

Canadian Media Portrayal of Climate Change

An Investigation of Major Canadian Newspaper Outlets' Coverage of Federal Climate Change Action

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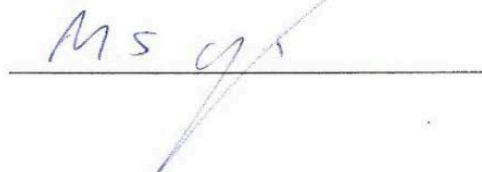
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Abstract

This paper examines how four major Canadian newspaper outlets reported on climate change decisions by the federal government from 2007-2014. The paper analyzes 86 articles using criteria related to slant: language, tone and authorities; and depth of coverage by length of article. The analysis results organize the articles and then the outlets, on a scale from supportive to critical of action taken or not taken on climate change by the federal government. This scale was then juxtaposed with Canadian newspaper readership data to determine what type of coverage most Canadians are reading.

It was found that in most major Canadian cities the majority of citizens read Postmedia News, which generated very polar results in terms of this study. Upon further examination of journalists employed it was determined Postmedia is a more supportive outlet on federal climate change action. This may help explain the current public complacency on climate action in Canada.

Foreword

At York University I wanted to continue with the marriage of Environmental and Communications studies I began during my undergraduate degree by paying particular attention to how the media reports on climate change through my Major Research Paper. I was struck by the seeming lack of public concern with respect to our nation's legacy of weak climate change policies. In my courses I studied environmental policy extensively, learning how to implement and evaluate plans and Acts at various jurisdictional levels in Canada, always paying attention to climate change policy. I also took advantage of internships with organizations like Greenpeace, where I focused on the relationship between government and the oil and gas industry, as well as at the Office of the Auditor General of Canada, where I gained experience in environmental performance auditing.

My Plan of Study is largely concerned with Canada's absent climate change policy. My early objectives focused on our nation's chosen dependence on the fossil fuel industry and the growing number of pipeline projects in recent years, while failing to enact a strong, binding policy to ensure these developments are sustainable. In learning about this I geared my courses, as well as internships, towards gaining a better understanding of our nation's relationship with the industry. I also focused on what types of climate change strategies are utilized effectively. These are mostly at the provincial and municipal levels, and I oriented my course work towards these levels. My final objective in completing my MES at York University was to examine in depth the power dynamic between mass media and the current federal government and how this affects information the public receives relating to climate change. I accomplished this objective through this Major Research

Paper, undertaking a comprehensive and critical study of 86 newspaper articles relating to climate change decisions at the federal level in Canada over the course of seven years.

This paper was designed to explore a burning question on my mind: why is the Canadian public not more aware of, and therefore more demanding of, greater action on climate change at the federal level? I understand this question could, and should, be explored from a variety of different angles. I chose newspapers, as it is a common way for Canadians to “accept” the news and become educated about current events.

My evaluation explores the extent to which the top four newspaper outlets are supportive or critical of the government’s actions to address climate change from 2007-2014, focusing on 10 instances when either action was taken, or should have been. This involved designing criteria to analyze the articles qualitatively, while remaining as objective as possible, focusing on slant and depth of coverage. The four Canadian media outlets that were examined were: The Globe and Mail; Torstar Corporation; Postmedia News; and Sun Media. The results of my evaluation were then compared to readership data across the country to determine from which newspapers Canadians gain most of their news, those that are more supportive of the government or more critical?

Policy change begins with increased public knowledge. This is particularly important as nations enter into the 21st Conference of Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Paris in December 2015. The goal of this paper is to provide a better grasp of how the Canadian public perceives climate change through newspaper coverage.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

CAPP	Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers
CAN	Canadian Newspaper Association
CCNA	Canadian Community Newspapers Association
COP	Conference of the Parties
EC	Environment Canada
EU	European Union
GHG	Green House Gases
IPCC	International Panel of Climate Change
NADbank	Newspaper Audience Databank
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PMB	Print Measurement Bureau
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

1. INTRODUCTION

The Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change (IPCC) released a report in September 2013 that used the strongest language to date stating climate change is “extremely likely” to be the result of human activity. This indicates that the time for skepticism and the denial of climate change has long passed. Prior to this, in 2007 Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated climate change is “perhaps the biggest threat to confront the future of humanity today.” However, eight years later, Harper’s Conservative government faces global criticism for major failures in climate change policy including muzzling federal scientists,ⁱ enacting the 2012 Budget Implementation Bill (Bill C-38) weakening requirements of environmental assessments,ⁱⁱ and fully supporting the Keystone XL pipeline as well as the expansion of the Alberta tar sands.ⁱⁱⁱ

This study investigates the coverage of the federal government’s actions on the issue of climate change by four key Canadian newspaper outlets. The mass media exercises a strong influence over the public, which makes it essential to study the framing of the messages the public receives. It is important today to carefully analyze the choice of frameworks by media outlets to determine whether they confront or serve existing political and economic actors. This study proposes to provide a glimpse of Canadian newspapers’ stances on federal government action on climate change.

1.1 Federal Government Action on Climate Change

Prior to winning the 2006 election, Conservative leader, Stephen Harper said, “Poor air quality isn’t just a minor irritant to be endured. It is a serious problem that poses an increasing risk to the health and well-being of Canadians.”^{iv} The Conservative Party’s single

environmental commitment in their election platform was to enact a Clean Air Act to impose strict regulations on polluting industries. However, as David Boyd points out, there have been no new air quality regulations to date. In 2007 Harper agreed that climate change was one of the greatest threats to humanity, yet the Conservative government withdrew from the Kyoto accord and continues to weaken environmental policies while allowing the fossil fuel industry to grow and emit increasing amounts of greenhouse gases (GHG).^v

This study investigates 10 key moments between 2007 and 2014 when the federal government made either a decision or non-decision relating to climate change. These events involve federal climate plans, regulation of the transportation sector, international climate summits, and Harper openly stating that regulation of the oil and gas sector, the fastest growing GHG emitting sector in Canada, would be a “crazy” policy.

Yet, juxtaposed against this lack of action are the results of a poll by Ipsos Reid for Globe News that indicate the number of Canadians who believe the federal government is doing a good job protecting the environment is increasing. The poll, conducted in December 2014, found that 41 per cent of those surveyed agree either strongly or somewhat that the government is doing a good job protecting the environment. This was an increase of four percentage points from the same poll conducted a year prior. Although this is still a minority of people who believe the action seen thus far is satisfactory, the gap between approval and disapproval is shrinking.^{vi} Consider this perplexing information next to the release of Environment Canada’s annual emissions trends report, also released in December of 2014. It makes clear that Canada was not on track to meet its GHG emission

reduction targets of 17 per cent from 2005 levels by 2020. The report predicted Canada will fall short by half and that emissions are actually on pace to grow, not decline.^{vii}

In a time when the United Nations (UN) is encouraging countries to set ambitious emissions reductions targets, Canada is falling short of its own weak targets. Yet, a large portion of the public is satisfied by action taken so far. This begs the question: where is the public getting its information?

1.2 Relevance of Mass Media

Liisa Antilla's research demonstrates that when there is a large amount of new media coverage of an issue the topic will increase in the public's priority.^{viii} Mark Winfield similarly correlated levels of public concern for the environment inversely with perceptions of economic security in Ontario. There have been three modern peaks of concern that have each ended with an economic downturn: oil shocks in the mid-1970s, recession in the 1990s, and the global financial crisis of 2008. These three waves are separated by relatively low periods of concern. The spikes offer governments the possibility of a re-election if they choose to act, or a risk of electoral blame for inaction. Therefore, public salience can be an important factor in prompting government action. Winfield links this to the media by stating: "Levels of media attention given to an issue also generally rise with its public profile and decline with its fall, producing self-reinforcing effects in both directions."^{ix} Similarly, McComas and Shanahan contended that "it is not only the frequency of coverage, but also the character and form of that coverage that help to draw public attention."^x Further, the establishment of clear connections between science, policy, and the broader public interest improve public understanding.^{xi}

All of this is to say that mass media is a crucial actor to study when investigating policy decisions because of its direct influence on the public. If the public reads that the federal government is not doing a satisfactory job in terms of climate change this could impact voting decisions in the next election. The news is the top reason for Canadians to read a daily newspaper, according to NADbank's 2013 annual report.^{xii} Although readership numbers have been declining slightly over the past few years, nearly three in four Canadians read a newspaper each week. Maxwell Boykoff states: "People throughout civil society rely upon media representations to help interpret and make sense of the many complexities relating to climate science and governance."^{xiii} If the public were reading news of the government's inaction on climate change the increased salience of the issue could help to influence future change. It is therefore vital to explore how media symbols and references are currently being produced to determine what news the Canadian public is reading in regard to climate change.

Lawrence Bennett states that few things are more engrained into our daily lives than the news, as it measures the "pace, progress, problems and hopes of society."^{xiv} Although coverage of climate change does not automatically determine engagement, it provides an increased opportunity for it.^{xv} Yet, the influence media holds over the public may not encourage engagement. Alison Anderson states, "The media play a crucial role in framing the scientific, economic, social and political dimensions through giving voice to some viewpoints while suppressing others." An outlet supporting government inaction could reinforce the notion that no added pressure on the government is needed to address climate change.

This study analyzes 86 individual articles produced from four major Canadian newspaper outlets. The analysis assesses each article on a scale from critical to supportive of the government action. This provides an indication of the outlet's overall orientation towards government climate change action. If the public is reading articles that are critical of the government then investigation of other actors is necessary to understanding why 41 per cent of the public feels the government is doing a satisfactory job protecting the environment. However, if the public has access to articles that are supportive of government action, this could be a large contributor to the public's approval, although further investigation of other actors would still be recommended.

Media concentration is also an important factor in this study, as is highlighted by the recent sale of Quebecor's 175 newspapers in a \$316-million deal to Postmedia Network in October 2014. The sale was approved by The Competition Bureau, allowing Postmedia to own roughly 30 per cent of Canada's newspaper market.^{xvi} Hessing, Howlett, and Summerville state: "The high concentration of media ownership in Canada, and the connections between economic elites, do not produce a conducive climate for impartial coverage or the promotion of non-status quo policy alternatives in the media."^{xvii} The concentration of media can be even more concerning when it is recognized that the public primarily reads newspapers that do not provide a neutral stance, but instead promote only one viewpoint. This study attempts to reveal not only the alignment of newspapers in Canada, but to contextualize that alignment with the newspapers' readership in order to understand if the public not only has access to the articles, but also what they are primarily choosing to read. Newspaper Audience Databank (NADbank) 2013 readership data was used to determine which outlets are primarily read.

NADbank's latest reports have also indicated there has been a slight decline in readership in recent years. Additionally, of those reading the newspaper, which is approximately three of four Canadians weekly, reading online has become just as popular as reading print sources. This is noticed especially in younger generations who are predominantly reading newspapers online.^{xviii} The role of traditional media is declining and newspapers are the leading example. Although there remains a high level of interest in obtaining the news, circulation and readership numbers for newspapers have been slipping, forcing outlets to adjust structurally and develop more web based tools to garner attention.^{xix}

Many new and secondary media, especially electronic, have been on the rise as the growth of the Internet has made reading the news more available and affordable, not necessarily requiring print subscriptions but providing access to stories for free. Yet, many of these resources rely on newspapers to do much of the preliminary newsgathering and analysis for them as these secondary sites broadcast what they see in the papers online.

Those readers paying attention to multiple sources for their news, which has become increasingly common with the rise of the Internet, then see the same message multiple times, contributing to the problem of consolidation.^{xx} Our attention to multiple sources has expanded from traditional print newspapers to online newspapers, to blogs and websites collecting stories sometimes created by citizens, to Facebook, Twitter, and other social media sites collecting and repeating the stories across multiple sources. Online news does not stop at the computer screen either, but expands to pod casts and mobile technology.^{xxi} The original message in print media becomes magnified through electronic

media. People hear the same message through multiple sources even if it is not the same outlet providing its message through its numerous newspapers.

The next section provides details of the study's methodology. It describes why 10 events were chosen from 2007 to 2014 involving federal government decisions or non-decisions in terms of climate change action, why four Canadian newspaper outlets were chosen and some insight to the outlets, and the criteria that was created in order to analyze the articles as objectively as possible in order to place the articles, then the outlets, on a scale from critical to pro-government.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Evaluative Criteria for Critical Analysis

Kimberly Neuendorf briefly defines content analysis as “systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics.” It uses the rules of good science, while also conforming to the researcher’s decisions as to the scope and complexity of the study. The fact that the researcher determines the outline of the study implies that it will be subjective, but the researcher must still be as objective as possible. Not all academics agree with Neuendorf’s strict view of content analysis as quantitative.^{xxii} Many in the field view critical analysis as a combination of qualitative and quantitative. Content analysis characterizes qualities within the sample, but as it collects them the number of characteristics tend to be quantitatively categorized as well.^{xxiii}

The first step to completing a content analysis study involves designing its theory and rationale. For this research the aim was to determine where on the scale of pro-government, neutral, and critical the four main newspaper media outlets in Canada lie. The four outlets studied were: The Globe and Mail, Postmedia Network, Torstar Corp., and Sun Media. Both circulation and readership data were analyzed to determine which types of media the Canadian public are accessing. This study attempts to reveal the tension between government action and media reaction. A sample selection was taken from these four outlets spanning the course of seven years. The selection of the sample data will be described in further detail in **Section 2.2**. Each of the articles collected was then measured against the designed criteria to place it on the scale of bias for the government, neutral, or bias against the government.

