

LOW EMISSIONS, HIGH CONCERN:
HOW CLIMATE COMMUNICATORS GRAPPLE WITH A TRANSNATIONAL
ISSUE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

Suzannah Evans: Low Emissions, High Concern: How Climate Communicators Grapple
With A Transnational Issue in the Philippines
(Under the direction of Daniel Riffe)

Climate change is one of the most pressing scientific and social issues of the 21st century. Communication about climate change has been the subject of intense interest by social scientists for the last two decades. However, the vast majority of scholarly studies about climate communication have focused on the wealthy nations that are major carbon polluters. Little is known about how climate change is communicated in the poorer nations that produce few emissions and are the first to experience the effects of climate change.

This study addresses that gap in scholarship by focusing on climate communication in the Philippines, a developing nation where climate change has been on the national agenda since increasingly devastating typhoons struck the country in the last five years. The study uses a mixed-methods design that includes semi-structured interviews and a quantitative social media analysis. Climate activists and journalists were interviewed in Manila to understand three aspects of climate communication in the developing world: journalists' climate reporting, and activists' social movement frame-building as well as social media strategies. A quantitative analysis of social media strategies was conducted on activist messages on Twitter targeting the U.N. climate negotiations in Paris in December 2015.

This mixed-methods study of three aspects of climate communication in the developing world is informed by theories from mass communication and social movement scholarship. In particular, the study is concerned with public sphere theory and its applicability to a transnational issue – climate change – and the advent of borderless digital media systems.

In general, the study finds that climate communicators in the developing world continue to be disempowered in the global debate about emissions despite the rise of global forms of journalism and open-access digital media networks. Climate journalism is still nascent and reporters struggle to connect local effects of climate change to the global issue due to organizational and cultural constraints. Activists are better-positioned to engage with climate on a transnational scale; they do this through the climate justice frame and in their social media strategies. However, developing nation voices still struggle to be heard as they compete with a multitude of other actors even in the supposedly democratic networked media space.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Climate change is undoubtedly one of the most pressing and complex issues of the modern era. Over the last generation, climate scientists have toiled to understand the physical mechanisms of climactic change that takes place over decades, if not centuries or millennia, reaching an almost unheard-of consensus that the warming planet has indeed been caused by carbon pollution released through human activity (IPCC, 2014). Social scientists have also turned their attention to climate change, examining in their case not the actual workings of particles in the air but the social and cultural relationships triangulated with science and humanity.

Climate change is an especially thorny problem because the communities most responsible for carbon emissions – the world’s wealthiest and most powerful nations – are also the least vulnerable to the effects of climate change and therefore not especially motivated to reduce carbon pollution. Inversely, the nations that are the least responsible for carbon emissions are also the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change (Baettig, Wild, & Imboden, 2007). This can be attributed in part to poorer nations’ inability to mitigate crises brought on by climate change (Füssel, 2010). In a review of two decades (1993-2012) of extreme weather events, the Global Climate Risk Index found that eight of the top ten most affected countries were developing nations with moderate to high poverty levels (Kreft & Eckstein, 2013). These countries are already at an historical disadvantage in international relations due to their lack of economic heft; in

the climate change issue, however, they must succeed in convincing wealthier nations to heed their calls to address climate change.

Communication studies of the climate change issue have also largely overlooked developing nations (Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014). This omission speaks to the “international challenge” as described by Olausson and Berglez (2014) in their call for a “*deeper* understanding of climate change in the media around the world by taking into account the political, cultural, historical, social, and economic *conditions* in the actual country of investigation” (256; emphasis in original).

This project makes strides toward including developing nations, which are especially vulnerable to climate change, in the conversation about the social aspects of climate change. Using a mixed-methods approach, the project provides case studies of three communicative elements of climate change in the Philippines, a nation that could be an emblem for how developing countries are affected by climate change. First, I examine the role of journalists in climate change communication in the Philippines. Second, I examine the development of climate activism and frame-building on climate from the developing world perspective. Lastly, I examine the role of networked digital media in developing-nation climate activism, and the role of national and international NGOs in attempting to influence the discourse via social media.

The three cases draw on theories from mass communication and social movement scholarship. I draw primarily from public sphere theory, which considers the discursive realm that affects public participation. In particular, I am informed by the concept of transnational public spheres as multiple realms that allow more access for what Fraser

(1992) called subaltern counterpublics; that is, publics that are relatively disempowered compared to the ruling hegemony.

In the end, this project makes several contributions. It is among the first studies of climate change communication to focus on developing nations generally and Southeast Asia specifically. It will also contribute to the growing body of literature bringing together social movement and mass communication scholarship, as well as further our understanding of the role of networked digital media in social movements. It will also provide practical knowledge for climate communicators from the developing world who are working tirelessly to make their voices heard in the global climate change debate.

This project intersects public sphere theory with scholarship from mass communication and social movements. It is concerned with public sphere theory because it essentially questions how and when disadvantaged voices – in this case, the voices from nations that are disempowered in the climate change debate – are heard. How do the concerns of climate change victims become public? Literature from social movement studies has also asked this question, while mass communication scholars are concerned with how voices are produced and disseminated across media, from traditional news outlets – those guardians of mainstream discourse – to digital networked media, where, it has been thought, previously ignored voices can find their audience. Social movement scholarship has done a more thorough job in examining how ideas emerge from social movement actors, while mass communications scholars tend to look at the appearance of concepts in the news media or other communicative texts. This project uses social movement scholarship to guide its examination of climate communication in the low-

emissions context, but ultimately makes a contribution to mass communication research by considering the role of sociological influences on climate communication.

Since public sphere theory is at the heart of this project, I will begin with a brief review of literature on transnational public spheres and social movements. Next, I'll introduce the three cases examined in chapters 2, 3, and 4. Lastly, I'll introduce the Philippines as a critical case and describe the methods employed in this project.

The transnational public sphere

At the heart of this project is the concept of a transnational public sphere. Habermas' (1989) initial description of the bourgeois public sphere described a place where citizens could speak as equals about issues of public importance without the surveillance of the state. His public sphere was a unitary place of consensus that developed in tandem with, and in reaction to, the nation-state. This concept has provided fruitful analytical tools for scholars at the same time they dismantled many of its core concepts (Couldry, 2014). Fraser (1990) issued an influential critique by noting that Habermas' public sphere was not a place of equality but rather a place of exclusion and protection of the hegemonic dominance of elite citizens. She argued that instead of a unitary public sphere, a multiplicity of public spheres would allow equality of participation for competing "subaltern counterpublics" (Fraser, 1990, p. 67).

Habermas' public sphere was conceptualized in distinct relation to the nation-state. But in an era of globalization, the power of nation-states has been eroded with the rise of network states, or those that enter into agreements with other states as well as non-state actors such as NGOs in exchange for political legitimacy (Castells, 2008). At the same time, the rise of deterritorialized digital communication has challenged the

hegemony of the nation-state (Fraser, 2007). The globalization of markets, environmental and health issues, terrorism, and other issues in the public mind has inspired scholars to rethink the public sphere and to ask whether a global public sphere is possible. A global public sphere must “allow an inclusive discussion between equal parties, directed at reaching a common agreement” (Sparks, 2001, p. 75). News media have globalized in forms like CNN (Volkmer, 2003), but they rarely serve a global audience, serving instead an elite national audience back home (Hafez, 2007). The Internet, once a great hope of equality of civic participation, is stymied by the digital divide, or the inequality of access to the Internet, that persists around the world (White et al., 2011), and online production has failed to prove as democratic as once hoped (Iosifidis, 2011).

A global public sphere, then, seems still out of reach even with the advent of digital technologies. The concept of a transnational public sphere may be more useful. A transnational public sphere is not a permanent fixture floating in the ether; it is, instead, purposively and temporarily constructed by networks of people across national borders. It has been defined as “the space where encounters across national borders took place” and could be “materialized in a number of forms ... international organizations, gatherings of experts, international congresses, publications, and journals” to name a few (Rodogno et al., 2015, p. 2). It has also been defined as “social spaces for activism with a networked infrastructure that is both physical and non-physical” (Olesen, 2005, p. 420).

What public sphere theory does is acknowledge that “something fundamental to our democracies *is* at stake and that we *do* have normative reference-points for which to evaluate the operations of powerful political, corporate, and media actors as they affect those interrelations” (Couldry, 2014, p. 44, emphasis in original); to this mix, I would add

actors from the non-profit sector. The public sphere was conceived as a place for the communication of public opinion that can be gathered as a political force (Fraser, 2007). Fraser (2007) was skeptical that a transnational public sphere could have normative legitimacy and political efficacy if its members were not related to or subjected to the same sovereign force. Couldry (2014) disagreed; the study of transnational public spheres has normative elements and repercussions for civic life. In addition, he noted that we can both seek a transnational public sphere and study the *transnationalization* of other public spheres, national and local. The transnational public sphere can be more than one thing – it can be the network resulting from transformations at multiple levels (Couldry, 2014).

Transnational publics can effect change. For example, the trans-Atlantic network of Quakers created through letters and migration helped bring about abolition in Great Britain and the U.S. (David, 2007). Transnational advocacy networks can target states or international organizations in their bid for policy or social change; advocates purposively seek partners across borders in order to strengthen their legitimacy and exert more pressure on their target (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Transnational publics, in the plural, are a more useful analytical category than “global civil society,” which assumes homogeneity of actors and a unified agency (Olesen, 2005). Transnational publics can be heterogeneous and made up of a diverse group of actors who disagree with each other or have goals that fail to overlap. The networks they form can be highly centralized through a formal mother NGO, such as Amnesty International, or they can be loosely-gathered temporary coalitions, such as the dispersed set of people who coordinated anti-Iraq War protests through digital media in 2004. These two types are distinguished by Bennett and Segerberg (2013) as emblemizing classic collective action in the former case and

digitally-enabled “connective” action in the latter case. Either way, people in positions of power in individual nations cannot afford to ignore world opinion because their citizenry participates in those transnational advocacy networks, too (Reese, 2011).

Through my three empirical chapters, I will examine the idea of transnational public spheres as related to environmental advocacy generally and the issue of climate change specifically. Climate change lends itself to a transnational perspective because it is a global issue where the fate of victims, those who are affected first by the effects of climate change, is connected to the behavior of perpetrators, or those who are responsible for the vast majority of carbon emissions. First, I examine whether journalists in a developing nation attempt to engage with climate change on a transnational level. Second, I examine how climate activists from a developing nation frame climate change through the concept of climate justice, which brings together the local experience of victims and global responsibility. And lastly, I examine the role of transnational advocacy networks made possible through networked digital media, specifically, Twitter.

Case 1: Climate journalism in the Philippines

The goal of this section is to explore how journalists in a developing nation report on climate change. Using the Philippines as a case nation, this section will examine if and how journalists in a nation highly affected by climate change connect local events to global relationships surrounding the issue of climate change, such as the risk/responsibility gap between the nations most affected by climate change and those that are responsible for the world’s emissions. In other words, do they engage with a transnational public sphere – do they transnationalize their national public sphere – or something else?

