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/22/climate/global-warming-threshold-2030s.html">Earth to Hit Critical Global Warming Threshold by Early 2030s - The New York Times (nytimes.com)</a>	Brad Plumer
“climate change will slow economic growth only slightly”	<a href="https://www.nypost.com/2019/05/22/there-s-plenty-of-good-news-about-the-environment/">There's plenty of good news about the environment (nypost.com)</a>	Bjorn Lomborg
<b>Linked articles from NYP</b>	<b>Other articles</b>	<b>Ratio of articles from NYP linked to his article</b>
2	1	2/3

**G. Table of false claims and fact check on the NYP and Fox News articles**

Outlet	Claims	Fact Check
Fox News	They never report they have been wrong before (Annex 11.1, para.6)	<b>False:</b> not only the IPCC has a transparent error protocol, but also because there has been very high-profile instances when the IPCC has made a correction. The AR4, for instance, had several examples (The Guardian, 2010).
Fox News	In 1989, Noel Brown, the former director of the U.N. Environment Program, told The Associated Press that entire nations would be wiped off the face of the Earth by 2000 if warming trends aren't reversed. (Annex A, para.7)	<b>Inaccurate:</b> the original sentence warned that entire nations would be wiped off the face of the Earth, if warming trends were not reversed by 2000 (Kasprak, 2019).
NYP	(Green hysteria) "Sending us back to the Dark Ages" (Annex D, para.15)	<b>False:</b> this is only a hyperbole, with no basis other than the assumption that regulating fossil fuels will hurt the economy. It is a Slippery Slope fallacy.
NYP	Yet if the world does nothing, climate change will slow economic growth only slightly (Annex D, para.14).	<b>False:</b> "the anticipated annual cost of damage caused by climate change by 2050 will range between \$1.7 trillion to \$3.1 trillion worldwide" (Bennett, 2023).
NYP	Truth is, when push comes to shove, the costs of global warming don't come anywhere close to the mind-numbing price of trying to halt it (Annex D, para.12).	<b>Inaccurate:</b> "for the 48 developing economies included in the calculations, the annual cost to fight climate change, protect biodiversity and cut pollution is projected to cost nearly \$5.5 trillion annually from 2023 to 2030" (UNCTAD (2024). This can be compared with the costs of global warming states by Bennett (2023) above.



**H. Table: contrarian referential strategies from the Fox News and NYP articles**

Fox News terms	NYP terms	Other options
	Climate war	Climate movement
Cataclysmic warning	Doomsday warning	Warning
The greens	Climate warriors	Climate activists
Climate change	Climate change	Global warming
	Absurdity (of the warnings)	
“Elitist driven scare”	Western elites in quasi-religious fervor	
	Hysteria	
	Back to the Dark Ages	
	The world, wealthier nations	The international community, the UN nations
	media’s climate change propagandists	
	The UN folks	The UN-related bodies and personnel

I. Table: five values of quality journalism by McQuail in the two articles

Five values	Fox News article	NYP article
<b>Freedom:</b> expressed through critical editorial policy, refers to not necessarily conforming to norms in the system.	Yes	Yes
<b>Media equality:</b> open and equal access, avoiding exclusivity for wealthy social groups.	Yes	Yes
<b>Diversity:</b> Involves genre, style, subject, and certain proportionality to reflect various social realities, minorities, and communities, offering relevant choices for their audiences.	Disputable: not proportional	Disputable: not proportional
<b>Objectivity:</b> divided into factuality and impartiality, presenting facts in a balanced, neutral, informative, relevant, and truthful manner.	No	No
<b>Social order and solidarity:</b> the media has the responsibility to promote harmony and integration without assuming conformity or strict order.	Yes	Disputable

See Fair Journalism in the Theoretical Framework: 7.1.

**J. Table: Van Dijk's Ideological square.**

<b>Ideological square</b>	<b>Out-group:</b> the climate action movement or 'the green-elitist-hysteria'.	<b>In-group:</b> the contrarians and 'the non-elitist American majority'
<b>Emphasized topics</b>	Any mistakes, and the costs of climate action	-
<b>De-emphasized topics</b>	High-confidence scientific claims, and progress on climate action.	Past mistakes, bias, and interests.

### K. Referential, predicational, and perspectivization strategies of CDA

	Outlet	Strategy	Subject
1	Fox News	Referential	The greens
2	Fox News	Predicational	Dishonest, elitist (greens)
3	Fox News	Referential	The Democrats
4	Fox News	Predicational	“Aggressive”, “authoritative”, “cataclysmic”, and “boring (UN warnings)
5	Fox News	Referential	UN (instead of IPCC)
6	Fox News	Perspectivation, and framing strategies	An energy expert’s perspective (Milloy)
7	NYP	Predicational	Constant and cataclysmic (warnings)
8	NYP	Predicational	Absurdity (of climate war)
9	NYP	Predicational	Arbitrary and a joke (1.5°C goal)
10	NYP	Referential	Climate warriors (and climate war)
11	NYP	Predicational	Politicized (climate science, IPCC)