Content analysis requires the conceptualization of variables and the measures taken to analyze them. For the purpose of this study, in order to be as objective as possible the specified criteria were chosen previous to the analysis being conducted. This is referred to as an *a priori* design, meaning “before the fact.”^{xxiv} For this study it was decided a computer program system would not provide the type of qualitative research desired, as it would rely heavily on quantitative analysis and it would be difficult to encompass all of the specific key words without missing important ones. Instead, it was decided one human researcher would conduct human coding, following a list of criteria to measure the articles against in order to decide whether the article was pro-government, neutral, or critical. These classifications are hereafter referred to as “the scale”.^{xxv}

The criteria used in this research apply to text content analysis, as newspapers were evaluated, rather than television or radio broadcasts. The criteria were:

Slant: referring to the author maintaining a bias in their writing, being influenced by a subjective view. The following questions were asked while analyzing each of the articles in order to determine a rating for the slant:

- Language: did the journalist use language that would arouse either a positive or negative emotion from the reader? Are adjectives used in descriptions that give a strong indication of the journalist’s attitude or position? Are metaphors or similes used to give away the journalist’s position? Are undefined terms that invoke an emotional response used?
- Tone: does the journalist use a tone that elicits emotion from the reader, either positive or negative?

- Authority: are there at least two opposing sides represented in the article? Are there facts and figures utilized for each side? Does one side receive considerably more examination than the other? Where are the opposing sides placed in the article? For example, is one at the very start while the other is in the final sentences? Are they independent sources? Are the sources consulted experts in their field? Is the legislative opposition present in the article if the current government is? Is civil society represented? Is there a diversity of witnesses interviewed? Are the authorities used sympathetic to the government?

Depth of Coverage:

- Length: how long the article is in length will be used as a proxy for the depth of coverage. There is an assumption here that the longer the article is the better it will rank, as it should include more authorities and give a well-rounded version of the story for the reader. However, a long article could provide a heavy bias for one side of the story or another as it could still only interview one side and elicit a negative tone and emotional language to influence the reader one way or another. This was taken into consideration by the researcher during analysis.

It is understood by the researcher that the method for this analysis involves subjective evaluation. Every effort has been made to create objective criteria by which to assess the articles. However, the characteristics of a biased article are not quantifiable terms, so judgment was ultimately the researcher's.

Additionally, some characteristics that would normally contribute to determining a presence of bias in a newspaper article could not be considered in this study, either due to time constraints or not having access to the physical article from the newspaper as the

articles in this study were collected electronically and retroactively. These criteria could be beneficial for other studies to examine in the future. They are: what other types of articles surround this one in the newspaper? What advertisements surround the article? Where in the paper is the article located, for example near the front or the back? What photos are used for it and/or around it? Was it ever on the title page of the website and if so for how long?

The scale created for this study consists of seven different categories: pro-government, pro-government/neutral, slightly pro-government, neutral, slightly critical, critical/neutral, and critical. For an article to be determined as pro-government it must demonstrate a bias favouring government action (or non-action) on climate change without providing enough of the opposing viewpoint to balance the article as neutral. Some examples of a pro-government article would include: displaying a tone that is critical of stakeholders against the government, providing very little coverage of the opposing position and/or placing the opposition at the very end of the article, or utilizing language that evokes emotion in favour of the government position in an attempt to sway the reader. A pro-government/neutral article displays characteristics of both a pro-government and a neutral article in approximately even amounts. A slightly pro-government article is almost completely neutral but shows hints of pro-government tendencies.

If an article took a neutral stance it would not utilize language that lent it to a positive or negative leaning but use factual data, wording, and phrases. There should be a neutral tone present that does not elicit emotion for either side of the story. Many witnesses should be interviewed, both in favour of the government and critical of

government, preferably experts, and the majority should be independent. The depth of coverage would also be balanced with respect to each side of the story.

A slightly critical article would be almost completely neutral but display a hint of critical characteristics, to be explained momentarily, and a neutral/critical article would use an almost equal amount of neutral and critical criteria. A critical article would have a bias against government action without giving the government side of the story a fair representation through witnesses interviewed and depth of coverage. Language that evokes a response against government action on climate change by using adjectives, tone, metaphors and similes could also be representative of a critical article.

Each of the 86 articles was measured against all of the criteria outlined above to determine if there was a bias present for either side. The number of pro-government variables was balanced with any critical variables, and neutral variables in order to determine where the article lay on the scale. From there it was expanded to determine a media outlet's overall position on the scale. All of the outlet's articles were examined to see where the majority lay. This is explained in further detail in the **Section 4.1**.

As mentioned above, before creating the criteria a sample selection was made. A total of 10 events were selected spanning the time period of April 2007 to December 2014. The four largest newspaper outlets in Canada were scanned for articles relating to these 10 events. The articles were collected using the database Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies through ProQuest, as well as utilizing the networks' own websites, and Google searches. ProQuest does not collect Sun Media articles, so these articles were accessed through the network's own website and Google searches. Both dates and keywords were used to find the articles in all cases. Some of the events spanned the course of a week or more. In these

cases the entire news cycle was monitored in order to obtain all of the articles pertaining to the event.

Of the 10 events, some generated dozens of articles across the four outlets. This was too large a selection to conduct the type of qualitative analysis desired for this research project. It was determined that no more than three media articles would be selected from one newspaper per event in order to narrow the sample to a manageable size. Some of the events had only one article from a newspaper, so the final sample size was 86 articles over four media outlets for 10 events pertaining to climate change action or inaction at the federal level in Canada. These articles were then analyzed based on the previously stated criteria. The results were then analyzed in order to draw the conclusions found in **Section 3**. In **Section 2.2** the selection of the 10 events that relate to climate change decisions at the federal level will be explained.

2.2 Ten Climate Change Events

For the purpose of this research, media articles covering 10 specific decisions or non-decisions made by the Canadian government relating to climate change were collected. These ‘events’ may involve: announcements of climate policy plans or regulations; participation in International climate change accords, agreements, or discussions; or other statements by the governing party that garnered attention because they revealed the current government’s attitude and perspective on climate change. These will be referred to as ‘events’ from now on. Some of the events occurred on a single day and the resulting coverage was short, while others took place over several weeks and coverage began during the lead-up continued after the completion of the event. The 10 events from which media

coverage was collected are:

- 1. April 2007** – Environment Minister, John Baird, announces the Canadian Government's 'Turning the Corner' climate change plan.
- 2. June 2007** – The European Union and Canada have a summit in Berlin, Germany to discuss energy and climate security.
- 3. December 2009** – The Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, or the 15th Conference of the Parties (COP 15) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) takes place.
- 4. August 2011** – Canada aligns with the United States to regulate emissions from heavy-duty vehicles.
- 5. December 2011** – The United Nations Climate Change Conference is held in Durban, South Africa (COP 17). Canada also announces it is pulling out of the Kyoto Protocol.
- 6. November 2012** – Canada aligns with the United States to regulate the fuel efficiency of Canadian cars and light trucks.
- 7. June 9, 2014** – Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, holds a joint press conference with Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, denouncing a federal carbon tax.
- 8. September 22-23, 2014** – The United Nations Climate Summit takes place in New York City. Environment Minister, Leona Aglukkaq, addresses the nations on current climate action of Canada. Hundreds of thousands of people march in the city to demonstrate their desire for climate change action.
- 9. December 2014** – The United Nations Climate Change Conference is held in Lima, Peru (COP 20).
- 10. December 9, 2014** – Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, refers to oil and gas

regulation as a “crazy economic policy” in the House of Commons.

The decision to narrow the research to 10 specific events pertaining to climate change came after a preliminary scan of media articles yielding 4,351 articles. The original scan covered the four major media outlets using the keywords “climate change” from the period of 2010 to 2014. This scope was clearly too large to undertake a critical analysis study.

On May 2, 2011 the Conservative Party won a majority government in Canada. It was important to collect articles from the time before the current government held a majority to December 2014, when research for this study began. The research needed to display any differences in reporting from a minority to majority government. Also, the findings needed to be as recent as possible. In order to cover at least five years the search required keywords that were more specific than “climate change,” so research was limited to major events that occurred throughout the time period during which a media analysis could be done. Originally, other events such as announcements of climate funding in December 2011 and November 2014 were included as well as regulation in the electricity sector, cuts to scientific research related to climate change, and the opening of the first carbon capture project in a coal-fired power plant. There needed to be an appropriate number of events in order to reflect major occurrences of climate change decisions, or non-decisions, that took place before and after the Conservative government took a majority in 2011, but also produce the right amount of articles covering the events given that the research needed to be conducted within a tight timeframe.

The volume of media articles covering the events had to be manageable for the time period of writing this paper as each one had to be thoroughly analyzed. Therefore 10 major events were chosen, which yielded 176 media articles from four of the major Canadian

newspaper outlets. As this number was still too large to conduct a critical analysis of each article, a maximum of three articles were analyzed from a single media outlet per event. For those outlets that produced more than three articles for an event a random sampling was taken. This way each event had no more than 12 articles to analyze. The event with the fewest articles had a total of six to analyze. This reduced the total number of articles to 86.

2.3 Four Major Canadian Newspaper Outlets

The four major Canadian newspaper media outlets chosen for this research were: The Globe and Mail, Postmedia Network, Torstar Corporation, and Sun Media. These outlets represent the largest in Canada and offer a broad readership as they provide news across the country. Newspapers Canada was primarily used to determine the four outlets. Newspapers Canada is a joint initiative of the Canadian Newspaper Association (CNA) and the Canadian Community Newspapers Association (CCNA). Combined, they represent the industry voice for newspapers in Canada, representing over 830 daily, weekly, and community newspapers. They represent the needs of members in public affairs, marketing and research and member services. The marketing and research work of the organization was utilized for this study in terms of circulation numbers, readership numbers, and ownership of newspapers.^{xxvi}

The Newspaper Audience Databank (NADbank) was utilized as a secondary source when choosing the outlets and the primary source for readership numbers. NADbank produces an annual study that is initiated and funded by the daily newspaper members of NADbank Inc. The studies it produces are able to provide the outlets with information such as demographics of readership, whether citizens are reading the news primarily online or

in print form and how often Canadians are reading the news weekly. Ultimately it helps the outlets to understand their consumers' purchasing habits, aids in market insights and allows them to plan better when selling their newspapers. The study involves a 17-minute phone interview by a random sample and then a supplementary survey is sent to consenting phone respondents to better understand their habits. With respect to this research, NADbank provided data on which of the outlets are largest in the country as well as providing circulation and readership numbers of Canadian newspapers. The readership numbers were broken down by specific newspapers in large Canadian cities.^{xxvii}

Additionally, the Print Measurement Bureau (PMB), a non-profit Canadian company that gathers statistics about print media readership, was also utilized for data collection. It was a tertiary source for circulation numbers. As an example of PMB's scope, the Fall 2013 study took a sample of approximately 22,000 Canadians measuring over 100 publications. PMB's reports focus more on the demographics of readers however and do not break down readership numbers by outlet and newspaper.^{xxviii} Therefore, it was less helpful in terms of this study.

It was announced in October 2014 that NADbank and PMB would be amalgamating into a new organization.^{xxix} The merger did not aid this study, but future studies should look to the new organization's (temporarily named Amalco) studies. The following sections will provide a better understanding of the four outlets and why each was chosen for this research.

2.3.1 The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail is a nationally distributed newspaper. It is based in Toronto and prints in six cities across Canada: Montreal, Ottawa-Gatineau Region, Toronto, Calgary,

Edmonton and Vancouver. It has a weekly readership of approximately 2.5 million people, averaging 898,000 people for weekday readership and 1,098,000 people for weekend readership.^{xxx} Additionally, the outlet receives an estimated 420,000 daily visitors online.^{xxxi}

2.3.2 Postmedia Network

The Postmedia Network Inc. (Postmedia) owns 10 newspapers across the country. From eastern to western provinces they are: Quebec: The Gazette; Ontario: National Post; Ottawa Citizen; The Windsor Star; Saskatchewan: The Leader Post, The StarPhoenix; Alberta: Calgary Herald; The Edmonton Journal; British Columbia: The Vancouver Sun; The Province. Many of the same stories are printed across the newspapers, however the headlines often change. While collecting articles for this study only a single version was obtained so that when Postmedia reprinted the same story across numerous papers this was not reflected in the total amount of media articles collected. Postmedia is the largest publisher by circulation of paid English-language daily newspapers in Canada.^{xxxii} Postmedia also has the highest weekly print readership of paid English-language daily newspapers in Canada.^{xxxiii} Postmedia's total weekday circulation is 1,046,861 people and 963,624 people for weekend circulation.^{xxxiv}

In October 2014, Postmedia purchased from Quebecor Media, the owner of Sun Media, 175 daily and community newspapers and digital publications in a \$316-million deal. The sale was then approved by regulators, including the Competition Bureau. This means Postmedia will own roughly 30 per cent of country's newspaper market. In Edmonton, the company will own the Sun and Journal; in Ottawa, the Sun and Citizen; and

in Calgary, the Sun and Herald. In Vancouver, it already owns the Province and Sun, which is not part of the Sun Media chain.