Climate change communication studies

In the last two decades, scholarship on climate change communication has flourished, particularly studies of climate journalism. Many scholars have noted the tensions between the scientific consensus on climate change and the journalistic values and practices that determine how news is crafted (e.g., Trumbo, 1996; Antilla, 2005; Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). Despite the high level of scientific consensus on anthropogenic climate change (IPCC, 2013), the U.S. news media in particular have underplayed consensus and focused on controversy regarding climate change (Boykoff, 2011). Numerous studies have examined why the U.S. news media have failed to accurately reflect the scientific consensus on climate change, with political ideology of newspapers (Carvalho, 2007) and the influence of the fossil fuel industry on news frames (Nisbet, 2009) among the influences on American climate news

Yet the picture of climate journalism as painted by existing scholarship is incomplete. This is largely due to the fact that studies of climate journalism have focused on print newspaper sources in wealthy Western nations (Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014). In a meta-analysis of 133 studies of media representations of climate change, Schäfer and Schlichting (2014) found that the countries that are most vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change are rarely included in media studies of climate communication, and in fact that ten countries listed as most affected between 1992 and 2011 are not included in any study. By contrast, the top ten countries responsible for emissions are represented in 56.2% of climate communication studies. In other words, the global South is hardly represented at all.

Moreover, climate communication scholarship has tended to focus on the issue of climate skepticism. Painter (2011) found that skepticism is largely an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon, with skeptic sources most likely used in U.S. and U.K. newspapers (80% of all skeptic sources), particularly newspapers with a conservative political leaning. The national differences in the use of skeptic sources were attributed to “a complex mix of processes within newspapers ... and external societal forces” (Painter, 2011, p. 4). There has been a dearth of scholarship on climate communication in the non-Anglo-Saxon countries where climate skepticism is absent.

While Schäfer and Schlichting (2014) conclude their meta-analysis with a call for greater diversity of scholarship on climate communication, Olausson and Berglez (2014) issue a more transformative directive for scholars. They identify several well-established challenges of climate change and media research. Of particular interest to this study is what they term the international challenge, or “how to achieve a more diverse and complex understanding of news reporting globally” (p. 250). They call for a “*deeper* understanding of climate change in the media around the world by taking into account the political, cultural, historical, social, and economic *conditions* in the actual country of investigation as well as its status/role/power in relation to other nations” (p. 256; emphasis in original) – a sociological approach that contextualizes media production in a larger framework of influences. Olausson and Berglez argue that there is a great need in particular for research of indigenous contexts from a greater variety of research perspectives with the goal of understanding what elements of climate reporting are universal or local to particular contexts.

What Olausson and Berglez (2014) in particular call for is both journalistic work and media scholarship that recognizes the global nature of climate change and the interrelationships between climate victims and perpetrators. But as scholarship on globalization and journalism has shown, there is a continuing tension between globalized life and the production of most journalists.

Global journalism

Climate change is a problem that is emblematic of globalization. Journalism and media more generally have been part of theorists' thinking about the shrinking world since McLuhan's concept of the global village, in which he suggested that electronic media would contribute to creating a single worldwide community of shared values (McLuhan, 2011). The rise of international communications, first in the form of the electrical telegraph in the 19th century, followed by innovations in the 1960s with satellite technology, and finally the recent rise of decentralized, wireless, borderless communication technologies, has been demarked as a series of paradigm shifts in global perceptions (Chalaby, 2005). But Reese (2010) argues that communications researchers have ascribed the media with too much influence in the globalization process, for example the work of Volkmer (1999) arguing that the rise of CNN produced a global platform that enabled the rise of global civil society.

Skeptics of media globalization have argued that few global forms of news media actually exist; those that have an international presence, such as CNN or Al Jazeera, still domesticate coverage for their home audiences (Hafez, 2007). In addition, only an elite few even desire globalized news coverage that reflects other cultures' perspectives. As rational-choice economics would suggest, the news media frequently provide the stories

their readers desire (Lowrey & Woo, 2010). And with the decline in international news bureaus in recent years (Enda, 2011), foreign news coverage may be reaching an all-time low. When foreign news is produced, it reflects the character of the markets in wealthy nations where the audiences for such news exists rather than a truly global outlook (Sparks, 2007).

Other scholars have turned their focus toward the effects of globalization on journalists' production, asking whether common beliefs among journalists is evidence of the emergence of global journalism, or at least of journalism as a globalized profession. Survey research in particular has examined the individual beliefs of journalists at the nation-state level of analysis. While these studies have found some commonly held beliefs across numerous nationalities of journalists, such as valuing detachment, providing political engagement, and acting as a government watchdog (Hanitzsch et al., 2011), a consistent pattern of journalistic beliefs beyond those basic tenets has proven elusive. Painting in broad strokes, the surveys did find some geographic and sociopolitical patterns: Non-western journalists may be more likely to adopt an interventionist role than their western counterparts (Hanitzsch et al., 2011) and journalists who operate in contexts of limited or no press freedoms operate quite differently as well (Reich & Hanitzsch, 2013).

These surveys, while impressive in scope in terms of the numbers of countries involved, still focus on a minority of countries worldwide; in addition, they assume that journalists *within* countries comprise a homogenous group, a questionable notion (Reese, 2010). And while there may exist a group of cosmopolite journalists in major world cities who share more characteristics with each other than with their own nationality (Reese,

2001), global journalists as a distinct class sharing significant professional beliefs and behaviors have eluded scholars. If anything, what these surveys do best is distinguish national news culture based on differences with other nations (e.g., Deuze, 2002).

Berglez (2008, 2013) takes a different approach. Rather than trying to find a common worldwide journalistic culture or attaching the idea of global journalism to specific global media forms, he argues that global journalism relies on a specific epistemology – the global outlook – to journalistically explain the world as a single place. Rather than being about the domestic/foreign news dichotomy, common analytical categories for media researchers, Berglez says that global journalism seeks flows and relationships *across* national boundaries rather than being determined by them (as the domestic/foreign news dichotomy is, by definition). In other words, Berglez focuses on interrelationships as the core characteristic of global journalism as a news style. He calls this the *global outlook*, or the everyday attempt to frame and understand issues in a global context rather than the national. Any form of journalistic work can adopt a global outlook, according to Berglez; it is not merely the realm of international news agencies such as the BBC. It is simply connecting the local with the global on a day-to-day basis. Berglez argues that global journalism already exists, but is marginalized in favor of nationalistic coverage including that of global events such as wars and pandemics.

At the core of Berglez's definition of the global outlook is his normative call for journalists to represent power, space, and identity globally as part of a paradigmatic change in journalistic practice. Journalists should represent power as global thanks to the decline of the nation-state; they should remove obvious spatial centers and instead focus

on relationships between places; and they should represent identities as global and often unreliable on specific national cultures (Berglez, 2013).

While Berglez may be correct that such a global outlook would result in more accurate representations of the global reality than news domesticated through a national lens, his argument in favor of the global outlook rapidly meets the hard reality of entrenched journalistic norms, an uncertain news market, and the powerful pull of the national outlook. In *Global Journalism in Theory and Practice* (2013), he prescribes headlines and article leads that connect stories to worldwide trends but appear to sacrifice audience in the meantime; as Hafez (2007) warned, we cannot assume there is a “global human being.” Most people prefer news that speaks to their local lived experience (Straubhaar, 2007).

The vast majority of national news is never reported outside the country, and the news that does get reported internationally is typically political news framed through a nationalistic lens (Hafez, 2007). Despite the weakening of the nation-state into interdependent network states, as claimed by Castells (2008), some scholars argue that the national space is still significant even in the age of globalization. Flew and Waisbord (2015) contend that the national media system is still relevant as an analytical unit because it “enables an aggregation of structures and dynamics in ways that allow for the systematic study of media, politics, and policies. It assumes that important structures and dynamics ‘thicken’ around ‘media systems’ that are bounded by the politics of nation-states, without denying the significance of globalization” (Flew & Waisbord, 2015, p.4). In other words, national media systems provide a kind of spider web upon which certain characteristics and relationships cluster and grow. The web may overlap onto other

national media systems in some areas, but is primarily a substrate for each national culture. National media systems are challenged by globalization and the digital flows of information across territories, but there may be no inevitable transition from the local to the global (Flew & Waisbord, 2015).

In this study, I am less interested in seeking evidence of a global journalist culture than I am in asking how journalists grapple with a specific global issue, in this case, climate change. While I agree with Berglez that this is a question of daily practice of journalists when they write about issues with global connection, I do not take a normative stance in suggesting that journalists *should* write about climate change in a particular way that reflects a global outlook. Instead, I ask *how* they report on a global issue in the context of a nation that is highly affected by climate change and relatively disempowered in the international debate on fossil fuel emissions and *whether* they explicitly connect their work to the Philippines' global position in the climate change issue. Like Flew and Waisbord (2015), I believe that that national media system, in this case the Philippines, is still a useful level of analysis and that we can focus on the interrelationships between global, national, and local forces in the context of a national media system. In addition, we should consider that the news source, producer, and audience “no longer necessarily share the same national frame of reference” in a globalized media landscape (Reese, 2011, p. 80).

A sociology of media approach assumes that there are cultural, political, ideological, economic, organizational, and procedural influences at work upon the production of journalists (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). A historical and comparative approach to the study of newsmaking contributed to an understanding that doesn't

overemphasize the role of media in culture, but instead contextualizes it within the constraints of its environment (Schudson, 2012). This chapter takes a sociology of media approach that considers the external factors at work upon Filipino journalists writing about climate change.

Case #2: Activism and the climate justice frame

The purpose of this section is to examine how climate activism emerged in the Philippines, and show how Philippine climate activists interact (or don't interact) with transnational advocacy networks. In particular, this section examines the emergence of the "climate justice" frame as a potential example of transnationalizing the issue.

Environmentalism in the Philippines

The Philippines was a territory of the U.S. until World War II. Previously, it was a colony of the Spanish from 1521 to 1898. Environmentalism in the Philippines, like many former colonies, developed in a different fashion than northern nations, where it has become associated with the upper middle classes and consumer choices.

Environmental movements in developing nations tend to be more radical, more likely to resort to violence, and more likely to include poor, rural, and female actors, who are the most likely to be personally affected by environmental degradation (Doyle, 2005).

Developing-nation environmentalism is not as simple as buying a hybrid car, consuming local produce, or converting to reusable grocery bag; "for these peasant environmentalists, saving the land, the trees, the fish, is a matter of personal and community survival" (Ehrenreich, 1993, p. x).

Formal NGOs and people's organizations, such as trade unions, have flourished in the Philippines since the fall of the Ferdinand Marcos regime in 1986. By 1994, it was

estimated that a tenth of the country's population belonged to some sort of civil society group (Broad & Cavanaugh, 1994). These groups were historically rooted in the poorer classes with local scopes, but activist issues have increasingly attracted the middle and upper classes and have dealt with issues of national and international concern (Broad & Cavanaugh, 1994). International NGOs also spread to the country, with many arriving in the last 25 years. It is in this context that climate activism has blossomed in recent years. Philippine civil society actors began to take notice of climate change after a series of extreme weather events in the mid-2000s (Aksyon Klima, n.d.). Aksyon Klima, a small group acting as a networking force between other NGOs, formalized toward the end of the 2000s. The Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PMCJ) was founded in 2011, again as a small group acting as a networking element for other established NGOs nationally and abroad. Numerous international NGOs based in wealthy nations, such as Conservation International, WWF, Greenpeace, and more, also have presences in the Philippines.

The climate justice frame

For Filipinos, the challenge of climate change is that Philippine citizens are relatively disempowered victims who are responsible for a tiny fraction of global carbon emissions. Climate activists must gain the attention of the nations that are most responsible for emissions.¹ One way to do so is to connect the lived experiences of climate victims to the global debate on emissions. Activists have attempted to do this through the adoption of the “climate justice” frame, which abandons the scientific frame that has dominated climate discourse since the 1980s. Rather than focusing on the

¹ China, the U.S., and the E.U. are responsible for over half of the world's carbon emissions. Just 10 countries (counting the E.U. as one block) are responsible for 77% of total emissions, indicating that activists have only a few countries to target to reduce emissions worldwide ([McGrath](#), 2014).

physical mechanisms of climate change, the climate justice frame focuses on *moral responsibility* on the part of carbon polluters to act and connecting the climate change issue to human rights issues.

“Climate justice” was first used in the *New York Times* in 2008 (Kantor, 2008), but it can be found as early as 2002 in chants used by marchers protesting outside a U.N. climate summit in New Delhi (Roberts & Parks, 2009). “Climate change is a human rights issue,” they claimed, explicitly melding social justice to environmentalism (Roberts & Parks, 2009).

The concept of climate justice and the incorporation of ethics into environmentalism has three important conceptual antecedents: *environmental justice*, with roots in the 1980s in the U.S.; *ecological debt*, which was used by NGOs in the global South in the early 1990s; and *common but differentiated responsibilities*, a phrase crafted by the U.N., also in the early 1990s. Climate justice activists draw on these conceptual antecedents to build the climate justice frame, which competes with the scientific frame that has dominated climate discourse since the 1980s. In addition, climate justice activists reject conventional climate advocacy that put its stock in the science-oriented, rational U.N. process, arguing that the U.N. had failed climate victims and even peddled false solutions (Rosewarne, Goodman, & Pearse, 2013).

Transnational advocacy

In recent decades, NGOs have adopted more goals and campaigns with global scopes (Castells, 2008). Transnational politics can take several forms with NGO engagement at any stage: the diffusion of ideas or actions from one country to another; the domestication of conflicts with external origins; and externalization, in which foreign

institutions or NGOs are employed to exert pressure on domestic governments (Tarrow & della Porta, 2005).

The political scientists Keck and Sikkink (1998) describe how transnational advocacy networks supported the success of many social movements in the last half-century. Building on the declining sovereignty of the nation-state, advocates working for social change in a nation where political opportunity is closed can go outside their home state, gain support and legitimacy abroad, and return to pressure the home state in a boomerang pattern that mirrors the externalization process of Tarrow and della Porta (2005). The effect is to multiply the potential channels of influence in a reluctant state. At the core of the transnational advocacy networks that they form are communicative structures: the production, exchange, and strategic use of information. These advocacy networks can include heterogeneous players: churches, NGOs, foundations, the media, and trade unions; even certain branches of government can play a role. Formal NGOs, however, take the central organizing role. Information is their currency. They become alternative yet credible sources of information by hewing to journalistic norms (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

The goal of this chapter is to examine climate activism in a nation deeply affected by climate change, again using the Philippines as a critical case nation. Like the section on journalists, this section questions whether and how Filipino activists connect their work to a transnational public sphere in the form of transnational advocacy networks or through transnationalizing their national and local work through a frame of climate justice, which acknowledges the connection between local events and global trends.

Social movements have long addressed the nation-state as their target of policy and social change. But scholars have asked if the globalized nature of contemporary life has contributed to similarly globalized concepts of social change and targets of movements (Rucht, 2009). For example, the international NGO Greenpeace has purposively framed local events as global in order to attract more media and governmental attention (Lahusen, 2009). This vertical integration of fields of action – local, national, and global – may represent a new form of collective action (Lahusen, 2009). Yet what exactly comprises a transnational social movement is still unclear. It can refer to issues, targets, mobilization, and type of organization, particularly networks of organizations in different countries, and it often does not exhibit distinctive collective identities, in contrast to typical national movements (Rucht, 2009).

This section will examine the environmental NGO field in the Philippines, and describe the frame-building process for the climate justice frame, which is still underway. It asks how formal NGOs address the transnational problem of climate change through framing, as well as describes the relationship of NGO frame-building to journalists who will ultimately report on the NGOs' campaigns.

Case #3: Networked digital climate advocacy

Activists have turned to the digital space for purposes once delegated to the news media: mobilization, scope enlargement, and validation. This shift has been motivated by the fact that NGOs are in an asymmetrical power and dependency relationship with the news media (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993) and studies on the protest paradigm have shown that the news media frequently present activists in a negative light when they deign to cover their activities at all (e.g., Gitlin, 1980; Sobieraj, 2011). Those actors who

are the least likely to receive friendly attention from the news media are the most likely to innovate and explore new spaces for connecting to the public mind (Bennett, 2004).

NGOs have observed the success of populist movements like Occupy Wall Street in capturing the public attention. Therefore, they have also begun to move into this digital space and foster public activity that resembles the spontaneity and leaderlessness of an Occupy Wall Street. Bennett and Segerberg (2013) call this *organizationally-enabled connective action*. They define connective action as personalized content sharing across self-organizing media networks. This is in contrast to classic collective action, which has been the bread and butter of social movements and requires high organization, the marshaling of resources, and the formation of collective identities.

Classic collective action and its descendant connective action form a continuum with a hybrid approach somewhere in the middle that comprises organizationally-enabled connective action. This approach involves loose organizational coordination by a network of professional NGOs from behind the scenes that includes NGO-produced messages and social technology affordances (such as posting a web site with images or texts that people can share online with the touch of a button). The organizationally-enabled connective action gently shapes the public's use of digital media in pursuit of the shared goals of NGOs and their constituents (Figure 1).

Empirical studies on the more formalized, organizationally-enabled connective action are as of yet few in number compared to the scholarly interest in connective action through self-organizing networks as seen in Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring. Civil society organizations acting more as network nodes than traditional leaders helped derail an international trade agreement on copyright infringement in 2012 (Losey, 2014).

The 2011 protests in the Wisconsin capital building appeared to follow the organizationally- enabled model in which labor unions mobilized via e-mail and social

Figure 1: Elements of connective and collective action networks

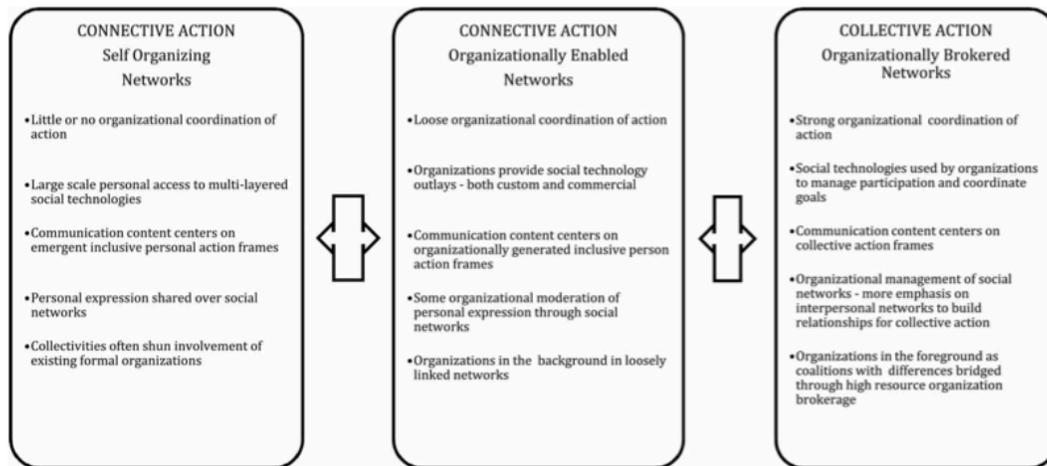


FIGURE 1 Elements of connective and collective action networks.

(Bennett & Segerberg, 2013)

media and were joined by individuals organizing themselves in the digital space (Veenstra et al., 2014). Organizations help foster social capital online in protest movements (Sajuria et al., 2014).

Twitter and the public sphere

Castells (2007) has argued that we are witnessing an historic shift of the public sphere from the institutional realm to the new communicative space, which he interpreted as digitally-enabled communications of all types. These digital communications, often self-selected, personalized, and from many to many, in contrast to the traditional news media in particular, form the communicative foundation of the network society. Yet Castells is careful to note that despite the democratic bias of digitalized flows of information that bypass traditional gatekeepers, this communicative space is increasingly

contested as corporate interests and governments want to participate in – or even commandeer – the space as well.

The idea that the Internet would provide a wholly democratic experience for users has been debunked (Iosifidis, 2011). Governments have used the Internet to dissuade political activism (Pearce & Kendzior, 2012) and to monitor protest movements (Rahimi, 2011); they have even shut off digital networks entirely in the name of national security or protecting cultural and social mores (Howard et al., 2011). Corporations, meanwhile, have employed consumer-to-consumer online communication for marketing and sales purposes (Mangold & Faulds, 2009) or in an attempt to influence public opinion, as in the case of BP hiring members of the public to post positive information about the company's response to the 2010 oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico (Taylor, 2014). Even when the public uses digital media to discuss a public issue on their own, their activity can be shaped by the same social and economic forces that influence journalists' production, keeping the digital space from being truly alternative (Watson, 2015).

Yet the digital space as an alternative public sphere has gained some support, too. Actors who are unlikely to get positive coverage from the institutionalized news media have turned to radical news outlets in the past; this same desire can be seen in actors innovating with digital communications that skip news media gatekeepers altogether (Bennett, 2004). In particular, the emergence of democratic movements that appear leaderless, often multi-issue-oriented, and organized through multimodal digital media in authoritarian states such as Egypt (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2012) and in the context of anti-globalization protests (Juris, 2008) have attracted much attention. These so-called "Twitter revolutions" (Christensen, 2011) have shown the potential for networked many-

to-many digital communication to subvert traditional gatekeepers and create opportunities for social movements. Groups such as MoveOn have capitalized upon the digital space in order to influence political activities, radically rewiring the way that non-state actors influence governments (Karpf, 2012).

The United Nations Climate Conference

In December 2015, the United Nations met in Paris for the U.N. Climate Change Conference, or COP21. This conference was widely considered a critical event in the history of global climate negotiations because of its goal of creating a binding, universal agreement on reducing emissions, the first in history since the failure of the Kyoto Protocol (Willsher, 2015). World leaders suggested that failure in Paris would render a fatal blow to the credibility of the U.N. process in addressing emissions, especially after COP15 in Copenhagen was widely seen as a disappointment in 2009 (Harvey, 2014).