2.3.3 Torstar Corporation

Torstar Corporation (Torstar) has twelve newspapers in total, best known for the Toronto Star. The others are: Guelph Mercury, The Hamilton Spectator, The Record and all of the free daily Metro newspapers, which are located in Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver.^{xxxv} The Toronto Star has more than 2.3 million adult readers from Monday to Sunday in the Greater Toronto Area.^{xxxvi}

2.3.4 Sun Media Corporation

Sun Media Corporation (Sun Media) is a subsidiary of Quebecor Media Inc. It publishes over 15.1 million copies of paid and free newspapers each week. It has 36 paid-circulation daily newspapers and six free daily newspapers.^{xxxvii} From eastern to western provinces they are: Quebec: Le Journal de Montréal; Le Journal de Québec; *Montreal 24 heures*; Ontario: The Expositor, Brantford; St. Catharine's Standard; Niagara Falls Review; The Tribune, Welland; The Barrie Examiner; The Chatham Daily News; Standard-Freeholder, Cornwall; The Kingston Whig-Standard; The North Bay Nugget; The Intelligencer, Belleville; The Observer, Sarnia; The Sault Star, Sault-Ste-Marie; The Sudbury Star; The Daily Press, Timmins; The Sun Times, Owen Sound; The Packet & Times, Orillia; The Daily Observer, Pembroke; The Peterborough Examiner; The Brockville Recorder and Times; Daily Miner and News, Kenora; The London Free Press; The Ottawa Sun; The Beacon-Herald, Stratford; St. Thomas Times-Journal; The Toronto Sun; The Simcoe Reformer; The Woodstock Sentinel-Review; *24 Hours Toronto*; Manitoba: Winnipeg Sun; Alberta: The Calgary Sun; The Edmonton Sun; Fort McMurray Today; Daily Herald -

Tribune, Grande Prairie; British Columbia: *24 Hours Vancouver*.^{xxxviii} Upon the approval of the sale noted earlier, all of the English-prints are now owned by Postmedia.

3. ANALYSIS RESULTS

3.1 Events

As discussed in the Methodology section, a total of 10 events were chosen for the scope of this study. The events relate to times when the Canadian government made a decision or non-decision, relating to climate change action. From these events, 86 media articles were collected and analyzed to determine where each outlet was situated on the scale of pro-government, neutral, or critical. It was evident from the start that three simple categories would not be enough to capture the articles' full stances. Therefore, the scale became: pro-government, neutral/pro-government, slightly pro-government, neutral, slightly critical, neutral/critical, and critical. It should be noted that the slightly pro-government and slightly critical articles are still predominantly neutral with a few characteristics to shift them on the scale. The pro-government articles demonstrate through either slant or authority an acceptance of government action and agreement with steps taken or not taken. The strength of acceptance can range from minimal amounts to championing the government. This applies similarly to the opposite end of the scale, when authors are outright critical of the government's action, sometimes posing investigative questions that can be overly skeptical of the government, sometimes derogating government decisions, or are merely speculative of the action. The strength and amount of this questioning in terms of slant and authority determine the range on the scale.

Below is a summary of each of the articles organized by the event they were collected from. It presents an overview of where stories lie on the scale, providing insight to an outlet's alignment as well as event alignment overall. For example, the tenth event

contains a large majority of critical articles, while other events have a wide range between pro-government and critical.

3.1.1 Event #1: The federal government's 'Turning the Corner' plan

The first event used for this study took place in April of 2007 when then Environment Minister John Baird announced The Canadian Government's 'Turning the Corner' climate change plan. A total of 18 articles were collected pertaining to this event across the four outlets. A random selection of three articles was taken from The Globe and Mail, Postmedia, and Torstar, while Sun Media only had one article covering the event.

The coverage of the "Turning the corner" announcement is summarized in **Table 1** below.

Table 1: Coverage of “Turning the Corner”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
Globe and Mail 1	April 17, 2007	National News	Dennis Bueckert	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Released previous to the announcement of the plan Not many witnesses are used, but it does not put the government in a good spotlight
Globe and Mail 2	April 25, 2007	National News	Tenille Bonoguore	Slightly Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many witnesses are interviewed Provides a critical examination of the government plan while still being fair to the government voices
Globe and Mail 3	April 27, 2007	National News	Gloria Galloway & Bill Curry	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Well researched article with many witnesses, most of which are critical of the plan Some critical language is used but for the most part the article is fair and factual, giving representation to both sides
Postmedia 1	April 29, 2007	News	Bruce Johnstone (financial editor)	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Claimed the plan was costing taxpayers money while remaining ineffective on climate change Only the government is quoted, other witnesses remain nameless and their credentials are not provided
Postmedia 2	April 28, 2007	News	Mark Reid	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does not analyze the plan itself, mostly concerned with an exchange between Baird and former U.S. Vice-President Al Gore Gore described the plan as “a total fraud” while Baird attacked Gore’s own record on fighting climate change during his time as Vice-President, including the lack of a Kyoto Protocol submission
Postmedia 3	April 28, 2007	Business and Agriculture	Mike De Souza	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uses neutral language Quotes David Suzuki and Denmark’s Minister of Energy and Transportation, who are critical of the plan
Torstar 1	April 30, 2007	News	Peter Calamai	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Short and mostly demonstrates Baird as defensive of the plan The language used is revealing of the author’s

					criticalness more than his authority usage
Torstar 2	April 27, 2007	Editorial	Anonymous	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Editorial that does not use authorities or witnesses, but critical language • Does not derogate the government, instead offers a fair criticism of the plan
Torstar 3	April 28, 2007	National Report	Anonymous	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is a sampling of the Ottawa Citizen, Halifax Daily News, and Victoria Times Colonist, so it is perhaps an unfair example of a slightly pro-government article in that the authors do not write for Torstar • Not many authorities are used as witnesses in the sampling and the authors use slight pro-government language throughout the stories • One of only four articles with any association to government support by Torstar
Sun Media 1	April 22, 2007	News	Sheila Copps	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical to the point of bashing the government • There are almost no authorities used • The author positions herself against Don Drummond, TD Bank's economist and focuses the majority of the story on her contempt for him • She also inserts some self-promotion about regulations she has helped establish in the past • Although it is a critical article the skepticism is largely of Drummond, and less of the Canadian government

Overall, each of the four outlets are at least somewhat critical of the plan being enacted by the federal government. The Globe and Mail provide the most evidence from experts that demonstrate criticalness. Sun Media uses a lot of emotional language and is critical to the point of derogating the government.

3.1.2 Event #2: The European Union (EU) and Canada meet in Berlin to discuss climate security

The second event was when the European Union and Canada met in Berlin to discuss climate security in June 2007. There were only six articles that covered this event, three from The Globe and Mail, two from Postmedia and one from TorStar. Sun Media did not report on this event.

The coverage of the “Canada-EU Meeting” announcement is summarized in **Table 2** below.

Table 2: Coverage of “Canada-EU Meeting”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	June 3, 2007	News, National	Canadian Press	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mostly factual and informative, providing the reader with background leading up to the meeting• Near the end of the article some authorities question the federal government’s action on climate change
The Globe and Mail 2	June 7, 2007	News, World	Jeff Mason & Alister Doyle	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• There are a multitude of witnesses that are experts and independent, most of whom argue that action on climate change to date has been too weak• The language is completely neutral
The Globe and Mail 3	June 8, 2007	Globe Debate	Anonymous	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Does not use authorities or witnesses• Outlines the disadvantage to Canada as an exporting nation that ratified Kyoto• The author feels that Canada should not have ratified Kyoto and that the U.S. was smart not to have done so• It should be noted that this article was a part of the Globe Debate section and did not list an author
Postmedia 1	June 5, 2007	Editorial	Gunter Lorne	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author defends Canadian targets, even though they are lower than the EU targets• The author claims the EU targets are unrealistic, but then continues to give excuses for multiple examples of nations reaching these “unrealistic” targets, claiming they did so unfairly• No witnesses or authorities are used in the article and emotional language is employed
Postmedia 2	June 5, 2007	News	Andrew Mayeda	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tells a story of nations all trying to curb their emissions by engaging targets without using language to influence the reader in any way
Torstar 1	June 5, 2007	World and Comment	Les Whittington	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A factual story that informs the reader about the upcoming meeting in Berlin, but the opposition is brought in late in the article

Most of the six articles were neutral in nature, with the exception of Postmedia's editorial that is decidedly pro-government due to the emotional language used by the author and lack of authorities, which may have balanced the story. The author of this article is used on more than one occasion by Postmedia, as will be discussed in **Section 3.2**.

3.1.3 Event #3: The United Nations Copenhagen Climate Summit

The United Nations (UN) Climate Summit in December 2009, taking place in Copenhagen Denmark, drew 26 articles from the four outlets. A sampling of three articles per newspaper outlet was taken due to the volume and aforementioned time constraints of the study.

The coverage of the "Copenhagen Summit" announcement is summarized in **Table 3** below.

Table 3: Coverage of “Copenhagen Summit”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	December 19, 2009	International News	Eric Reguly & Shawn McCarthy	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Longer, factual article on the Copenhagen Accord • Not many witnesses are interviewed outside of national leaders • Environmental Defense is included near the end of the article • No emotional language is used
The Globe and Mail 2	December 19, 2009	Comment	Jeffrey Simpson	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides insight to Canadian involvement in the talks • The author is critical because he believes that Canada could have done more at Copenhagen • He does not bash the government, strictly providing commentary with very few witnesses used in the story
The Globe and Mail 3	December 18, 2009	International News	Eric Reguly & Shawn McCarthy	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An extremely factual and neutral article • Many international witnesses are interviewed • No examination of the Canadian story
Postmedia 1	December 19, 2009	World	Kelly Cryderman	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlights the outcome of Copenhagen • Critical in that the author believes not enough came out of the talks (notable through the witnesses and authorities quoted, not through language used • The author’s language is very factual)
Postmedia 2	December 21, 2009	World	Anonymous	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses neutral language • The criticism is found in the witnesses and authorities used who critique the deal, followed by national leaders who defend the action taken, although admitting it is not a complete solution
Postmedia 3	December 20, 2009	News	Kelly Cryderman	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no criticism of the Canadian government, no opposition legislation, and no sources outside of

					<p>the government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The language remains neutral, but the witnesses are all supportive of government action at Copenhagen
Torstar 1	December 19, 2009	News	Allan Woods	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article reads as more of the author's commentary on lack of action seen from the federal government at Copenhagen • Does not quote many authorities • It displays the author's stance through critical language, but not to the point of bashing the government
Torstar 2	December 19, 2009	News	Allan Woods	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Also displays the author's stance through critical language, but not to the point of bashing the government • It does involve more witnesses, including a Greenpeace quote placed before Harper's • The author's criticism shifts somewhat near the end towards criticism of the accord in general and its lack of positive action
Torstar 3	December 5, 2009	News	Anonymous	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The article is brief, discusses Barack Obama changing his schedule to attend the climate talks • It is pro-U.S.-government, but does not address the Canadian government at all • It is the second of only three slightly pro-government articles produced by Torstar throughout the entire study
Sun Media 1	December 23, 2009	News	Christina Spencer & Althia Raj	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only quotes Harper, putting him in a very positive light • Near the beginning of the article the authors write that fossil fuels are "believed" to be contributing to global warming, signaling possible climate skepticism • The language is neutral but due to the authorities

					and quotes used it is a heavily pro-government article
Sun Media 2	December 18, 2009	News	Christina Spencer	Neutral/Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Also supportive of Canada's role in the Accord • For example, the author uses Harper's statement that oil sands only account for four per cent of Canada's GHG emissions • This could signal to the readers that Canada is not a large contributor and therefore does not need tough policies to curb emissions.
Sun Media 3	December 4, 2009	News	Elizabeth May & Lorrie Goldstein	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article is more critical than the others only because the first half of the article is written by Elizabeth May, the leader of the Green Party • She calls for action on climate change, describing current repercussions witnessed globally, and explaining what is to occur in Copenhagen in a very factual way • The second half of the article is written by a Sun Media journalist who goes on to describe the Copenhagen talks as useless • He appeals to readers' emotions by calling the talks a cash grab and using language to sway the reader to a pro-government stance • Sun Media may have been more critical than usual to print May's piece, but its own employed journalist is heavily pro-government and also a climate skeptic

The coverage of the Copenhagen Climate Summit was mixed across the four outlets. The Globe and Mail and Torstar were more critical. Postmedia had two somewhat critical articles but also a decidedly pro-government article. Sun Media's only criticalness came from printing May's stance on the talks. Sun Media's own journalists leaned far more heavily towards the pro-government end of the spectrum.

3.1.4 Event #4: Fuel efficiency regulations for heavy-duty vehicles

In August 2011, the Canadian government announced regulations for heavy-duty vehicles in Canada, following U.S. regulations in order to align national standards. The GHG emissions regulations from heavy trucks were set to begin in the 2014 model year. Only five articles were written relating to this event, two from The Globe and Mail and three from Postmedia.