COP21 was the site of intense interest for environmental NGOs in the developing world as it provided an arena for their voices to be heard; a potential agora. The attention of the U.N. delegates and citizens of the world were trained on Paris in December 2015. Like its ancestor, the first U.N. mega-conference on the environment in Stockholm in 1972, non-state actors attempted to influence the proceedings from nearby in events held alongside the conference. In addition, NGOs used COP21 as a flashpoint for mobilization from afar through the affordances of digital media.

This section serves as an empirical examination of Bennett and Segerberg's (2013) concept of organizationally-enabled connective action using quantitative content analysis of an NGO-produced digital public sphere. NGOs produce messaging that they want to be disseminated by the public and adopted by the news media through social

media, but they do not *control* the messaging once it has been released into the wilds of the digital realm. How it is adopted, co-opted, challenged, and re-imaged by networks of users is up to the users themselves (Benckler, 2007). A question for NGOs is whether they have succeeded in influencing that network – as well as how success is defined and what it looks like. Do networked media perform social movement roles once relegated to the news media?

The Philippines as a critical case nation

The Philippines is one of the world's most vulnerable nations to climate change. It was named as one of the top ten countries most affected by climate change for the years 1993 to 2012; in 2012, the country was ranked second in the world (Kreft & Eckstein, 2013). The Philippines is threatened by climate change due to a combination of geographical and socioeconomic factors. As a nation of more than 7,100 islands, it is vulnerable to sea level rise, one of the most measurable effects of climate change (Nicholls & Tol, 2006). Its position in the Pacific Ocean means it is also frequently visited by typhoons, which have grown in frequency and severity in recent years. In late 2013, the country experienced the devastating Typhoon Haiyan, an extreme weather event that was called a result of climate change by the Philippines' U.N. climate delegate even though scientists have yet to definitely connect the typhoon to climate change (O'Toole, 2013).

In addition to geographic vulnerabilities, the Philippines' socioeconomic situation makes it difficult for the country to quickly rebound from natural disasters. The Philippines is an average developing nation by many measures. It is ranked 110th in gross national product per capita (The World Bank, n.d.). A quarter of the population lives

below the national poverty line, and its wealth is concentrated in an elite group (The World Bank, n.d.). The country is wracked with corruption, which has stifled its economic growth and democratic stability (You, 2015). The factors combine to produce a government that is unable to facilitate quick recovery from natural disasters, and so the effects of a Typhoon Haiyan, for example, are felt for years after the fact.²

Despite these challenges, however, the Philippines is well-positioned among developing nations that to be a leading voice on climate change. Not only is the country one of the world's most vulnerable, it is also a moderately stable democracy and has a constitutionally-protected free press and a vibrant civil society sector. It is also a sizeable nation, with 100 million people, making it the 12th largest country by population in the world. Many other nations that are also highly vulnerable to climate change, such as Bangladesh, Haiti, and Myanmar, are less likely to have the same combination of size, stable government, a free press, and relatively active civil society sectors (Kreft et al., 2014).

Thus, I view the Philippines as a critical case nation. A successful critical case allows the researcher “to achieve information that permits logical deductions of the type, ‘If this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases’” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230). In other words, if journalists in the Philippines do (or do not) see themselves as producing work of transnational nature, then it is possible to generalize to the other nations in the developing world or global South. The same goes for the claims in the chapters on activism. While I will not claim these findings to be generalizable in all cases, they can at least be illuminating in regards to climate communicators in low-

² During the time of my fieldwork, two and a half years after Haiyan, I was told by one informant that the schools in the city struck by the typhoon had not yet reopened because they were still being used as government staging sites. This is just one example of how a natural disaster's effects can be felt for years.

emissions nations. Because the Philippines is especially well-positioned among developing nations to speak up on climate change, it can be expected that nations with poorer positioning will rarely meet the threshold met by Philippine climate communicators.

Method

This project employs mixed methods, although it is primarily based on interview data. With approval from a university institutional review board, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 17 Filipino journalists and activists in Manila in May 2015. An 18th participant was interviewed via Skype since she was located in the provinces. The participants were chosen by two methods. First, journalists who had written about climate change in mainstream news outlets were contacted by email. Second, all the major international NGOs with presences in the Philippines were contacted for inclusion in the study. Several national-level NGOs were also included; these participants were largely recruited through a Filipina environmental activist, highly respected lawyer Gloria Estenzo Ramos, with whom I had a previous professional relationship.

I had more success recruiting activists than journalists. I think this is due to a number of factors. First, the NGOs were outward-oriented, particularly toward the U.S., and saw a meeting with me as a way to further their goals. My connection to Gloria Estenzo Ramos and professional background in environmental activism with Oceana, which had opened its own Philippine office in 2014, lent me credibility and suggested to NGOs that meeting with me was low-risk.

The “ask” for journalists was tougher. First, they were busier than NGO staffers. And because so few journalists reported on climate change, the number of journalists I

approached was fewer than it could have been. In retrospect, I should have revised my ask to request an interview about reporting on Typhoon Haiyan rather than about climate change, still a fairly foreign concept to many journalists. Haiyan was the biggest story of the year and journalists were proud of their work related to recovery from the typhoon, which they did not necessarily view as climate reporting. This would have allowed me to get in the back door and ask about climate change as part of the story. However, I learned how marginalized climate reporting was only after my first few interviews. With only one visit to the Philippines in my budget and contact language that had been fixed with the IRB long before I left the U.S., I had limited flexibility. My journalist sample ended up including journalists who were passionate about climate change, a minority in the country and not representative of the typical Filipino journalist. What the sample lacks in size it makes up in completeness. Aside from one well-known freelance environmental reporter who wrote for Reuters and was unavailable for an interview, I am confident that I spoke to the core group of national reporters who were known for reporting on environmental issues. They were aware that they were a minority in the journalism field and were able to speak to the limitations of climate journalism in the Philippines. These reporters also represented the top national news outlets.

The participants included six journalists representing four national news outlets, including the top two newspapers by circulation and one of the top three broadcast networks, as well as the nation's sole web-only national news outlet. The participants also included ten activists representing three national NGOs and four international NGOs. Two participants who had worked as both journalists and activists were also included, although they were primarily asked about their work as journalists. The participants

signed consent forms and were given the opportunity to be quoted anonymously; none took me up on the offer and so full names are used throughout the dissertation. While anonymity is a hallmark of sociological research, for better or worse (Duneier, 1999), it was not necessary in this case due to the professional and public nature of the work of participants. Also, given the small population of climate communicators in the Philippines, there was no guarantee that anonymity could be successfully granted.

The interviews followed a general interview map, but follow-up questions and topics that came up naturally were pursued. Interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 90 minutes, with the average being 60 minutes. Follow-up questions were sent by email in some cases. Participants were comfortable with my recording the interview, but about half expressed discomfort with signing the consent form, even when I explained that the consent form protected them against me, not vice versa. One exclaimed, “This is so American” as he ruefully signed the form (M. Ubac, personal communication, May 21, 2015). (See Appendix A for a list of interviewees and their affiliations.)

The interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis. Along with my field notes, they were inductively and repeatedly reviewed for codes and broad themes following the concept of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This approach allows the researcher to identify initial concepts, but lets the data flesh out or modify additional concepts in a search for categories of meaning (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). While I did draw on this tradition of social science, I want to avoid overcomplicating my analysis of interview data. Following the leads of Walker (2014) in his study of corporate-enabled grassroots advocacy, and Nielson (2012) in his study of political campaign assemblages, I took participants’ statements at face value. While I examined common themes across

interviews and analyze concepts that emerged, I did not attempt to “read between the lines.” Rather, I assumed that what participants said was what they meant.

Qualitative research is by nature iterative. The major limitation of my fieldwork was that it took place in one visit to the Philippines. Multiple visits would have allowed me to review my approach to better fit the case as it unfolded (Luker, 2008). Indeed, several theoretical assumptions I held while studying the case from the U.S. were abandoned after my fieldwork. However, even with the limitations of my fieldwork, I am confident that this document fairly answers the research questions ultimately posed.

After completing my fieldwork, I designed a mixed-methods social media analysis informed by the interviews with climate activists. The goal of that section was to examine how climate activists in the Philippines engaged with the digital space when working on the transnational issue of climate change. I have placed a methods section specific to the social media section in that chapter rather than here in the introductory chapter. In addition, I have included a short literature review in that chapter. The rationale behind this choice was to simplify the experience for readers of the dissertation so they would not have to remember a change in methods described a hundred pages earlier.

Chapter 2: Climate Journalism

The Philippines is home to a vibrant, constitutionally protected, independent news media with hundreds of newspaper, television, and radio outlets. It is also a nation where citizens struggle with public environmental problems every day. Its famous jeepneys, the colorful open-air buses that shuttle residents to their jobs, belch exhaust in the cities' traffic-choked streets. The Pasig River, which bisects the capital city of Manila, is stained with oil, trash, and human feces. In the provinces, peasants die from landslides caused by illegal logging, or they are forcibly relocated so that mines may be built where their villages once stood. These environmental issues are quite obviously public health and safety issues. On top of these immediate-impact issues, the Philippines has become one of the most-vulnerable nations to the effects of climate change. It seems like environmental reporting should flourish here in this vast nation of beauty and peril. And yet there are very few fully-employed reporters in this country of 100 million whose work is dedicated to covering cross-cutting environmental issues.

Most environmental reporters working for mainstream Philippine news media cover the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, the governmental agency that is in charge of environmental issues, as just one of their many beats. Or they are independent freelance writers, determined to carve out a place to write about environmental issues from outside the mainstream news system.

This is despite the fact that environmental degradation is a part of Philippine daily life, from immediate issues like air and water pollution in the cities to mining destruction

in the provinces, and to the increasing impact of devastating typhoons like Haiyan in 2013. While scientists hesitate to attribute any one extreme weather event to climate change, Filipinos have already made that connection. In the Philippines, climate change is not a politically charged issue and climate skepticism simply does not exist: “Here we agree it’s happening, because we feel it. It’s not like you can dispute it anymore” (P. Ranada, personal communication, May 22, 2015).

How can a country so deeply affected by environmental issues not have that reality reflected consistently in the news media? Why don’t Philippine news outlets dedicate reporters to investigative environmental news? And in this context, is it possible – ever – for a Philippine reporter to contextualize the local effects of climate change in the global debate on emissions?

Plan of the chapter

The goal of this chapter is to answer those questions, first examining the state of environmental reporting in the Philippines, and second exploring the nascent emergence of climate reporting in the country, using a sociology of media framework. A media sociology approach contextualizes media production within the constraints of its environment (Schudson, 2012). Media sociologists consider the influence of culture, ideology, political milieus, and media routines and practices on journalistic output. In other words, a media sociology approach defines journalistic messages as dependent variables upon which outside elements, independent variables, exert their influence.