The coverage of the "Heavy-Duty Vehicles Fuel Regulations" announcement is summarized in **Table 4** below.

Table 4: Coverage of “Heavy-Duty Vehicles Fuel Regulations”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	August 19, 2011	News, Politics	Shawn McCarthy	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The article begins somewhat pro-government, with all of the government’s quotes placed there, but it changes to become quite critical of the government before the end of the story, mostly through authority usage
The Globe and Mail 2	August 9, 2011	News, Politics	Shawn McCarthy	Neutral/Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The article is factual, but all of the notable witnesses are from the government• Some other experts are used at the very end of the article, but they are concerned with the economic costs to consumers, not how well the regulations will impact climate change.
Postmedia 1	August 20, 2011	Business	Angela Hall	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• It was fair and factual with the large majority of language utilized characterized as neutral• Briefing notes prepared by Environment Canada bureaucrats were quoted throughout the article• The notes state that Canada is not doing well in terms of climate change impacts or meeting self-imposed targets and indicate that then Environment Minister Peter Kent is fully aware and refused to comment for the article
Postmedia 2	August 2, 2011	Canada	Mike De Souza	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Uses factual language without emotional appeal, but it is very heavy on a government viewpoint as only Kent and the Saskatchewan Environment Minister are quoted

Postmedia 3	August 20, 2011	Business	Rebecca Penty	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article also uses neutral language but all of the witnesses are either from the government or supportive industry • One industry representative wanted increased flexibility to the regulations, but the majority were supportive of the government
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There was minimal coverage of this event overall as two of the outlets did not write any articles for it. The Globe and Mail was mostly neutral, while Postmedia was supportive of the regulations, apart from De Souza's article.

3.1.5 Event #5: The United Nations Durban Climate Summit

The UN Climate Summit held in December 2011 took place in Durban, South Africa. This event yielded the most articles, with coverage of 57 articles spanning the four outlets. Three articles were randomly selected from each outlet that ranged from critical to pro-government.

The coverage of the "Durban Summit" announcement is summarized in **Table 5** below.

Table 5: Coverage of “Durban Summit”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	December 9, 2011	News, Politics	Geoffrey York	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first half is very factual • Explains what is occurring in Durban • The last six paragraphs introduce critical witnesses and experts, displaying a good diversity
The Globe and Mail 2	December 9, 2011	International News	Geoffrey York	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly critical of Kent and uses Kent’s own quotes to put him in a bad light • The language and tone were slightly critical • Shows Kent flip-flopping in his statements about action on climate change
The Globe and Mail 3	December 6, 2011	International News	Geoffrey York	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article uses a lot of the author’s views, which are critical of China • More critical of China than the Canadian government • The author believes China’s announcement of climate action sounds better theoretically than it will be realistically
Postmedia 1	December 2, 2011	News	Jon Herskovitz	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article does not discuss the Canadian government, instead revolving around the pros and cons of South Africa and China potentially switching to nuclear energy
Postmedia 2	December 4, 2011	World	Mike De Souza	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author quotes other nations claiming Canada was attempting to “armtwist” them into not signing an agreement • The author uses very neutral language, relying on authorities when critiquing the government
Postmedia 3	December 6,	World	Mike De Souza	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article gives an outline of China’s

	2011				position at the Summit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are many international climate negotiators interviewed and at the end there is a short discussion of Canada not signing up to a second Kyoto period
Torstar 1	December 14, 2011	Editorial	Don Weitz	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The author openly critiques the government using emotional language and lacking either authorities or witnesses It is more of a rant about Kent sabotaging the Durban talks as he has a conflict of interest and, according to the author, should be fired
Torstar 2	December 18, 2011	Editorial	John Flemming	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This article is also an open critique of the government with emotional language and lacks both authorities and witnesses The author points to the fact that the opposition party was left out of the Summit and the language used was very critical of Harper
Torstar 3	December 6, 2011	News	Allan Woods	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This article mostly discusses China's announcement at the talks and what the lead Canadian negotiator thought of it The author does point out that Kent refused to discuss pulling out of Kyoto officially
Sun Media 1	November 28, 2011	Politics	Kristy Kirkup	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The author primarily uses Kent as the authority Opposition environment critic, Megan Leslie, is the only other witness and is seen only in the last four paragraphs of the article
Sun Media 2	December 12, 2011	World	Lorrie Goldstein	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This author uses pro-government language to an extreme He is critical of the climate talks overall, noting the amount of carbon used by all of those in attendance

					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He is very supportive of the government pulling out of Kyoto • The author also refers to the opposition and environmentalists' positions as "idiotic"
Sun Media 3	December 1, 2011	Opinion	Lorrie Goldstein	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the same author as the previous article and again he utilizes very pro-government language • He refers to "environmentalists", particularly European ones, as Marxists who were put out of business when communism was discredited • He defends the federal government's position at the talks against "attacks" it has been facing • When describing the Kyoto protocol, he states that Jean Chrétien "idiotically ratified the economy-destroying deal"

Both The Globe and Mail and Postmedia printed mostly neutral articles. Torstar was more critical of the government's actions at the talk; demonstrated through Editorials printed in the Toronto Star. Sun Media however is supportive of the government's actions at Durban. Its stories were printed in the Opinion section as well as World and Politics sections of the paper. The outlets often covered China's action at the Summit and touched upon Canada's decision to not sign to a second Kyoto Protocol period.

3.1.6 Event #6: Vehicle fuel efficiency regulations for cars and light trucks

In November of 2012 the federal government announced additional fuel efficiency regulations for the transportation sector, again following the United States' lead. The new vehicle fuel standards are to reduce GHG emissions from tailpipes after 2020 requiring cars and light trucks to emit half as much GHG by 2025 as 2012 models. Six articles were written from three of the outlets: one from The Globe and Mail, three from Postmedia, and two from Sun Media. Torstar did not cover this event.

The coverage of the "Cars and Light Trucks Fuel Regulations" announcement is summarized in **Table 6** below.

Table 6: Coverage of “Cars and Light Trucks Fuel Regulations”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	November 27, 2012	Business, Energy & Resources	Shawn McCarthy & Greg Keenan	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many witnesses were used from NGOs, industry and the government, however the opposition was absent from the story Both positive and negative government action was displayed and neutral language was utilized throughout the article
Postmedia 1	December 5, 2012	Ideas	David McLaughlin	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This article is very fair in its critique It stated that the government’s stance on an international climate agreement is that all emitters must be a part of the talks, not just those that emit the most greenhouse gases Yet, the federal government’s approach to a national climate policy is a sector-by-sector approach, which does not include all of the emitters
Postmedia 2	November 28, 2012	Business	Mike De Souza	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The author uses neutral language and relies heavily on government quotes and industry supporting the regulations Pollution Probe is quoted at the end opposing the regulations, but it is too late in the article to balance the issue
Postmedia 3	November 29, 2012	Arguments	Kate Heartfelt	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The author mostly uses language to contend the government, not involving many authorities or witnesses
Sun Media 1	November 27, 2012	Politics	Kristy Kirkup	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This article is very brief, only quoting the government and opposition It lacks detail or depth for either side of the issue
Sun Media 2	November 30, 2012	Column	Brian Lilley	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Although the author does not agree with the regulations, he supports the government because he feels the only reason the regulations were put into place is due to pressure from the Obama administration The author believes the regulations are sacrificing the safety of Canadians in order to try and battle climate change

To summarize, The Globe and Mail appears to take a neutral stance on the regulations, Postmedia is critical of the government's actions, and Sun Media is brief on the issue but supportive of the government on whole.

3.1.7 Event #7: Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott and Stephen Harper denounce a federal carbon tax

In the summer of 2014, Tony Abbott visited Canada to discuss with Harper his decision to place the economy ahead of climate change action, believing the choice to be one or the other. The two nation leaders denounced a federal carbon tax to the media at this time. Five articles were written about this event over all four of the outlets.

The coverage of the "Abbott and Harper Denounce Federal Carbon Tax" announcement is summarized in **Table 7** below.

Table 7: Coverage of “Abbott and Harper Denounce Federal Carbon Tax”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	June 9, 2014	Column	Clark Campbell	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The article mostly discusses the similarities between the two Prime Ministers and that Canada could learn a lot about dealing with Asia• There is a single paragraph dedicated to the carbon tax issue and no witnesses or experts are used for it• All of the language is neutral
Postmedia 1	June 10, 2014	News	Mark Kennedy	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author quotes the leaders using their own facts and figures and tells a story of them choosing to put the economy first• For those readers lacking prior knowledge of the issue they may believe that acting on climate change could only ever hurt the economy• The author does position the nations’ lack of action next to the U.S., which is moving forward on climate change issues• There is some mention of criticism against the Prime Ministers, but the author never expands upon this, leaving the story somewhat one-sided
Torstar 1	June 16, 2014	News, Greater Toronto	Christopher Hume	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author uses critical language, attacking the leaders personally at some points in the story• No outside authorities are used but he does make the point that action on climate change could in fact bolster the economy
Torstar 2	June 10, 2014	News	Les Whittington	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The article uses the quote of a “job-killing carbon tax” without providing any evidence to demonstrate why a carbon tax may not necessarily kill jobs• A large portion of the article was dedicated to an anti-prostitution bill• Neutral language is used

Sun Media 1	09-Jun-14	Politics	Daniel Proussalidis	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article only shows one side of the story: that climate action will hurt the economy • The only witnesses are the two Prime Ministers • The language is neutral but quotes are not
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To summarize, the first three outlets each printed a slightly pro-government article. Additionally, Torstar has a critical article for the event, while Sun Media on the other hand is strictly supportive of the carbon tax denunciation by the national leaders. It should be noted that The Globe and Mail's article is uncharacteristic in leaning pro-government.

3.1.8 Event #8: The United Nations Climate Summit in New York City

The meeting of nations in New York City to discuss climate action leading up to the Lima Summit in December and Paris Summit in 2015 yielded 18 articles from the four outlets. This event included the climate march that attracted hundreds of thousands of people to demonstrate their desire for action. Three articles were randomly selected from the first three outlets while Sun Media only produced two.

The coverage of the "New York City Summit" announcement is summarized in **Table 8** below.

Table 8: Coverage of “New York City Summit”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	September 23, 2014	News	Shawn McCarthy & Kim Mackrael	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The authors use neutral language throughout the article• There is an early placed quote from John Bennett of the Sierra club that is particularly harsh towards the government• Mostly just facts about the upcoming climate talks• Pollution Probe is quoted at the end supporting the regulations
The Globe and Mail 2	September 22, 2014	News	Kim Mackrael	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The second article has hints of criticism throughout it, but nothing that substantially places the government in a bad light• Megan Leslie is quoted halfway through the article criticizing Canada's lack of attendance from leadership in New York and the lack of action seen from the government• There is an emphasis that something must be done about climate change from the author, using many facts and figures to back this up
The Globe and Mail 3	September 24, 2014	News	Kim Mackrael	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author uses neutral language but well placed quotes to take a more critical stance• The article discusses overall climate talk updates as well as Canada's position
Postmedia 1	September 23, 2014	News	Mark Kennedy	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This article is mostly an overview of the upcoming New York climate talk• There is discussion of Leona Aglukkaq attending in Harper's place• The critical part is the mention of the Rockefeller's divesting from fossil fuels• Overall it is not an in depth article, covering mainly surface issues
Postmedia 2	September	News	William Marsden	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The article does not substantially discuss climate, but the

	23, 2014				parts that do are critical of Harper doing or saying anything meaningful about the climate while in New York
Postmedia 3	September 20, 2014	News	Anonymous	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The article is very short and one-sided in its use of authorities It is critical of U.S. action on climate change, not mentioning Canada
Torstar 1	September 24, 2014	News	Tonda MacCharles & Raveena Aulakh	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The article does not use language to enforce its stance but authorities such as Oxfam and Greenpeace were used immediately Near the end of the article Canadian action is juxtaposed with that of the U.S., showing there is room for improvement
Torstar 2	September 8, 2014	Opinion	Stephen Bede Scharper	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The article does not actually bring the government into the story It mostly discusses faith groups attending the upcoming climate march The author then goes into background on climate change and the urgency to do something about it It ends by reiterating the point that these faith groups are furthering the dialogue on climate change and emphasizing the need for action
Torstar 3	September 19, 2014	News	Raveena Aulakh	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The article uses NGO's as authorities almost exclusively It mostly describes the upcoming march but also delves into Canada's position as a laggard on climate change towards the end of the article The author utilizes primarily neutral language
Sun Media 1	September 25, 2014	News, Science	Kathleen Harris	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Harper is quoted most often Opposition and NGO criticism is still present but to a lesser extent than the government's position and placed further towards the end of the article
Sun Media 2	September 21, 2014	News, World	Barbara Goldberg & Natasia Sheriff	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The article discusses the climate march in a factual way, not criticizing the government Many of the marchers are interviewed, from civilians to celebrities and UN leaders

Overall, The Globe and Mail, Postmedia, and Torstar all produced largely neutral articles but lean toward critical in most cases. Sun Media's articles are both neutral, but one leans pro-government.

3.1.9 Event #9: The United Nations Climate Summit in Lima

In December 2014 the United Nations held a Climate Summit in Lima in preparation for the upcoming Summit in Paris a year later, in which a binding agreement is hoped to take place. Twenty-six articles were written over the four outlets, from which a random selection of three articles each was taken.

The coverage of the "Lima Summit" announcement is summarized in **Table 9** below.

Table 9: Coverage of “Lima Summit”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	December 8, 2014	News, Politics	Shawn McCarthy	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The author remained neutral in his language usage but employed authorities that displayed a critique of the lack of climate action seen from the Canadian government Many of the statements were supported with a report collected from Environment Canada: the 2014 Emissions Report The report is used to discredit statements made by the government
The Globe and Mail 2	December 1, 2014	News, World	Karl Ritter	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The language is very neutral It doesn't really frame two sides of a story, just that everyone is hoping for a positive outcome from the Lima talks There is no discussion of the Canadian government
The Globe and Mail 3	December 12, 2014	News, World	Karl Ritter	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This article is not critical of the Canadian government, but discusses whether or not an agreement will be reached The author points to China as the conflict in the talks There are good figures to back up the need for climate change action and the seriousness of the world's current position
Postmedia 1	December 15, 2014	Context	Alex Morales, Alex Nussebaum & Ewa Krukowska	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The article mostly discusses the lack of teeth seen from the Lima agreement The author points to the large divide between developed and developing nations There is no mention of the Canadian government, but two NGOs and lead negotiators are used as authorities
Postmedia 2	December 12, 2014	Opinion	Peter Foster	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The author states that UN talks begin with "alarmist studies" indicating he's a potential climate change denier right off the start He says Lima is a farce, points out that even Canada feels obliged to pitch in money, that painless transitions to green jobs are a myth, and ends the article by discussing in detail

					<p>CBC's determination to push for climate change policy (in a bad way)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The authorities he uses are Cato Institute, a climate denying think tank, and an Exxon report • He also discusses Greenpeace trampling all over a sacred site
Postmedia 3	December 4, 2014	Opinion	Peter Foster	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article is decidedly pro-government and is highly critical of Preston Manning's carbon levy (tax) proposal in numerous ways • The author is a climate skeptic in that he states fossil fuels are not a dirty habit or an addiction, CO2 is not a pollutant, and that he agrees with skeptics when they said climate models are off • He is also very much against the Canadian Ecofiscal Commission • He uses language to place himself in a pro-government light as well as authorities
Torstar 1	December 7, 2014	News	Raveena Aulakh	Neutral/Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author uses neutral language, but the authorities and quotes are somewhat critical of the government • Scientists are quoted calling for action at Lima from the Canadian government
Torstar 2	December 13, 2014	News	Raveena Aulakh	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The article uses neutral language, but is somewhat critical that any action will be produced by the Lima talks • There is no mention of the Canadian government and NGOs • World leaders are used as the only authorities
Torstar 3	December 9, 2014	News, Canada	Bruce Cheadle	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This article highlights the fact that Canada will not reach their emissions reduction target • The author points to the oil and gas sector as the reason for rising emissions • There is some critical language present, but the author mostly relies on authorities, which are the Environment Canada report, official opposition, and Greenpeace
Sun Media 1	December 14, 2014	Opinion	Tom Harris	Slightly critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lot of the story points out that little has been accomplished by the various Conferences of the Parties throughout the years and states that Lima is no exception

					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author then uses more critical language stating that the federal government should withdraw from The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), going on to say that it never should have signed any of the agreements to begin with • This is different from the criticalness of the other outlets that are calling for more action • This author is critical of the action produced so far, that it should never have been done to begin with
Sun Media 2	December 13, 2014	Opinion	Lorrie Goldstein	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author says that Harper was right in 2002 when he stated that climate talks were about sucking money from wealthy-nations • The author uses critical language and says that the talks were never about saving the planet or reducing emissions
Sun Media 3	December 6, 2014	Opinion	Lorne Gunter	Pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author is a clear climate skeptic, demonstrated when he described the Sierra Club's response as "ballistic" to the climate denying group, Friends of Science, putting up billboards that state the sun is responsible for climate change • He continues by stating that environmentalists and UN leaders are relying on faulty science

The articles for this event vary over the different outlets. The Globe and Mail and Torstar are both mostly neutral with some critical viewpoints, where Postmedia and Sun Media have minimal neutrality and are mostly supportive of the government's actions and stance. All of the Sun Media articles come from the Opinion section. The two neutral and critical outlets utilize the 2014 Emissions Report by Environment Canada to support their stance.

3.1.10 Event 10: Harper describes regulating the oil and gas industry now as a “crazy” economic policy

The final event coincides with the previous one. It took place on December 9th, 2015 in the House of Commons when Prime Minister Stephen Harper was quoted stating that to regulate the oil and gas industry now would be a “crazy” economic policy. This comes after years of the government stating they were devising such regulations. In total, seven articles were published covering the Prime Minister's statement, across all four outlets.

The coverage of the “Regulating Oil and Gas Industry” announcement is summarized in **Table 10** below.

Table 10: Coverage of “Regulating Oil and Gas Industry”

Outlet	Date Published	Section of Newspaper	Author(s)	Scale	Notes
The Globe and Mail 1	December 9, 2014	News, Politics	Shawn McCarthy	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author uses reports and quotes from government, opposition, and economists to put the government in bad light by not regulating the oil and gas industry
The Globe and Mail 2	December 11, 2014	Opinion	Margaret Wente	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author uses emotional language throughout the article• She is critical of the lack of action seen from the Canadian government, and is specifically tough on Harper• But, she is also critical of the talks in general and past Canadian government leadership
Postmedia 1	December 11, 2014	Financial Post	Stephen Ewart	Slightly pro-government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This article uses language that fluctuates between being critical and supportive of the government• The Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) is used as authority however, and the opposition is not present in the article• The authorities and witnesses place the article slightly pro-government.
Postmedia 2	December 9, 2014	News, Energy	Canadian Press	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This article juxtaposes quotes from the government with the Environment Canada report obtained by Greenpeace showing the government is not making any progress on climate change• The author also places this event in the larger context of the Lima talks, where nations are trying to battle climate change, and action seen from the provinces
Postmedia 3	December 10, 2014	City	James Wood	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The author places quotes from government against evidence that puts them in a bad light• He uses an array of authorities• Sometimes critical language is used, but he mostly uses authorities to demonstrate his point

Torstar 1	December 10, 2014	News	Les Whittington	Critical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The author demonstrates how the government is acting in a hypocritical manner as it had previously stated for years it was devising regulations for the oil and gas industry, yet is now going back on its word • The author also points out that the U.S. did regulate this industry even though Harper claims no one else has • The Environment Canada report is also used as an authority in the article, as well as the official opposition
Sun Media 1	December 9, 2014	Politics	David Akin	Neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is difficult to tell where the author's stance is as it is a very short article • Both sides are represented, but very briefly and there are not many authorities present • Due to the limited information the article appears to be neutral

In conclusion, this event yielded a great deal of criticism from the outlets. Five of the seven articles were critical of the government, one from Postmedia was slightly pro-government and the one from Sun Media was neutral due to a lack of substance. This event yielded the most uniform results of all the coverage across the outlets.

3.1.11 Conclusions

Overall, The Globe and Mail's analyzed articles are mostly neutral with a slightly critical lean. Seven are neutral and another seven are slightly critical, accounting for 56 per cent of its articles. Another four articles are completely critical. Only two are slightly pro-government and one neutral/pro-government. None of The Globe and Mail's articles are completely pro-government. When the articles are critical it is demonstrated mostly by the authors' use of authorities to critique the federal government as opposed to bias by slant, swaying the reader with language.

Postmedia's articles have the most range of all of the outlets. Six of the articles are pro-government, six are critical, and five are neutral. The Postmedia no longer employs the outlet's most prominent author in the study, Mike De Souza^{xxxix} (M. De Souza, personal communication, July 10, 2015). Subtracting De Souza's articles from the data sheets would shift the outlet's stance as he was a neutral and slightly critical author. Beyond De Souza, many of the repeating journalists seen from Postmedia display a pro-government viewpoint. The outlet also posts some articles displaying climate skepticism as seen from Peter Foster. In February 2015, Postmedia lost a defamation lawsuit filed by climate scientist Andrew Weaver that involved Foster. Postmedia was found guilty as it was "careless or indifferent to the accuracy of the facts"^{xl} according to the B.C. Supreme Court. This study was only able to look at a small portion of articles relating to climate policy at

the federal level in Canada. The polarized nature of Postmedia's articles' alignment may not demonstrate the true stance and scope of typical Postmedia articles.^{xli} Letting go De Souza, advertising of CAPP, and recent defamation lawsuit all lend to a possible more pro-government stance, or at least a less critical one than demonstrated by the results from this study. This is discussed further in **Section 4.1.2**.

Torstar's articles are the most critical of the federal government of all the outlets. Eight of the 21 articles that were analyzed were fully critical. Only three of the articles leaned slightly pro-government while none were neutral/pro-government or pro-government. Some of the authors employed language to evoke emotion from the reader, but many relied upon authorities.

Sun Media is the most supportive of the federal government of all the outlets. Seven of its 16 articles are pro-government (43 per cent) with three more aligning on the pro-government side of neutral. Three of its printed articles are neutral and another three align on the critical end of the spectrum.

Broadly speaking, and specifically in terms of this study, The Globe and Mail is the most neutral outlet, although slightly critical. Postmedia is the most polarized, with a large number of articles pro-government and a large amount critical. Torstar is the most critical of the outlets and Sun Media is the most supportive of the Canadian government.

The next section will examine further the role of individual journalists writing multiple articles and sometimes covering multiple events. This will help to clarify the outlets' overall stances. Enlisting a critical or pro-government author repeated times could indicate an editorial viewpoint that the outlet is expressing.

3.2 Authors

As a media event unfolds news outlets will often place a journalist on the story asking her or him to cover the entire event, such as a Conference of the Parties (COP) during which negotiations take place over two weeks. The advantage to having a journalist cover the entire event is they become familiar with the issues that arise and the key players involved. Engaging journalists to cover climate change issues over multiple events can magnify this advantage, as the author is familiar with the climate policies enacted in the past, conscious of other nation's positions on a global agreement, and know which experts are knowledgeable about the issue. This is referred to as beat reporting. A journalist will work within the realm of environmental issues for example, as this is what they are most knowledgeable about, covering the "environment beat."

Some of the newspaper outlets in this study utilized this method of reporting over the ten events. The observed trends are explored below, organized by newspaper outlet. It is interesting to note that some authors have a more critical way of writing, while others are more pro-government consistently across their stories, regardless of the event. Some of the authors are critical due to the language they use when writing, attempting to evoke emotion from the reader. Other journalists show criticism of the government by the witnesses they quote and the placement of authorities and experts within the story. This also works in reverse for those authors that have a pro-government stance.

Overall, The Globe and Mail utilizes the most beat reporters of the outlets. The newspaper has five different journalists that wrote more than one article throughout the study, with one covering eight different stories over six different events in the span of five years. The Globe and Mail furthers this strategy by pairing the beat reporters for larger

events, like the climate summits. Depending on where the climate talks are taking place there is a correspondent from that part of the world paired with someone who has background in climate policy. These are very effective ways to cover the events. Additionally, the large majority of their authors write with neutral language, not appealing to the emotions of readers, but their use of authorities and quotes are slightly critical of the government's actions. This is notable throughout the 10 events.

There are four repeating authors from Postmedia. One prominent Postmedia journalist wrote five articles over four events prior to being let go in 2014. His articles were largely neutral, slightly critical. Another journalist is a climate skeptic who wrote two opinion pieces denouncing international climate talks that were printed during the Lima Summit. Three of the authors use mostly neutral language to tell their stories, relying largely upon authorities when the story leans slightly pro-government or slightly critical. The opinion author, on the other hand, uses highly emotional language to sway the reader and uses authorities that also deny anthropogenic climate change.

Torstar has three authors who wrote more than one article in the study and all three work distinctive beats that aid in their storytelling. Two of them use very neutral language but their authorities and experts have quotes that are critical of the government. The third author uses some critical language in his articles along with critical authorities and experts. Reports from Environment Canada and the government are also used to provide proof in the articles and add to the critical scope.

Finally, Sun Media also has three authors that write multiple stories over the 10 events. One of the authors' beat is climate controversy. His articles are very pro-government and lack authorities or witnesses, instead relying on emotional language to

influence the reader. The second author wrote two very brief articles that only display the government and official opposition's stances on the topics. Although the language is neutral the stories lack depth. The third also holds a pro-government stance and possible climate denying views. Interestingly, she was employed by Sun Media very briefly and is predominately a Postmedia journalist.

3.2.1 The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail utilized beat reporting more than the other three newspaper outlets, with five authors writing multiple articles. Shawn McCarthy is an author for eight different articles spanning six of the 10 events while Geoffrey York, Eric Reguly, Kim Mackrael, and Karl Ritter each write more than one article in the study's sampling. The Globe and Mail also pairs journalists that work different beats, but are complimentary to one another for particular stories. For example, McCarthy and Reguly were paired on the Copenhagen Climate Summit as McCarthy's expertise includes climate policy and Reguly is a European correspondent for the outlet. There are advantages to both of these strategies that enhance the knowledge being passed to the reader, as the authors are more experienced and informed on their subject matter.