In their well-used hierarchy of influences model, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) considered how journalists, media routines, organizational forces, extramedia forces, and ideology interacted to influence journalistic output. In a recently updated version of the

hierarchy of influences model, Shoemaker and Reese argued that it was possible that journalists could never escape the influence of culture and ideology, and that such elements as professional routines and practices are ultimately subservient to social systems and cultural beliefs (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013).

Following that line of thinking, this chapter is organized so that cultural and social systems-level influences on Philippine environmental journalism generally, and climate journalism specifically, are considered first with a history of Philippines itself, including an examination of cultural and demographic influences, followed by an examination of the history of journalism in the country and its influences. Then, contemporary news media-specific issues are addressed, including the ownership structure of news media companies, the organizational approach of newsrooms, and the economic reality of news production in the Philippines in the 21st century. Lastly, I will consider Philippine environmental journalism in this context to understand how and why climate journalism has at last started to emerge in the country in the past half-decade, and what challenges lie ahead for Philippine environmental journalism generally and climate journalism specifically.

A nation of many influences

As a majority Catholic nation in Asia where people have Spanish surnames and speak many languages but often conduct business in English, the Philippines in the 21st century cannot be separated from its long history as a territory. In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan was the first European to arrive on the archipelago of tropical islands in his search for spices, bringing Catholicism with him. The Catholic Church has a tight grip on the population nearly half a millennium later, with around 80 percent of Filipinos saying

they are Catholic (U.S. Department of State, 2004). In Cebu, the central city near Magellan's landing, a replica of a cross said to be raised by the explorer himself outside the city hall is still treated like a saint's shrine and surrounded by candles and offerings.

A half century after Magellan's arrival (and, shortly, death at the hands of Lapu-Lapu, a tribal king), Ruy López de Villalobos dubbed the scatter of islands Las Islas Filipinas after King Philip II of Spain. This was the beginning of hundreds of years of colonization that ended only in the middle of the 20th century with the conclusion of World War II. Spain ruled the archipelago for 300 years until the Philippine Revolution of the late 1890s. At the same time, the Spanish-American War broke out in the Caribbean. A curious ending to that series of battles was Spain's ceding of the Philippines to the Americans as part of the Treaty of Paris of 1898. Filipinos, having fought for independence from the Spanish, now found themselves with a new overlord – and one that wasn't any more interested in their 1899 declaration of independence than the Spanish had been. In 1902, after several bloody battles, the Philippines officially became an American territory.

The American rule was racially fraught from the start. Soldiers taunted Filipinos with a newly created epithet: *gugu*, an adaptation of the Tagalog word for "stupid" (Francia, 2010). Kipling's infamous poem "The White Man's Burden," published in 1899, was an exhortation for the U.S. to continue its colonizing efforts in the Philippines. Mass education in English began; so did a program that sent educated Filipinos to the United States to earn college degrees (Francia, 2010).

The American half-century unofficially ended with the invasion by the Japanese at the beginning of World War II. Manila was bombed just hours after Pearl Harbor.

Philippine and American soldiers soon took part in one of the war's most notorious episodes when the Japanese marched tens of thousands of prisoners of war from Bataan to San Fernando in the peak of summer heat. Thousands of the prisoners died along the way. The country was also decimated by air guns from Davao to Manila as the U.S. attempted to wrestle it back from the Japanese.

With the surrender of Japan in 1945, the Philippines, bruised and battered, finally edged toward its own independence. The modern Philippine state was officially inaugurated on July 4, 1946. But the American influence would be slow to wane. The country's political system was set up to mirror the American one: a president, two legislative bodies, and a judiciary branch. During the Cold War, the Philippines was seen as "America's showcase of democracy in Asia;" a bulwark against communism in the region (Francia, 2010, p. 200). Throughout the post-war years, the U.S. intervened in Philippine elections and trade through both overt and covert actions (Ables, 2003). The U.S. continued to run military bases in the country for decades. Even though the last American military site, Clark Air Base, closed in the 1990s, its military presence is still felt today especially as the U.S. maneuvers in response to Chinese aggression in the South China Sea (Bacon, 2015).

The American half-century in the Philippines coincided with the rise of mass media. Americans founded many of the country's most influential newspapers and radio stations and trained early generations of Filipino journalists. As a result, American culture continued to permeate with the spread of mass media. Even today, the Philippines is in many ways more aligned with the U.S. than the rest of Asia. Its position as the only majority Catholic country in Asia sets it apart from its region as well. The Philippines is

not perceived by many of its Asian neighbors as one of them – it is instead an amalgam of cultures, and one that is ultimately oriented toward the West.

Democracy stifled: The Marcos legacy of corruption

While the Philippine population was more financially secure and better-educated at the time of independence than Korea or Taiwan, two nations which also earned sovereignty in the post-war years, it has failed to flourish economically and politically compared to those nations. Why? A deeply entrenched culture of corruption combined with economic inequality may be to blame (You, 2015). This culture, and its enduring influence, has many of its roots in the decades of Marcos rule.

Philippine democratic progress didn't last long after World War II. Ferdinand Marcos was elected president in 1965 and enacted martial law in 1972. His dictatorship was among the most corrupt of all time. He embezzled up to \$10 billion from the Philippine public, an incredible figure when you consider that the gross national income of the country was just \$3,440 in 2015 and that a quarter of the population lives below the national poverty line (Global Transparency Report, 2004; World Bank, 2015). Marcos' plunder was stunning. A 1984 receipt for a New York florist found amongst Marcos' papers after he was deposed gave a glimpse into his lifestyle: \$25,981 for one week's supply of flowers for his and Imelda's Manhattan penthouse, or over \$60,000 adjusted for inflation today (Aquino, 1999).

Marcos was ousted in 1986 upon a wave of public outrage over decades of hardship under his rule. But Marcos' legacy of corruption lingers. Today, the country holds regular elections, but it is still ranked a flawed democracy by the Economist Intelligence Unit (2014). Much of this can be attributed to rampant voter fraud

perpetrated by politicians, who frequently buy or rig votes, and are often beholden to elite interests (You, 2015). The corrupt political class contributes to a broad culture of impunity, where legal enforcement of practically anything is very difficult due to the knowledge that the system does not reward ethical or legal behavior.

Leaders since Marcos have perpetrated a corrupt approach to administration. Joseph “Erap” Estrada, elected president in 1998, embezzled \$80 million, earning him a spot as the tenth-most corrupt world leader in history; Marcos is ranked second (Transparency International, 2004). Estrada stepped down in 2001 after a “people power” street revolution that echoed the public demands for the end of Marcos’ regime. But Estrada’s downfall was short-lived. He was pardoned by a later president and is now the mayor of Manila.

Marcos and Estrada represent the most visible cases of corruption in the country’s history. But corruption has infiltrated the leadership culture at large; in the Philippines, you could even say corruption “is a way of life” (Quah, 2003, p. 81). The Global Integrity Report, a watchdog organization, rated the Philippines as “very weak” in its implementation of anti-corruption measures, arguing that the office of the ombudsman, tasked with cracking down, focuses on petty issues rather than corrupt officials in positions of power (Global Integrity, 2010). Yet visible politicians are often the targets of corruption charges. During the time of my fieldwork in May 2015, both the vice president of the country and his son, the mayor of Makati City, the municipality in Metro Manila that is financial heart of the country, were under scrutiny for corrupt practices.

The woes of Vice President Jejomar Binay and Mayor Jejomar “Junjun” Binay, Jr., illustrate another aspect of Philippine politics: the persistence of insular and powerful

family dynasties. Even more than the Bushes and Clintons, Philippine politicians are most likely to be elected with a well-known, and even infamous, name. After returning from exile, Imelda Marcos was elected to the House of Representatives. Her children, Imee Marcos and Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos, Jr., are also elected officials. The current president, Benigno “PNoy” Aquino III, is the son of Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino, Jr., the senator whose assassination was the inciting incident for the public revolt against Marcos, and Corazon Aquino, the country’s first post-Marcos president.

The name recognition of candidates is more important than party affiliation. In fact, Philippine political parties are little more than loose collections of supporters for a public figure and never represent an actual set of policy goals. Political scions or celebrities, like boxer and legislator Manny Pacquiao, have the best chance at election and function as independents once in office. Parties matter little in a country where more than 80% of citizens say they do not belong to one (Social Weather Station, 2006). “Persons are the ‘institutions’ of Philippine politics,” and delivering money to their constituencies is their main job (White, 2015, p. 166).

Yet despite a national lack of confidence in the state government, and a reality in which most political power is contained in local governmental units rather than at the national level, Filipinos turn out for elections. Nearly 75% of voters participated in the 2010 presidential election, down from the 84% who voted in 2004 (International IDEA, n.d.). Compare this to the 62% of Americans who turned out for Barack Obama’s historic election in 2008 (Bipartisan Policy Center, 2012). So who is the Philippine voter, the person who keeps showing up despite a disappointing record of ethical and legal behavior

amongst the country's national leaders in its so-called "demo-crazy" (Meinardus, 2006)?
Who is the voter – and who is the consumer of news in this country?

Demographics

The Philippines, while comprising over 7,000 islands, is divided into three main island regions: Luzon, the northernmost and most populated region, containing the capital of Manila; the Visayas, the central region with one major city, Cebu; and Mindanao, the southern region. Outside its largest city, Davao City, Mindanao is rural, agricultural, and somewhat isolated. It is also home to a separatist, autonomous Muslim region that has been the source of many bloody skirmishes over the years. Attaining peace with the autonomous regions is one of the primary goals of current president Benigno Aquino.

The Philippines has experienced a population explosion in recent decades. A nation of 18 million at the time of independence, it now has 100 million citizens, making it the 12th largest country by population. Metro Manila, a metropolitan area of 14 million, is among the most densely-populated cities in the world. Ten million Filipinos live abroad in one of the world's biggest diasporas. About 3.5 million of OFWs, or overseas Filipino workers, live in the United States; smaller numbers live in the Middle East or Europe (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2013).

The World Bank rates the Philippines squarely in the ranks of the developing world based on its gross national income (GNI). The country is ranked 110th with a GNI of \$7,820 per capita (The World Bank, n.d.). A quarter of the population lives below the national poverty line, and 10% of citizens fall below the food threshold, meaning they lack regular access to enough food to feed themselves and their families (Philippine Poverty Authority, 2015). The country's wealth is concentrated in an elite group. Its Gini

coefficient, the statistical measurement of income inequality, was 43 in 2009, ranking it 108th in the world (World Bank, n.d.). In other words, it is a perfectly average developing nation, ranking in the middle of the pack on economic indicators.

Manila is the largest city in the country by far; the other major cities, Cebu in the central region of Visayas and Davao City in the southern region of Mindanao, contain 2.5 million and 2.2 million people in their metropolitan areas, respectively. Half of the country's population lives in urban areas (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). Economic classes are described as A (super rich), B (rich), C (small managers and officials), D (lower class) and E (very poor). ABC classes live in the cities and make up just 10% of the total population (White, 2015).