Shawn McCarthy is the most widely used author by The Globe and Mail from the selection of articles for this study. Of The Globe and Mail's 24 articles his name was used in the byline of eight of them. His expertise is in global energy, with climate change policy falling under this heading.^{xlii} McCarthy wrote two articles for the Copenhagen Climate Summit in 2009, two covering Canada's emission regulations for heavy-duty vehicles in 2011, one for Canada's fuel efficiency regulations in 2012, one for the UN Climate Summit in New York City in 2014, one for the Lima Climate Summit in 2014, and finally one

discussing Harper's remark about regulating the oil the gas industry as a "crazy" policy in 2014. This displays The Globe and Mail's use of its own beat reporters to cover climate change stories across the span of years.

McCarthy's stories always use neutral language. He does not appeal to the emotions of the readers nor try to sway them either for or against the government. When the articles do lean towards the critical end of the scale it is due to the use of authorities' quotes that are critical of government action. This is demonstrated in the article he wrote with Kim Mackrael when John Bennett of the Sierra Club was quoted stating: "Copycat regs that don't kick in for decades is just more bafflegab from a do-nothing government." This statement is used near the beginning of the article with little defense provided from the government on its regulations. Both of his articles in December 2014 are critical of the government, not due to language, but because of the authorities and quotes used. He uses Environment Canada reports, opposition statements, and independent sources to substantiate his stories.

One of McCarthy's articles did lean slightly pro-government due to a lack of opposition or other voices outside of the government. Overall, McCarthy is a neutral author who uses factual language to tell a fair story. When he is critical he has extensive evidence to support the story.

In addition to these articles Shawn McCarthy wrote four others that pertained to the 10 events but were not chosen due to the need to randomly select articles from the larger events because of time constraints on the research. Should these articles be aligned with those that were analyzed it would further demonstrate The Globe and Mail's use of neutral, sometimes slightly critical journalists to tell a story.

During COP17, the UN Climate Summit that took place in Durban, Geoffrey York covered three stories that were randomly selected for this study. York is the Africa Bureau Chief for The Globe and Mail and with the conference being held in South Africa, he was a suitable journalist to cover the talks.^{xliii}

York's writing is mostly neutral, but slightly critical of the government. The language he uses in his writing is very factual. He does not appeal to the emotions of the reader. He relies on witnesses and experts when describing critiques of the current government's position at the Summit. In one of his articles he quotes Environment Minister Peter Kent extensively, displaying the mixed messages that Kent is sending. Kent is seen criticizing the Kyoto climate treaty for months leading up to the Summit, and then supporting a legally binding treaty to replace the Kyoto Protocol. Kent states that an extension to the final session of negotiations should not happen, but then later back tracks and says that it would be fine if the talks take a little longer. York also puts Kent in a bad light when he quotes him saying time is running short to set meaningful reductions from major developing economies and juxtaposes it with Canada not fulfilling its Kyoto pledges.

Overall, York uses a diversity of witnesses that are often critical of the government, but this criticalness balances his stories as they discuss Canada's involvement in the climate change conference of 2011 very factually. Additionally, he is critical of China's announcement of its climate change plan at the talks. Most of the time York's language is neutral, although at times he does rely on his own voice, and not authorities, to tell a slightly critical story to his readers.

Beyond the sample of articles chosen for the study York wrote an additional seven articles all printed during the Durban Summit for The Globe and Mail. This demonstrates

the outlet's clear use of a beat reporter for an event, benefiting from their expertise as the event unfolds.

Eric Reguly wrote two stories in the sampling of articles, both for the Copenhagen Summit. Reguly wrote these articles with McCarthy, most likely due to his position as the European Bureau Chief.^{xliv} Both of these articles were neutral as they were very factual in nature, informing the reader of what was occurring in Copenhagen without putting the government in either good or bad light. A lot of the international leaders and lead negotiators were quoted as well as some NGOs. No emotional language was used in either article.

Kim Mackrael wrote two articles of her own on the UN Climate Summit in New York City and co-authored a third with McCarthy for the same event. Mackrael is a parliamentary reporter for The Globe and Mail.^{xlv} All of Mackrael's articles are neutral, but slightly critical of the government. The language is neutral and employs well-placed quotes and specific authorities that give the stories a critical scope. The opposition's environment critic, Megan Leslie, is quoted criticizing Harper for not attending the Climate Summit. Mackrael also highlights Environment Minister Leona Aglukkaq's discussion of Canada's very soft action on climate change compared to that of other nations. Mackrael provides the reader with an overall update on what is occurring at the New York City Summit, providing facts and figures for background.

For the ninth event, the UN Climate Summit in Lima, Karl Ritter wrote two articles within the sample. Ritter is an Associated Press Bureau Chief for the Nordic and Baltic region who covers climate change.^{xlvi} Both of his articles are neutral in language and authorities. There is no Canadian government element to the stories. Ritter provides an

update on the talks, discusses the key players involved, and hopes for a positive outcome. He also frames the seriousness of climate change and the urgency of reaching an international agreement.

To summarize, The Globe and Mail utilizes beat reporters well when covering climate change. McCarthy is often seen paired with a second journalist that has a different expertise that aids in the context of that particular story. This is demonstrated in his pairing with York at the Durban Climate Summit, Reguly at the Copenhagen Climate Summit, and Mackrael at the New York City Climate Summit. The authors consistently use neutral language in their stories. The articles often lean towards the critical end of the spectrum in that key authorities and experts are critical of the government's actions or non-actions on climate change. The stories are fair in that they do not attack the government's position, but provide evidence that demonstrates the need to perhaps question the government's viewpoint.

3.2.2 Postmedia Network

Postmedia has four authors who wrote multiple articles in the sample study. The most prominent is environment journalist Mike De Souza, who wrote five articles over four of the events. Kelly Cryderman, Mark Kennedy, and Peter Foster are the other three Postmedia journalists. De Souza and Cryderman, however, are no longer employed by Postmedia. De Souza was a prominent investigative reporter for the environment and one of the outlet's most consistent neutral, slightly critical reporters in terms of this study. Foster, however, is a clear climate skeptic who wrote two opinion articles for the outlet during the Lima Summit. The first three authors used relatively neutral language. They leaned slightly one way or the other on the scale of criticalness due to the experts and

authorities consulted in the stories. Foster deviated from this in that he used highly emotional language to sway the reader towards the pro-government end of the scale and the authorities quoted were also all pro-government.

Mike De Souza wrote five stories for Postmedia that were used in the sample for this study. He was a prominent investigative journalist, and a political reporter for Postmedia until February 2014, when he was let go, along with three other journalists. ^{xlvii} (M. De Souza, personal communication, July 10, 2015). De Souza was not employed for the last three events, but covered four of the seven events that occurred while he was employed at Postmedia, including: when Environment Minister John Baird announced the ‘Turning the Corner’ climate change plan, when the government announced regulations on heavy-duty vehicles, the Durban Climate Summit, and the government’s fuel efficiency regulations. De Souza wrote an additional nine articles that were not analyzed in this study, but made up part of the original collection of articles before random sampling was implemented due to the large sample size and time constraints. This demonstrates his status as a beat reporter for Postmedia.

De Souza’s articles are all neutral in nature, with some leaning towards the critical end of the scale. For the ‘Turning the Corner’ plan his language was neutral but David Suzuki and Denmark’s Minister of Energy and Transportation quotes were critical of the government and placed near the beginning of the article. De Souza’s coverage of heavy-duty vehicle regulations was a little more critical in that he used a report gathered by Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) legislation, which put the government in a bad light. Additionally, Kent refused to comment and this was placed in the article. De Souza’s language remained neutral, but his quotes from authorities were critical of the government.

This method of writing continued for the Durban Summit when he quoted nations that were critical of Canada's involvement in the talks and stated that the country was attempting to "armtwist" some nations into not signing an agreement. However, his language remained neutral, and he also provided a great deal of context to the talks.

Finally, De Souza's article on the government's fuel efficiency regulations was neutral, but uncharacteristically slightly pro-government. He quotes the government heavily, supplementing this with quotations from industry representatives that agree with the regulations. He finishes the article with a quote from Pollution Probe opposing the regulations, as they are insufficient to fight climate change, but this opposition is minimal and late in the story. This was the final article seen from De Souza for Postmedia. He is currently an investigative journalist correspondent with Reuters who focuses on energy and environment.^{xlvi}

Kelly Cryderman covered two stories on the Copenhagen Summit when she was an environment journalist for Postmedia. As of January 2013 she began to work for The Globe and Mail doing Alberta coverage. It is undisclosed whether it was Cryderman or Postmedia's choice to end her employment with them.^{xli} One of her articles is neutral, although slightly critical, while the other is pro-government. Her neutral article provides more of an overview of the Summit and is critical, not of the government, but in so far as she argues not enough came out of the talk. This is displayed in the authorities and experts quoted. Cryderman's pro-government article is critical of other world leaders, but not Canada's. There are no opposition quotes in the article, nor any outside sources beyond UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and Canadian Environment Minister Jim Prentice. The latter made Canada look good coming out of the negotiations.

A parliamentary correspondent for the outlet, Mark Kennedy,¹ wrote two articles in the sample. The first was when Harper spoke out in conjunction with Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbott against a carbon tax, while the second covered the New York City Climate Summit. Both articles were mostly neutral, the first leaning slightly pro-government and the second slightly critical. Kennedy's first article focuses a lot on how the two Prime Ministers are putting the economy before climate change, quoting them primarily. Readers that have not previously been informed on the issue could be swayed to believe the leaders are correct and that climate change action has hurt the economy. Kennedy interjects with observations on U.S. action into this commentary, but the article leans slightly pro-government overall.

Kennedy's second article is brief. It gives an overview of the upcoming talks, but juxtaposes the recent decision by the Rockefeller brothers to divest \$860 million of their charitable fund from fossil fuel investments. There is also some discussion of Agluqqak attending in Harper's place. His language is again neutral, but the article is only very slightly critical.

The final author writing multiple articles is Peter Foster who has a column in the Financial Post. His pieces are both opinion articles and highly pro-government. Foster makes it clear that he is a climate skeptic through his very emotional writing that attempts to sway the reader as well as the authorities he quotes. Both of his articles are for the Lima Summit, the first one beginning by stating the talks are a farce. Throughout the article he calls scientific climate studies "alarmist studies", states painless transitions to green jobs are a myth, that the Canadian government feels obligated to pitch in money to the Green Fund, and finishes by aligning CBC with those that push for climate policy. Foster also uses

known climate-denying authorities in the article, such as the Cato Institute and a report from oil and gas company, Exxon Mobil.

In his second article, printed on the same day, he confronts Preston Manning's carbon levy proposal. He begins by stating that fossil fuels are not a dirty habit or an addiction, that CO₂ is not a pollutant, and plainly agrees with climate skeptics that scientific climate models have been off in their results. His language places him clearly against the Canadian Ecofiscal Commission, while aligning him with the current government's position against a carbon tax.

In summary, De Souza is the prominent beat reporter seen from Postmedia, but he was let go from the outlet in 2014 (M. De Souza, personal communication, July 10, 2015). Kennedy and Cryderman use neutral language in their reporting while Foster does not. Postmedia published opinion articles by Foster that almost outright deny climate change's occurrence during the Climate Summit in Lima.

3.2.3 Torstar Corporation

Torstar makes use of its beat reporters in the sample study through three journalists. Les Whittington, Allan Woods and Raveena Aulakh each write for Toronto Star. Two of the authors were on the environment beat while the third covered economics and politics, which were crucial subjects in the stories he covered.

Les Whittington covered three different stories for the Toronto Star throughout the study: on the Berlin Summit where the European Union (EU) and Canada met to discuss climate security in 2007, when Harper and Abbott denounced a federal carbon tax, and when Harper called regulating the oil and gas industry a "crazy" economic policy.

Whittington works in the parliamentary bureau for the outlet where he covers economics

and politics.^{li} His first article was very factual and neutral. It mostly just informed the reader about the upcoming Summit and what was to take place. The second article, covering Harper and Abbott's meeting, was mostly neutral but slightly pro-government. This is due to the fact that he used the quote of the "job-killing carbon tax" without providing evidence for why it may be "job-killing." A lot of the article discussed an anti-prostitution bill, therefore the climate part was brief. At the end of the article Whittington points out that the U.S. is acting, while Canada and Australia are not, however, the discussion on this point is minimal and placed too close to the end of the piece for it to be effectively create a neutral article.

Whittington's final article is critical of the government. He describes how the government is being hypocritical because it stated for years that it was working on regulations for the oil and gas industry, but now Harper is saying to regulate would be a "crazy" policy. Harper states that no one else is doing so, but Whittington provides proof that the U.S. has regulated the industry. He uses an Environment Canada report as an authority as well as the opposition. The language he uses is neutral but the proof he provides is critical of the government's action.

Allan Woods is currently located in Montreal as a correspondent, but worked on federal politics and the environment beat as an Ottawa correspondent from 2007 to 2012.^{lii} He covered three different stories in the sample over two events: The Copenhagen Summit and the Durban Summit. His first two articles were both for the Copenhagen agreement and critical of the federal government. In the first article Woods begins with Harper defending Canada's action on climate while discussing the accord. The author's language becomes critical, explaining the non-binding nature of the agreement and the fact that it is not

enough to combat climate change. Woods' tone comes out in the second article too, more critical of the accord that emerged from the Summit than the government. It is interesting to note that he quotes Greenpeace before Harper in the article. Many international experts are used in the article as authorities and experts.

Woods' third article has a more neutral stance, although it is still slightly critical. The theme of the article is an overview of Durban, highlighting China's climate action and what the lead Canadian negotiator thinks of it. Although the language is mostly neutral in this story, Woods points out Kent's refusal to discuss pulling out of Kyoto officially, giving it an air of criticalness towards the Canadian government. He also states that Canada has an "anti-Kyoto stance."

An additional three articles written by Woods were not analyzed for this study due to the random sampling. Should those articles demonstrate a similar stance the articles analyzed, this would further establish Torstar's use of critical authors.

Raveena Aulakh wrote three articles in the study, one covering the New York City climate march that was neutral/critical and two for the Lima Summit, which were both somewhat critical. Aulakh is on the environment beat for the Toronto Star.^{liii} She uses very neutral language in each article. The authorities in the story from New York City are almost all NGOs describing the upcoming march. Towards the end of the article she goes into some detail of Canada as a laggard on climate change.

In the first Lima story Aulakh's use of authorities lean towards critical of the government. She uses scientists as expert witnesses that each call for action, hoping that the Canadian government will help further climate policy at the international talks. In the second article there is no mention of the Canadian government. NGOs and world leaders

are the authorities used. The quotations Aulakh uses display doubt that any real action will come out of the talks.

Torstar's prominent authors mostly use neutral language, although Woods does attempt to sway the reader towards being critical of the government. Mostly, the journalists use authorities to demonstrate criticalness and back up their stories with government reports and quotes from experts.

3.2.4 Sun Media Corporation

Sun Media has four recurring journalists in the study: Lorrie Goldstein, Kristy Kirkrup and Christina Spencer. Goldstein's articles rely heavily on evoking emotion from the reader in order to sway them to a pro-government stance. Kirkrup's articles are extremely short and lack any outside authority on the issue beyond the government and official opposition. There is a lack of depth demonstrated in the articles and the only type of beat reporting is that of Goldstein's, which covers the "controversies" of climate change.

Lorrie Goldstein is currently the Acting Comment Editor of the Toronto Sun with a special interest in the "many controversies surrounding the issue of global warming."^{liv} He acknowledges anthropocentric global-warming, but does not believe that it is an "immanent, existential threat to mankind."^{lv} The events that his four articles cover are: the Copenhagen Summit, the Durban Summit, and the Lima Summit. In each article he is decidedly pro-government.

The first article was officially deemed as neutral/critical, but this is because it is co-authored with Elizabeth May, the leader of the Green Party. Her part of the story came first and was critical of the government. Goldstein's part was second and was not critical of the government at all, but proceeded to denigrate the international agreement. He used very

emotional language to sway the reader, stating that the Copenhagen Summit was a useless cash grab, appealing specifically to tax payers.

Goldstein's coverage of the Durban Summit used a lot of pro-government language. He was critical of the talks in general, noting the carbon used in order to have the leaders convene. He was very supportive of the federal government pulling out of Kyoto. Goldstein went so far as to refer to the opposition and environmentalists' positions as "idiotic." In a second article covering Durban talks, Goldstein refers to environmentalists, specifically European environmentalists, as Marxists who were put out of business when communism was discredited. He went on to defend the federal government, wanting them to stop being "attacked". When describing the Kyoto protocol, Goldstein stated that Jean Chrétien "idiotically ratified the economy-destroying deal." The second article was in the Opinion section, but the first was in the World section. Each article uses pro-government language that is highly emotional and suggestive to the reader. Neither article uses many authorities to back up Goldstein's claims.

Goldstein's final article is also pro-government and in the Opinion section of the newspaper. He states that Harper was right in 2012 when the Prime Minister said climate talks were about sucking money from wealthy-nations. Goldstein's coverage of the Lima Summit states that the talks were never about saving the planet or reducing emissions. His language continues to evoke emotion from the reader and he avoids using any authorities for quotes in the article, instead relying on his own words.

An additional three articles written by Goldstein pertaining to the 10 events were collected but not used for the random sampling. This further demonstrates Sun Media's use of authors that are clearly aligned with a pro-government standpoint.

Kristy Kirkrup worked as a national affairs reporter for Sun Media for two years, from March 2011 to June 2013.^{lvi} Kirkrup wrote two articles in the study. The first is on the Durban Summit and was mostly neutral, slightly pro-government. Her language is neutral, but it primarily uses Kent as the authority. Opposition environment critic, Megan Leslie, is the only other witness in the article and is seen only in the last four paragraphs of the article. The story is framed in a he-says-she-says narrative. Kirkrup's second article covers Canada's fuel efficiency regulations. It is a neutral article, but extremely short and lacks witnesses or experts to give the story substance, similar to her first article. Again, only the government and opposition positions are shown, without much detail.

Christina Spencer wrote two articles, both covering the Copenhagen Summit during her very brief stint writing for Sun Media. Spencer was employed by the news outlet for less than a year, working predominantly for Postmedia covering the parliament beat there.^{lvii} Her first article is very pro-government due to authorities used. Harper is the only person quoted in the article and is always cast in a positive light. There is also a statement that fossil fuels are "believed" to be contributing to global warming, hinting at possible climate skepticism. The second article is neutral/pro-government as it is mostly supportive of Canada's role in the accord. There is minimal critical language used, but a quote from Harper that states oil sands only account for four per cent of Canada's emissions lends itself to the pro-government end of the scale, along with other authorities used in the story.

To summarize, Sun Media only utilized one beat reporter, where his beat was the controversies surrounding climate change, as opposed to climate policy or the environment, as categorized in the other outlets. The articles seen from this journalist rely on emotional language to evoke emotion from the reader in an attempt to have them adopt

his pro-government stance. He wrote several more articles included in the original 176 articles collected. Kirkrup wrote very short articles that only display the current government and the opposition in quotes contending one another. Although her language is neutral, the articles lack authorities and experts to give them depth. Spencer is also a pro-government author and hints at climate skepticism views. Her stories were one sided in terms of authorities, although her language was mostly neutral.

3.2.5 Additional Authors

Lorne Gunter is the author of two articles for the study, one printed in Postmedia the other by Sun Media. Both articles are decidedly pro-government. Gunter's beat is politics, both federal and provincial for Alberta. His views are described as "right-of-center" and he was a former managing editor of the magazine Alberta Report, defunct since 2003.^{lviii} The Alberta Report was a right-wing weekly newsmagazine that featured those such as the well-known climate skeptic Ezra Levant. Gunter's past open views demonstrate a climate skeptic point of view, which is displayed in both printed articles.

His first article in the study was printed in the Editorial section by Postmedia, covering the meeting between Canada and the EU in 2007. It is a very pro-government article, not using any authorities other than Gunter's own viewpoint. He defends Canada's targets, although they are lower than that of the EU nations' targets. He claims that EU targets are unrealistic, yet the article continues to state that many of these targets have been achieved. Gunter states the EU has unfairly achieved their targets by shifting baselines and other factors.

Gunter's second article does not come until the ninth event, printed during the Lima Summit in 2014. It is an opinion piece that is also very pro-government and demonstrates

climate skepticism. He uses highly emotional language and states that environmentalists and UN leaders are relying on faulty science. The organization Friends of Science is mentioned, having put up a billboard that stated the sun was responsible for climate change. To this Gunter reported that the environmental NGO, the Sierra Club, went “ballistic”. Although not used for this study, in 2012 Postmedia published an article by Gunter making similar claims: that the sun was responsible for recent warming trends and predicting new colder ones to come. To this Gunter offered readers’ the advice: “Start idling your full-sized SUVs in your driveways now. The planet may need all the global warming it can get.”^{lix}

Gunter is another example of cross over between Postmedia News and Sun News as several other journalists have been employed by both outlets over the years. Sun Media is aligned as a pro-government outlet in terms of this study where Postmedia’s articles are polarized between pro-government and critical. The role of Sun Media journalists writing for Postmedia suggests that Postmedia’s views may be moving in a more pro-government direction. The stance of each outlet will be described in further detail below.

4. SUMMARY of FINDINGS

4.1 The Outlets' Stances

After analyzing 86 articles by four different newspaper outlets it was determined that the most supportive outlet was Sun Media, followed by Postmedia, whose articles were quite polarized between pro-government and critical. Postmedia's alignment was investigated further due to this curious stance. It was probed by examining the authors who wrote multiple articles for the outlet in the study, the recent lawsuit against one of its newspapers, The National Post, and an advertising agreement with CAPP. The Globe and Mail was the most neutral newspaper outlet of the four, aligning partially critical. Finally, Torstar was decisively the most critical outlet, as it presented very few articles in the study leaning even slightly pro-government. Each of the outlets' alignments will be considered in more detail below, particularly Postmedia due to its seemingly polarized stance. It should be noted again that this study provides a small glimpse of Canadian media, investigating only 86 articles over the course of seven years and related specifically to federal action on climate change. The analysis is also subjective to the researcher.

4.1.1 The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail was the most neutral of the outlets, although aligned slightly critical of government action on climate change. The Globe and Mail utilized the most factual language and predominantly drew on authorities if it deviated from a neutral stance. During the climate summits it was more critical of Canada's role than at other events, and to a broader extent critical of all countries attempting to make an impact on climate change.

This outlet provides the most neutral stance, allowing the public to reach its own conclusions when presented with the facts. Its slightly critical alignment is also advantageous to readers because it provides some skepticism with respect to government action instead of simply taking government messages at face value. It is good to ask questions of the government in order for it to be accountable for its actions and to determine if its decisions were in fact the correct ones to make. Additionally, the articles were chiefly written using minimal slant to sway the readers, relying on fair quotes from authorities.

4.1.2 Postmedia Network

It was found that Postmedia's articles were very polarized between pro-government and critical stances. Nearly all of the pro-government articles can be found in the Opinion section, sometimes providing a soapbox for climate skeptics such as Peter Foster and Lorne Gunter. Some of the critical articles do push to the point of attacking the government or are critical of action at the international climate summits as opposed to the Canadian government. The most prominent author for Postmedia in this study is Mike De Souza, who was let go in February 2014 (M. De Souza, personal communication, July 10, 2015). His articles were primarily neutral and slightly critical. The loss of De Souza has left a hole in terms of neutral, slightly critical, environmental beat reporting for the outlet. This is not to say that other outlets do not also struggle with filling environmental beat reporting positions.

There are also several connections between Sun Media and Postmedia. Each published articles written by climate skeptic Lorne Gunter, and both employ pro-government author Christina Spencer, although none of Spencer's articles were printed by

Postmedia in terms of this study. Also, Postmedia's current CEO Paul Godfrey was Sun Media's past CEO.^{lx}

Climate scientist, Andrew Weaver, successfully sued Postmedia's most prominent national newspaper, The National Post, for publishing inaccurate statements. The newspaper, its publisher Gordon Fisher, and columnists Peter Foster, Terence Corcoran and Kevin Libin were all sued for defamation. The respondents were found to be "careless or indifferent to the accuracy of the facts."^{lxi} Justice Emily Burke found that the articles adversely impacted Weaver's reputation and integrity as a scientist. There were four columns written between 2009 and 2010 by the authors that Weaver had requested be retracted by the newspaper.^{lxii}

Additionally, Postmedia publicized a partnership with the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) to highlight "the fundamental role the energy sector plays in building and sustaining economic prosperity" in Canada in 2013.^{lxiii} The agreement was to focus news and advertising on highlighting the benefits from the oil and gas industry.

The newspaper's presentation, titled, "Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers Postmedia 2013 Energy Channel Sponsorship," stated that Canadians, outside of Albertans, were failing to grasp the fundamental role the energy sector plays in economic prosperity and that the new relationship between CAPP and Postmedia would bring energy to the "forefront of our national conversation."^{lxiv}

The ad proposal suggested there would be 12 single-page joint ventures in the National Post as well as another 12 in different newspapers across the country. The joint venture topics would be identified by CAPP and written by Postmedia. There was to be additional content on social media, the Internet, and cell phone applications.^{lxv}

The publisher for Postmedia, Douglas Kelly, stated: “The National Post will undertake to leverage all means editorially, technically and creatively to further this critical conversation.” He also said, “We will work with CAPP to amplify our energy mandate and to be a part of the solution to keep Canada competitive in the global marketplace.”^{lxvi}

All of these facts: journalistic alignment, letting go De Souza, the close association with Sun Media, the defamation lawsuit, and the partnership with CAPP, align Postmedia more towards the supportive end of the scale devised for this research.

4.1.3 Torstar Corporation

The Torstar outlet is the most critical of the four outlets examined, hardly ever displaying even a slight pro-government stance. Its main newspaper is the Toronto Star, accounting for a large portion of its readership, but also the free Metro dailies distributed in major cities across the country. The journalists published most often by Torstar rely heavily on authorities and experts to establish their stance, but sometimes their viewpoints come out in the language they use as well. Most of the critical stories are printed in the News section of the paper.