Literacy is high at 95%, but public education in the country is poor. Just 2.7% of gross domestic product is spent on education, ranking the Philippines 149th in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). As a result, the Philippine public education system has been in decline for decades. The schools “are failing to teach the competence the average citizen needs to become responsible, productive and self-fulfilling. We are graduating people who are learning less and less” (Meinardus, 2003, p. 91). A major part of the problem is that the Philippine Department of Education is continually beset with corruption scandals, resulting in too few textbooks in too few classrooms staffed with too few teachers (Reyes, 2009).

Just 42.4% of Filipinos have graduated high school (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2013). Of the 10.1% of the population with a college education, more than a quarter earned degrees in business and administration – hotel and restaurant management are typical career options – and an additional third earned degrees in teaching or

engineering; nursing is also a popular degree choice (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2013).

Science is not seen as a viable career course or an especially important educational area. Unless students attend one of the nine science-specialist high schools in the country, there is little emphasis on science education in K-12 learning. In 2012, the Department of Education announced it was eliminating all science and health subjects from first and second grade courses in order to make education “more enjoyable” (Asian Scientist, 2012, n.p.). One of my informants said of the educational system, “There’s more emphasis on language, English especially, and then by the time you’re graduating from high school, the parents are really focused on which courses are marketable” (S. Panela, personal communication, May 18, 2015).

English, first instituted by the Americans, is still taught in schools. English and Filipino, the official version of Tagalog, are the national languages, but many Filipinos are multi-lingual. They may speak English, Filipino, and a regional or local language, of which there are over 100. While a Philippine language is most likely to be spoken at home, proficiency in English is seen as a way to broaden career options. Filipinos frequently speak Taglish, a codeswitching mix of English and Tagalog that can be seen especially in television news reports. Street signs and advertisements are likely to be in English or a combination of English and Filipino. Spanish, once the official language during the days of Spain’s occupation, has fallen by the wayside. Still, many Filipino phrases and pronunciations carry echoes of the Spanish influence, such as *demokrasya*.

As might not be surprising in a place where fewer than half of citizens attain a high school degree, an anti-intellectual strain runs through the country’s culture. Joseph

“Erap” Estrada, the disgraced former president, was proud of his poor grasp of the English language. He published a book of his malapropisms called *ERAPtions: How To Speak English Without Really Trial* (White, 2015). The word “intellectual” is seen as an insult when used to describe politicians (Madrado-Sta. Romana, 2015).³ Reading is not a valued pastime: “You can clearly see that an average Filipino will be amazed with a person that has a sheer quantity of books in his or her library. It clearly explains that our society will always be an anti-intellectual one” (Dachronicler, 2013, n.p.).

In sum, the Philippine population is largely poor and minimally educated. Wealthy and educated people – the AB classes and perhaps some of the C class – comprise a minority that is concentrated in the cities, and seem to live a life apart from the peasant classes. Although national politicians frequently serve the whims of the elite classes because of the frequency of bribery and corruption, they must also earn the votes of the CDE classes that comprise the majority of the population. Outright vote-buying and voter fraud often drive the high election day turnout rates (White, 2015). Widespread corruption still dogs the country. “Fixing” is practically a given, from the political arena and government agencies to the boxing ring and, yes, the newsroom (Amorado, 2007).

Now turning my attention to journalism itself in the Philippine context, I’ll start with the historic influences of the American period and bring us up to the current day.

The rise of the Philippine news media

The first newsletters and newspapers appeared during the Spanish period. They were organs of the Spanish government, written in Spanish and rarely reflecting the Philippine experience. In the years before the revolution of the 1890s, however, an independent press experienced a short-lived boon. The establishment of anti-Spanish

³ One could argue that this is yet another way the Philippine culture resembles that of the United States’.

newspapers coincided with the rise of an intellectual class that began criticizing the Spanish government (Ables, 2003).

With the arrival of the Americans, however, nationalistic newspapers were stifled. While the press was technically free from censorship during this period, in actuality, journalists who were critical of the U.S. lived under constant threat of crippling libel suits and the risk of deportation (Ramirez, 1983). In one famous example, the newspaper *El Renacimiento* was shut down by a libel suit in 1908 after it printed an editorial critical of the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, even though the secretary was never named (Maslog, 1994). English-language newspapers founded during the first decades of American rule were as pro-American as the Spanish newspapers had been pro-Spain.

Throughout the American half-century, Americans deeply influenced the professionalization of Philippine journalism. They established journalism departments at universities and taught students the American style of reporting that valued distance and the pursuit of objectivity (Ofreneo, 1984). In addition, they founded and owned many of the country's first daily newspapers. The editors and publishers running the newspapers usually had economic ties to the U.S. They were, for example, shipping or sugar magnates with U.S. clients, even if they themselves were Filipino. Many long-time editors were American. Carson Taylor, the American who founded the country's longest-running newspaper (the *Manila Bulletin*, established in 1900), gave his newspaper an unapologetically American identity. It was still seen as an American mouthpiece even after independence (Maslog, 1994).

During World War II, Japanese forces shuttered newspapers and radio stations. The penalty for reading or listening to unapproved information sources was death (Ables,

2003). But the American influence would persist even after Philippine independence was declared in 1946. The American military was the first to re-introduce publishing, putting out a newsletter to let Filipinos know about the Allied victory (Ables, 2003). And after independence, national newspapers continued to be published in English, even running American cartoons (Ofreneo, 1984). For years, foreign news in Philippine newspapers dealt exclusively with the U.S., not the country's Asian neighbors (Ables, 2003). And the U.S. continued to meddle with Philippine internal and international affairs throughout the Cold War (Francia, 2010).

In the three decades between independence and martial law established by the Marcos regime in 1972, the Philippine news media flourished. The largest national daily had a circulation of 250,000, an impressive figure for a country of about 37 million (Ables, 2003). In general, journalists took on the major roles that would be expected from the years of American training:

As privately owned enterprises in a democratic capitalist society, the Philippine mass media saw their greatest role as watching government The media also believed in their traditional roles in a democratic society: to inform people and comment on issues so that the people may be more intelligent and active participants in government, to entertain and educate the people. (Maslog, 1994, p. 26)

But the free press would take yet another hit for the decades of Marcos rule, which began when Marcos was elected president in 1965 and went into full force when he declared martial law in 1972. News outlets could only run by government permit, and critical journalists often paid with their lives. Many of the newspapers and television stations were owned by Marcos' cronies, ensuring that journalists would stay in line. When the popular senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., was assassinated in 1983, journalists were informed they could only report on the event by using the terms "killing" and "mourners"

rather than “assassination” and “sympathizers” (Nieva, 2001). The outrage over Aquino’s death gave the alternative press an opening. The “mosquito press,” as a government official called it, began defying administrative orders on the assassination (Ofreneo, 2001, p. 124). When Marcos was finally ousted, in 1986, the mosquito press became the mainstream press.

Since 1986, the Philippine news media have been (once again) constitutionally protected. Only one pre-Marcos national daily newspaper has survived the entire last century: the *Manila Bulletin*, the onetime shipping newsletter that was founded in 1900. Yet the Philippine news media have proliferated in the last 30 years. There are over 200 daily newspapers and magazines, three broadcast channels, and hundreds of local commercial radio and television stations, and one – so far – national web-only news site, Rappler.com, which was founded in 2011.

The purpose of this brief history is to demonstrate that the contemporary Philippine news system is, in many ways, still finding its footing. It has enjoyed only three decades of uninterrupted freedoms. It has been indelibly touched by both the American news system, which directly influenced Philippine news development in the first half of the century, and by the Marcos regime, which left a legacy of corruption and cronyism. Americans gave the modern Philippine news system much of its shape, outlook, and language, as English is the language of the national broadsheet newspapers. Looking at a daily newspaper in Manila, it resembles many American newspapers: a front page with political news, and business, sports, local, and editorial sections following. It is also ad-supported, a profession that was also introduced by Americans.

Marcos' legacy equally shaped Philippine journalism. Until his fall in 1986, he controlled the press by overt military action, libel suits, and bribery, which, while not novel under Marcos, became "widespread and institutionalized" thanks to the sheer vastness of his wealth and willingness to use it to buy off the press (Maslog, 1994, p. 34). Envelopmental journalism, known in the U.S. as envelope or checkbook journalism, is still rampant; it's part of the culture of "fixing" that pervades politics and sports as well (Amorado, 2007). A 1998 survey found that one in three beat reporters admitted to accepting money when it was offered and two out of three saw accepting free meals or gifts as a gray area (Chua & Datinguino, 1999).

Journalists today (as yesterday) in the Philippines are poorly paid and overworked. The *Manila Bulletin* has resorted to using a temp agency to fill its newsroom with part-time employees (L. Laparan, personal communication, May 20, 2015). At the GMA Network, one of the three national broadcast stations, editorial employees are often considered "talent," which is what might be called "permalancers" in the U.S. These are employees who receive few or no benefits and are kept on short-term contracts that are often renewed for years without being considered full-time employees (Dangla, 2014). Job insecurity of course contributes to the problem of news for sale. Some journalists have even been known to participate in "ACDC," or attack-collect-defend-collect schemes, wherein they solicit bribes from public officials by critiquing them in the press and then accepting follow-up payment for sympathetic coverage; however, this may be more common in the provinces than in the capital (Amorado, 2007).

In the 1990s, the Philippine Press Institute attempted to reduce unethical behavior through the adoption of a code of ethics that drew heavily on the ethical guidelines of the

Associated Press and the U.S. Society of Professional Journalists (Philippine Press Institute Press Council, 2006). But given that my *Manila Bulletin* informant volunteered that his colleagues sometimes took bribes, and one of my *Philippine Daily Inquirer* informants stressed that *PDI* journalists are known for *not* taking bribes (whether that is true or not), paying off journalists is clearly still an ongoing issue.

The Philippine news system today

The Philippine news system contains a multitude of voices. It is dominated by nine national daily broadsheet newspapers and 20 tabloids located in Manila and three major broadcast networks: ABS-CBN, TV5, and the GMA Network. There are dozens of tabloid newspapers with circulations in the hundreds of thousands (Philippine Information Agency, 2013). Dozens more newspapers are produced in the provinces. The top two national broadsheet newspapers, the grand dame *Manila Bulletin*, founded in 1900, and the post-revolutionary *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, founded in 1985, still report weekday circulations of 300,000 or above, around the same amount that they reported 20 years ago (Maslog, 1994; Philippine Information Agency, 2013). The combined circulation of 34 Metro Manila daily tabloids and broadsheets in 1994 was 3.4 million (Maslog, 1994). Today, the combined circulation of the 29 remaining dailies is 6.2 million, but the growth is reflected mainly in the tabloids (Philippine Information Agency, 2013). The venerable press epitomized by the *Manila Bulletin* and the *PDI* have held steady in terms of circulation in the last two decades. Meanwhile, Metro Manila's population has grown by 26% in the same period, indicating that the newspapers have lost some ground in terms of penetration. Ad sales, however, are still strong, particularly weekend classifieds.