4.1.4 Sun Media Corporation

Sun Media aligns the most with a supportive stance for the government. It often echoes sentiments that less action is better because it does not waste money and supports the fossil fuel industry, as the federal government does. Sun Media prints multiple stories by authors like Goldstein and Gunter who use climate denial think tanks and ExxonMobil reports as authorities, questioning any need for action on climate change and supporting the government’s inaction. Although it is the third most read outlet overall in Canada, it is

the second most read in five major cities and first in a sixth city. These facts will be explored in the next section.

4.2 2013 Readership Data

The organizations Newspaper Audience Databank (NADbank) and Print Measurement Bureau (PMB) each produce annual reports concerning readership data primarily used by the newspaper outlets to understand the demographics of readers. The reports provide insight as to the ages of those reading their paper, the gender of readers, and whether they primarily read online or print copies. The NADbank reports additionally display the number of people reading the top newspapers in six major Canadian cities. The 2013 report was obtained for this study and used to determine which of the four analyzed outlets were being read the most. The six cities examined for readership results are: Montreal, Ottawa-Gatineau, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver.

Unfortunately, 2013 was the only year an annual report was accessible for this study. Many efforts were made to obtain previous reports, but due to discontinuations of memberships and the amalgamation of NADbank and PMB it proved impossible to gain access to any other annual reports.

It should be noted that Torstar owns Metro and therefore Metro newspapers have been counted in Torstar's overall readership numbers. Similarly, 24 Hours is owned by Sun Media and counted in its overall numbers. The readership numbers used to calculate this data consider adults that are 18 years or older who read a printed edition or PDF, visited a daily newspaper website or accessed a daily newspaper mobile App in the average week.

According to the NADbank Readership Results for 2013, overall Postmedia's

newspapers were read the most of all the outlets with 6,438,000 readers weekly. Torstar was the second most widely read, with 6,012,000 readers. Sun Media followed closely with 5,943,300 readers and The Globe and Mail had 2,420,000 weekly readers.

4.2.1 Montreal

When broken down by city, Montreal was the only community to have Sun Media as the most-read outlet of the four. Torstar was the second most popular outlet, followed by Postmedia and then The Globe and Mail. Sun Media is the most pro-government of the outlets in terms of the study, indicating that residents of the city were increasingly exposed to the influence of pro-government media. However, this may be balanced by having the most critical outlet following as a close second.

4.2.2 Ottawa-Gatineau

In the National Capital Region of Ottawa and Gatineau, Postmedia is the most widely read outlet of the four. Sun Media follows in second with TorStar and The Globe and Mail in third and fourth respectively. This indicates the public is exposed most to the outlet that displays polarized articles, but leans more pro-government due to reasons explained in the previous section. There are no 24 Hour dailies produced for the National Capital Region. This suggests the Ottawa Sun is read widely in the region.

4.2.3 Toronto

Torstar was the most widely read in Toronto, followed by Sun Media, The Globe and Mail, and Postmedia News. This demonstrates that Torontonians are reading more articles that are critical of the government as Torstar's articles in the study demonstrated the most criticalness of the four outlets. It is the only city for which Torstar lead in readership numbers. Torstar's influence is most likely so large in this city due to the Toronto Star,

where the outlet's influence in other cities relies completely upon its' Metro daily newspapers. Toronto also held the highest readership numbers of all the cities for The Globe and Mail, the most neutral/slightly critical of the outlets. The Globe and Mail is often associated with Toronto, most likely due to its head office location, which could be an influential factor placing it third of the four outlets.

4.2.4 Calgary

Calgary is lead by Postmedia and followed in the same order as the National Capital Region: Sun Media, Torstar and The Globe and Mail. This indicates that readers could be influenced in very similar ways: more to the pro-government outlets than the critical and neutral ones. Calgary also does not have 24 Hours in the city therefore all of the Sun Media's readership numbers come from the Calgary Sun.

4.2.5 Edmonton

Edmonton has the same ranking of outlet readership numbers as Calgary: Postmedia, Sun Media, Torstar and The Globe and Mail. Sun Media's numbers come only from The Edmonton Sun, as there is no 24 Hours publications.

4.2.6 Vancouver

Finally, Vancouver follows the same pattern as Calgary and Edmonton, with the most read outlet being Postmedia, followed by Sun Media, Torstar and The Globe and Mail. Sun Media is represented in this city only by its 24 Hours daily newspapers. Postmedia has a monopoly in the city, as it owns both the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun in addition to the National Post.

4.2.7 Summary

Overall, in 2013 four of the major Canadian cities were primarily exposed to articles

that leaned toward the pro-government end of the spectrum in terms of Canadian action on climate change. Postmedia was the most widely read outlet followed by Sun Media. The critical and neutral, slightly critical outlets were read predominantly by Torontonians and by Montreal citizens to a lesser extent, as Montreal's first outlet was Sun Media but was followed by Torstar.

Postmedia was the most read newspaper outlet in the country overall, the most read in four of the six cities, then third in Montreal and last in Toronto. Although it has polarized articles in this study, it aligns as a pro-government outlet on the whole.

While Torstar was the second most read outlet in the nation, followed very closely by Sun Media. More than half of the Star's readers are from Toronto. Of the six cities, it places second last in four of them. Torstar is the most critical outlet of the four, often questioning government action or inaction, demanding more, and is rarely satisfied with current decisions on climate change.

The Globe and Mail is at a slight disadvantage in the readership numbers, as it is the only outlet that produces a single newspaper. Torstar has both the Toronto Star and Metro dailies, and Postmedia and Sun Media have a multitude of daily newspapers and often reprint the same story across multiple papers. This most likely accounts for The Globe and Mail being the least read outlet in Canada.

Sun Media is the second most-read outlet in five of the cities, and first in the sixth city, Montreal. Of the four outlets it is the most supportive of past and current government action on climate change and provides considerable space for climate skeptics in the Comments and Opinions and sections of its newspapers. Overall 5,943,300 Canadians are reading stories from this outlet in the average week, following very closely behind Torstar

for second place in the country. The high numbers seen in Montreal could be due to Quebecor owning Sun Media, which is based in that province.

It appears that Toronto citizens would be the most critical of government action, followed by Montreal to a lesser extent. Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver citizens, if influenced by newspaper media, could be the most supportive of past and current government action and potentially account for those polled who feel the federal government is doing a satisfactory job protecting the environment.

5. CONCLUSION

The poll conducted by Ipsos Reid for Globe News in December 2014 indicated that many Canadians believed that their country is successfully responding to the threat of climate change.^{lxvii} In fact, the number of people who responded that they believe the government is doing an adequate job grew from the same polling completed a year prior. Yet, the government has continuously avoided implementing any comprehensive policies to deal with climate change since gaining power in 2006. Small steps have been taken to regulate the transportation sector, but these largely align with the United States' actions. Absent is any carbon-pricing scheme or plan to regulate the oil and gas industry, the fastest growing GHG emissions sector according to Environment Canada.^{lxviii} The country remains a loose patchwork of climate policies enacted by provinces and municipalities supported by outdated federal legislation that in the end accomplishes little. The nation is missing a clear leader to address the problem and represent our country on the international stage. The question remains why public awareness seems to be so unreflective of these facts.

A major contributing factor is that the public is not aware of the government's actual performance, and therefore is not demanding more action from the government on climate change. Part of the reason for this situation is that many Canadians are reading newspapers that publish stories supportive of government's decisions on climate change. Postmedia News and Sun Media are consistently the most widely read outlets according to readership data for the top six cities in Canada. In addition, these outlets own numerous newspapers outside of these six cities, often having the largest, or sometimes only newspaper in smaller cities. They often reprint the same stories across all of the papers so articles being read in Vancouver and Edmonton are also read in Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. Often these

stories support federal government decisions to not act on climate change, attempts to weaken international agreements on greenhouse gas emissions targets, the enactment of minimal national policies instead of strong meaningful ones, or changing national emissions reduction targets as deadlines approach because the lack of meaningful action means that the nation is falling far short of its targets.^{lxix}

If the majority of people in the nation are receiving news from outlets that are sympathetic to the government in their coverage the public will most likely not know that the government's actions thus far have been severely inadequate. The situation is compounded by the way we receive news today. Although some people will read the government supported articles in print only, many more will read them online from the newspaper's website, on new and secondary media that gathers information from the newspapers, and increasingly from social media. For major media events, such as when there is a COP, at which international leaders meet to negotiate climate change agreements over the course of weeks, the public will read multiple articles across many different sources, magnifying the story. When the story is that Canada brought good ideas to the table and was a fair contributor to the negotiations versus Canada attempted to veto stringent agreements and strong-armed other nations, the public can come out with varying ideas about our current reputation internationally. This magnification of supportive news helps to account for the vast difference between the Canadian public's satisfaction with the federal government's efforts, in contrast with Canada's embarrassment on the international stage around the issue.

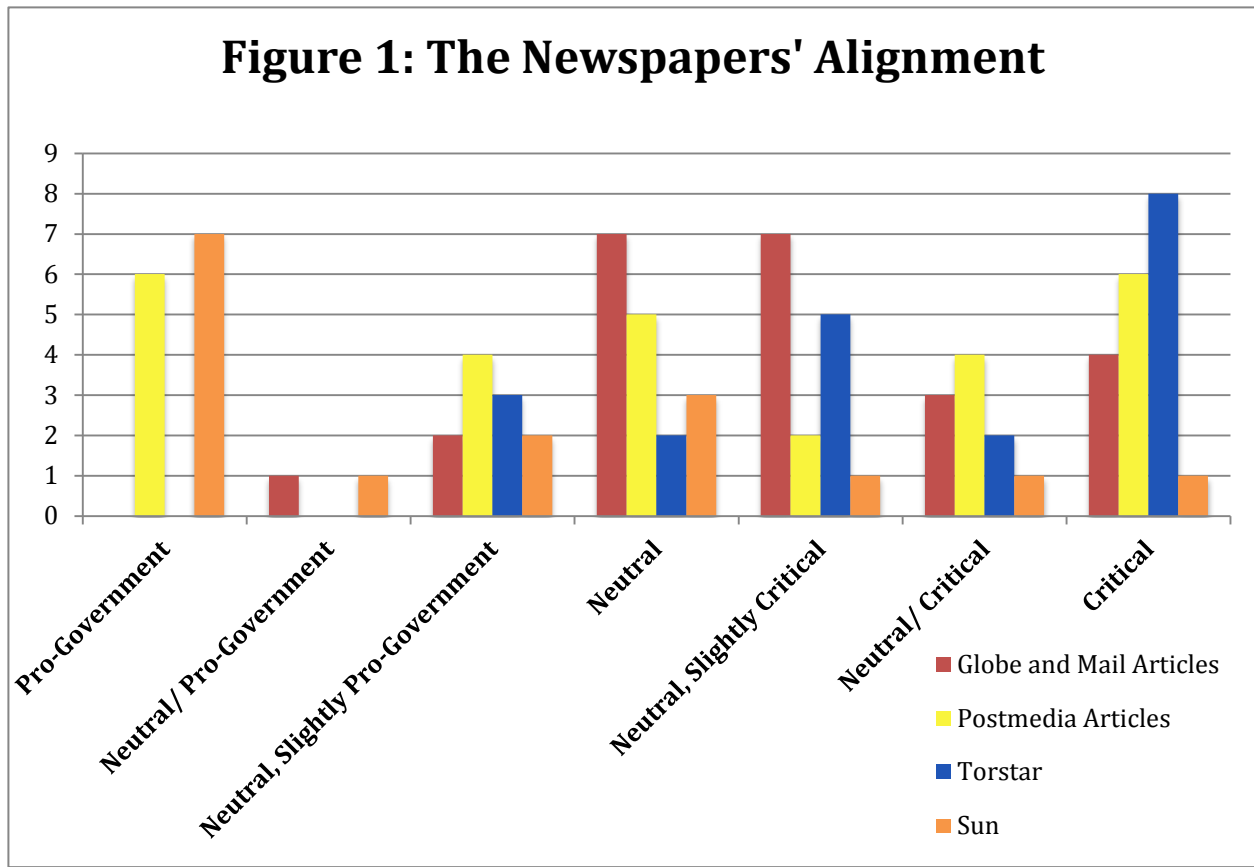


Figure 1 demonstrates that Sun Media consistently reports on stories in a supportive-of-government way, far more than any of the other outlets. Postmedia's articles were polarized between supportive and critical. However, Postmedia journalists have become increasingly supportive of the government. The outlet has been successfully sued by a climate scientist for misrepresentation of facts and it entered into an advertising agreement with CAPP.

The research presented and analyzed a sample of the news articles being read by the public. It finds that the Canadian public is satisfied with the current federal government's inaction on climate change because it is largely obtaining news from sources that do not critique the government's actions, but are instead supportive of it.

In light of the upcoming federal election taking place in the fall of 2015, with a significant portion of Canadians reading articles published by those outlets sympathetic to current government inaction, it is unlikely that more aggressive action will be demanded by the public of any of the parties. The possibility of young voters being engaged primarily by new media as opposed to traditional media invites the potential to build a social consensus that insists on a stronger response to climate change by government in the future.

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