Online news is still nascent. While the top newspapers and the networks have websites, they are not yet converged; the online newsroom is staffed separately with its own editor in chief and often even housed in a separate building (Tandoc, 2014). Being an online reporter is considered a separate job from a print reporter. Rappler, founded in 2011, is the first and only – so far – national web-only news outlet.

The slow onset of convergence and online news outlets is likely due to the limitations of Internet access in the country. Just 37% of Filipinos are Internet users (World Bank, 2013). But Filipinos are not technology-adverse. There are 103 million mobile phones in the country, ranking it 12th in the world (CIA Factbook). In 2009, Filipinos sent an average of 600 text messages per month, 43% more than Americans (Dimacali, 2010). Facebook is very popular, and a recent move by the company to make Facebook access free in the developing world (meaning that it won't cost data on an Internet plan) will ensure that it will remain popular. Some people share news by copying and pasting entire news stories in their status updates, since visiting the actual news site would charge their data plans (T. Dimacali, personal communication, May 17, 2015). The low number of Internet users in the country is likely a reflection of the cost of going online. The Philippines has one of the world's slowest Internet broadband networks. At the same time, Philippine Internet is expensive. It costs an average \$18.19 per megabyte per second, compared to the world average of \$5.21 (Gonzalez, 2015).

The national news media, especially print media, are highly Manila-centric. Metro Manila is the country's largest city and contains the country's government and financial centers. While the top newspapers do have reporters in the provinces, most readers are in the capital. Both the *Bulletin* and the *PDI*'s readership are the AB classes, a minority of

whom live outside the capital. As Mike Ubac, an editor at the *PDI* put it, “Mainly, we’re a political paper. So our audience is basically composed of those in government, bureaucracy, [and] students.” Leo Laparan at the *Bulletin* reported their readers were “businessmen.”

The AB-class, business-oriented readership of the national daily newspapers reflects their ownership. The economic elite – the A+ class, as it were – has controlled the Philippine media system since the mid-20th century. In 1972, five families owned 90% of the country’s mass media (Maslog, 1994). These families had vested interests in mining, lumber, sugar, utilities, textiles, oil, and more. Ownership diversified somewhat with the proliferation of more outlets, but still, the owners of the top national news outlets are all wealthy business owners with deeply entrenched economic interests.

The owner of the *Manila Bulletin*, Emilio Yap, owns automobile, shipping, and hotel businesses (Coronel, 1999). The owners of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, the Prieto and Rufino families, own chemical plants, pulp mills, and property development companies (Coronel, 1999). The family who owns the *Philippine Star*, the third most-circulated newspaper, recently sold a majority share to Manuel Pangilinan, a telecom and mining tycoon who also owns *Business World*, the country’s top business newspaper, and TV-5, the most popular broadcast network. He has attempted and failed to buy the rival broadcast channel, the GMA Network. One rumor says that Pangilinan is trying to buy majority shares in all the major print newspapers (S. Panela, personal communication, May 19, 2015).

Why would Pangilinan do that? It could be that, as one editor reported 20 years ago, it’s still good corporate practice: “We are a country where unfortunately keeping a

newspaper is a good defense weapon for big business” (Maslog, 1994, p. 29).

Interventionist publishers are not uncommon. Yap, the owner of the *Manila Bulletin*, has a reputation for keeping a close eye on editorial output, even personally approving the daily story mix (Coronel, 1999).

Advertisers are often considered off limits. Leo Laparan, the research head and editor of the *Manila Bulletin*'s weekly environmental page in 2014-2015, told me how he was unable to report on an environmental story because of its critical stance toward SM Supermalls, a chain of large malls throughout the country.

There's this big issue in Baguio north about the cutting of so many trees by SM We weren't allowed actually to publish a story on that. But it's environmentally significant to our readers because Baguio's a mountainous area. It needs trees to keep the soils intact to avoid landslides. But SM being a major advertiser of the paper, it shouldn't be touched. Or the most we can do is re-angle the story in such a way that we won't ever mention anything about the advertiser that's affected. (Personal communication, May 20, 2015)

At the *Inquirer.net*, the online arm of the *PDI*, my informant expressed more confidence that an article critical of an advertiser could run:

Our only rule for that is if we're going to write something that would probably put an advertiser in a bad light, we just get their statement before publishing the article so at least it's balanced and they have their say. (K. Sabillo, personal communication, May 21, 2015)

The histories of the two papers provide clues for their differing approaches to handling advertisers. The *Manila Bulletin*, as mentioned earlier, was founded in 1900 by an American. Its reputation was as a mouthpiece for the American government (Maslog, 1994). While the *Bulletin* has been Filipino-owned for many decades now, its reputation as a pro-government newspaper persists. With the country's dearth of serious, established political parties, newspapers rarely align with a party; instead, they are seen as either anti- or pro-government. The *Bulletin* is “the unofficial government newspaper. It's very at

peace with what the government is doing. Its editorial, rather than being critical of the government, is mostly on holidays and whatnot” (S. Panela, personal communication, May 19, 2015).

The *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, on the other hand, is the leading anti-government newspaper. Founded in 1985 as an outlet for anti-Marcos voices in the final months of the dictator’s regime, the *PDI* has maintained its reputation as an anti-government newspaper:

Because we’re born out of dictatorship, this paper came to light in waning days of the Marcos dictatorship, we’re very anti-corruption. So we’re ... the leaders of the mosquito press at the time. Then when Cory [Aquino, the assassinated Senator Benigno Aquino’s widow] came to power in 1986, we were suddenly thrust into the limelight, this is the hard-hitting, no-nonsense newspaper. I think that kind of perspective clung on. (M. Ubac, personal correspondence, May 21, 2015)

The *PDI* continues to be the leading journalistic voice in the country. A corruption story published in a smaller paper will not make much of an impact until it is picked up by the *PDI*. It is the newspaper that students in the University of the Philippines’ journalism program, where many of my informants earned their degrees, are taught to emulate.

While the *PDI* is known as the best emulator of the classic watchdog role of journalism with its critical coverage of the government, compared to the more complacent *Manila Bulletin*, it is in many ways more similar to the *Bulletin* than it is different. Both leading newspapers focus almost exclusively on political news with an eye toward an audience of the Manila-centered, educated classes. Moreover, they tend toward a form of personality-driven news coverage that focuses on the individual politicians rather than questions of policy. As noted earlier, political parties have little meaning in the Philippines; politicians function as independents in office. Family name recognition or celebrity status is a strong predictor of whether someone will win an

election. Politicians are frequently referred to by first name or nickname in headlines, such as “PNoy” for the current president or “Bongbong” for a senator who is the son of Ferdinand Marcos. One of the most frequent types of stories seen in newspaper front sections is a pitched conversation between politicians at committee meetings or other legislative events where one might accuse the other of some sort of impropriety. Philippine political journalists frequently report on this kind of public interaction.

The way newspaper reporters’ beats are divided up can encourage journalistic production that relies on making news from political events like committee meetings or press conferences. Journalists cover multiple beats which are divided up by geography rather than substance. This is due to the fact that Metro Manila is a sprawling, traffic-choked city with limited public transportation options. Three underserviced train lines serve parts of the city, but most people are likely to cross the city on jeepneys, which are open-air buses that cost just a few pesos per ride but make many stops. Taxis, while rarely more expensive than \$5 USD for a half-hour ride, are still too costly for most Filipinos. Some people own private vehicles, but that also is costly for average citizens.

Therefore, journalists are assigned beats that are close to one another to improve their efficiency and lower their costs. The “Elliptical beat” includes many of the government offices that are located near Elliptical Road, a circular thoroughfare in Quezon City, Metro Manila’s largest municipality by size and population. So, for example, a reporter might be assigned to cover the Department of the Environment and Natural Resources as well as the Department of Agriculture because they are on the same block. Meanwhile, the *PDI* and *Manila Bulletin* offices are located much farther downtown, closer to Manila Bay and an unreasonable distance to commute every day due

to the traffic and poor transportation options. Depending on the location of their beats, reporters may make infrequent appearances in the newsroom itself.

The geographic division of beats does not *cause* reporters to focus on personality politics and press conference journalism, but it is one factor that contributes to reporters' producing stories that are reflections of government action rather than enterprise journalistic work. Reporters assigned to cover government offices appear to take the job rather literally, reporting the ongoing announcements of the government office as news. Regardless of whether the story ultimately gets critical treatment by a journalist – in the form of an additional source or even in the journalist's own language choice – the fact remains that much Philippine daily journalism is this style of government report. One of my informants from the *PDI* recounted a story where he had gotten an important scoop on illegal logging:

That was actually my first scoop back many years ago, that the secretaries came out with the executive order on a total log ban, it was big news and nobody picked it up. [I thought I] might as well call the undersecretary about this. The press release was confirmed. (M. Ubac, personal communication, May 21, 2015)

This anecdote is telling because Ubac's big scoop was based on a press release that other journalists had failed to notice as news. It speaks to both the production of news in the country – that relying on government sources is routine – and the low level of interest in environmental news, as the total logging ban, while available to any journalist in the form of a press release, was only noticed and made into news by one.

The intense focus of the daily newspaper beats on producing political and government news for the AB class reader in Metro Manila means that there are many underreported stories floating around the Philippine news system that rarely or never gain traction. Likewise, stories that are more frequently reported are often done on a

superficial level, covering simply the government's announcement or a conversation between politicians at a legislative meeting.

So far, I have focused on the top two national newspapers. But what about the logics and production of television news? Next, I will provide a brief discussion of television news in the Philippines before discussing environmental journalism specifically in both media formats.

Television news

There are three broadcast stations in the Philippines: ABS-CBN, the leading and oldest network, followed by the GMA Network and TV-5. All three were founded in the middle of the last century. CNN started a Philippine version in early 2015.

Unlike the newspapers, which target the educated AB classes, the broadcast channels' audience is comprised of the CDE classes: the average Filipino. As such, the networks have much broader appeal than newspapers. The networks present newscasts in Filipino, although interviews may be conducted in a mix of Filipino and English. Popular programming like game shows and scripted comedies and dramas are presented in Filipino. Like the newspapers, the networks maintain news websites, but they are operated separately from the station itself. The websites are primarily in English, a reflection of the limitation of Internet access to more educated citizens.

Science is not regarded as an important topic for newscasts. Shaira Panela, a science journalist who worked for the GMA Network, struggled to get science-related stories on the air. She was told that science stories wouldn't sell advertisements and that they were too "highfaluting" for the network news. She summarized the network's approach thusly:

In the Philippines you really have to go [the audience's] level. In television we have to, we have this term, [that] this should be understood by *aling barang* and *mang ambo*. *Mang ambo* is the farmer, while *aling barang* is the sari-sari store, the small store of various goods and commodities in your neighborhood. (Personal communication, May 19, 2015)

Also like the newspapers, the networks are owned by powerful Filipino families with vested interests in development, energy, mining, logging, and other businesses. The owner of network TV-5, billionaire Manuel Pangilinan, is a mining and telecommunications tycoon who is rumored to be trying to buy stocks in all the major news outlets (S. Panela, personal communication, May 19, 2015). While Pangilinan has already made one failed bid for the rival GMA Network, the owners of the GMA Network have said they would sell to him for a price of 100 billion pesos (no author, 2015). The networks are often also closely tied to political dynasties. The founder of ABS-CBN, for example, was the brother of the vice president under Marcos. Kris Aquino, the sister of the current president, is one of the network's biggest stars.

An audience of relatively less-educated viewers than newspaper readers, and an emphasis on ratings and selling ads, keeps the networks' newscasts focused on local news, sports, weather, and entertainment.

Environmental news

The Philippine national newspapers, with their history of influence from the American system of government watchdog journalism and audience of the wealthy, educated classes, value political news above all else. Economic influences – such as the influence of bribery, which deeply intertwines reporting with the fates of political figures, an emphasis on avoiding upsetting important advertisers, and the fact that most news outlets are owned by powerful family dynasties with vested interests in development and

extraction industries – have also contributed to a news landscape that often overlooks environmental issues or relegates them to inside pages of the newspaper. And on television news, there is scant room for environmental stories in programming designed for relatively uneducated classes in a country where science is devalued as a discourse and career path.

In other words, environmental news is a rare commodity in the Philippines. Journalists may be dispatched to cover the Department of Environment and Natural Resources as one of their many beats, but the resulting news coverage is likely to hew closely to governmental announcements. Enterprise reporting on the environment is rare.

This is not to say that enterprise reporting on environmental issues is non-existent in the Philippines. It is just unlikely to find a home at the top of the newscast or in the front section of the national newspapers. Journalists who insist on writing science or environmental news are unlikely to be full-time employees of a national news outlet; there is little institutional space there for them. Instead, they are often freelancers or run their own news outlets. Yasmin Arquiza is a former *Associated Press* reporter turned full-time environmental reporter, but she had to start her own outlet to do it. For nearly a decade, she ran *Bandillo ng Palawan (Town Crier of Palawan)*, an environmental newspaper she co-founded in 1993 in Palawan, an island province on the Philippines' western edge that is considered the country's ecological frontier.

Arquiza described her motivation to start *Bandillo ng Palawan* as both personal and journalistic. A native of Davao, the southernmost city in the country, she fell in love with Palawan when the *Associated Press* sent her to report on a national park in the

region. Then, as she learned of the environmental threats facing Palawan, a biodiversity hotspot, she turned to environmental journalism:

There wasn't really any tradition of independent reporting at the time in Palawan. There were only two newspapers that were owned by politicians. So they were reporting government news or whatever the politicians wanted the public to know. So it was the first independent media that started covering environmental issues. (Personal communication, May 20, 2015)

Bandillo ng Palawan focused particularly on the threats of development to the region's habitats and wildlife. With a small circulation, the newspaper was difficult to sustain. It folded not long after Arquiza moved to Manila to accept a job as the managing editor of the GMA Network website in 2009. The GMA Network had been following climate change as a story when it appeared in political discussions, as it did when the Philippines passed a landmark national climate change law in 2009. Arquiza had won an international grant to cover the 2009 U.N. climate conference in Copenhagen prior to joining the GMA Network; the site sometimes ran the stories she reported from the conference, but, otherwise, environmental stories were minimal. Environmental stories were published in the science and technology section of the network's website, which was oriented more toward consumer technology than environmental news. In five years in a management role at the GMA Network, the extent of Arquiza's environmental reporting was to pass along environmentally-oriented press releases to the science and technology editor.

Science journalism, a related category to environmental journalism, is similarly marginalized in the major news outlets.⁴ Arquiza's story mirrors that of Shaira Panela, a

⁴ Science vs. environmental journalism as categories is a parsing I'll leave to other researchers; I view them as overlapping categories with no clear or widely agreed-upon delineation. Dunwoody (2014) subsumes environmental journalism within science journalism. From my interviews, however, it was clear that

reporter who was introduced in the previous section. Panela is a science journalist who also worked for the GMA Network, writing both for television and for the website, starting in 2011. While writing for the news broadcasts, she struggled to introduce science stories:

[We wrote] mostly about poverty, political issues and their history, culture; if there are a few things I was able to insert a little of science [into], it's very very rare. It's very difficult to sell science on the TV guys on the news. (Personal communication, May 19, 2015)

In one case, Panela completed a piece that showed how the dearth of science education in the country could hurt the Philippines' economic progress. After many delays, her manager finally told her the piece would not run because "it will not sell [ads] The primetime newscast will not take it I think he was the one who said it's highfalutin" (Personal communication, May 19, 2015). In other words, Panela's editor saw a science-oriented story as a mismatch with the network's advertiser's interests, as well as with the public; "highfalutin" stories would not connect with the farmer or the *sari-sari* store owner.

Panela also attributes the lack of interest in science journalism to a broader culture that downplays science: "We're not a very scientific culture. Our tendency is to believe more in the political side ... and not really lean on the science, and leave it to the science guys to understand the science" (Personal communication, May 19, 2015). Determined to be a science journalist, Panela now freelances for Philippine and international websites.

Freelance or independent reporters like Panela or Arquiza were much easier to find to participate in this project than in-house environmental reporters at the major outlets, simply because there aren't very many. As noted earlier, the national newspapers

environmental reporting can incorporate scientific studies and scientist sources – or not, especially in cases where environmental reporting is closely connected to disaster reporting, as it is in the Philippines.

are politically-oriented and closely tied to government announcements for what “makes news,” and without a strong national agenda on the environment, the newspapers rarely made environmental news a priority.

One minor exception is the *Manila Bulletin*’s weekly environmental news page. A single page containing three or four stories that runs inside the business section, the environmental news page has run in the newspaper since the 1990s. Leo Laparan edited the environmental page from June 2014 to February 2015. As the *Bulletin*’s research head, Laparan oversees a small staff that assists reporters with additional reporting or special supplements. In 2014, the newspaper’s management also gave him the environmental page to run in addition to his duties in the research department and his role as weekly night editor.

Under previous editors, the *Bulletin*’s environmental page was typically filled with wire stories. Laparan has an affinity for environmental reporting, however, and saw it as an opportunity to give his staff bylines and do more in-depth reporting on the weekly page. Under his stewardship, the environmental page featured original reporting that focused on Manila, the provinces, and often one international story (sometimes a wire story, and often on climate change).

While the *Bulletin* has a reporter assigned to the Department of Environment and Natural Resources as one of her beats, environmental news otherwise rarely gets the attention of the A section editors:

Competition for stories in the main page, or the front page for that matter, is really tough. Because, as you can see, the orientation of the *Manila Bulletin*, it’s mostly political stories, so [environmental] stories are not really relegated, [but] they are not actually priorities of the desk. (L. Laparan, personal communication, May 20, 2015)

Given a page that was not especially valued by the top-level editors, Laparan had free rein. Because the *Bulletin* reporter who was assigned to the Department of Environment and Natural Resources would run her stories in the front section, Laparan could focus on more feature-oriented, in-depth articles on the environmental page. For example, he could run an article on the latest report from the International Panel on Climate Change, a story that despite its international heft and potential relevance to Filipinos living in one of the most vulnerable nations to climate change, would have been an unlikely choice for the A section under the prevailing logic.

The *Bulletin* management took Laparan off the environmental page in February 2015 so he could focus on running the research department. The environmental page frequently changes hands, as it is seen as extra work within the newspaper's staff; in other words, it never has its own dedicated editor. Only when someone like Laparan, who has a personal interest in environmental news, runs the page does it feature original reporting. Since Laparan was reassigned, the page has returned to primarily running wire stories.

Institutional space for environmental or science reporting within the national newspapers' front pages and television news' broadcasts is limited in the Philippines. Journalists who want to focus on environmental news are often freelancers rather than full-time staff. This is because, as I hope the previous pages have demonstrated, environmental news is a poor fit with the Philippine news system's way of functioning within its cultural and historic milieu, as well as its contemporary emphasis on political news and news that speaks to certain audiences (the AB classes for the national newspapers, and the CDE classes for the television broadcasts). This is in spite of the fact

that environmental degradation is part of daily life for many Filipinos. For those living in the city, air and water pollution is an ongoing problem. For those living in rural areas, mudslides caused by logging can be fatal, and mining companies often succeed in forcing poor Filipinos off their land. Yet these types of stories are by and large underreported.

There has been, however, an important change to the Philippine news system's approach to environmental news in recent years. Climate change would not wait for news professionals to take notice. Instead, it would announce itself.

The most important environmental story: Typhoons

The most important weather stories of the last decade forced open a space, if small, for talk about environmental issues broadly – and climate change specifically – on both network news and in the pages of the newspapers. Environmental news is marginalized in the Philippine news system with one important exception: when it cannot be ignored, thanks to a breaking news event. The epitome of such an event was Typhoon Haiyan,⁵ which made landfall in Tacloban, a city in the central region of Visayas, in November 2013. Haiyan was one of the strongest typhoons ever recorded. It pulverized Tacloban. Sixteen thousand homes were flattened and more than 6,000 people were killed by the storm (Rhodan, 2013). Today, Tacloban is still struggling to recover.

Haiyan was the worst natural disaster in the Philippines' history, but it was not the first storm to introduce climate change to the Filipino people. That honor belongs to Typhoon Ondoy, a storm that dropped a record 13 inches of rain on Manila in its first six hours and killed hundreds of people in 2009 (Calonzo, 2009). The flooding from Ondoy

⁵ Haiyan is called Yolanda in the Philippines. During my interviews, informants referred to it by both names. I will refer to it as Haiyan, the name given to the typhoon by the World Meteorological Organization, but will not edit any quotes from informants who refer to it as Yolanda. In addition, I have not edited quotes for subject-verb agreement, which sometimes is different in Filipino English than American English.

crippled the city for days. Since most news outlets are Manila-centric, and any extreme weather event that devastates a major city will result in a huge amount of news media attention (see, for example, a similar response when Hurricane Sandy struck the East Coast of the United States in 2012), Ondoy forced journalists to start thinking about environmental stories generally and climate-related stories specifically.

Ondoy, it changes everything. Ondoy, wow. The next day the whole capital ... two-thirds, I think, was underwater. Wow. This is kind of giving us a sense of what environmental impact really amounts to (M. Ubac, personal communication, May 21, 2015)

Prior to Ondoy, climate change was infrequently reported in the Philippine news media because it failed to fit into the mode of what made news in the country. As the previous discussion indicated, Philippine newspapers were oriented toward political news that focused on conflict between politicians or reporting on government press releases. As a low-emissions nation, climate change was not regularly on the agenda of the national government, resulting in very little coverage of climate change pre-Ondoy. Science was not valued as a discourse or journalistic subject, and so the few science or environmental journalists who did exist in the country were rarely on the lookout for a complex story like climate change. Covering the major U.N. conferences on climate change that the Philippines participated in, such as Copenhagen in 2009, was left to journalists who won grants from international organizations.

After Ondoy, climate change became a buzzword. News outlets responded to the storm by investing more in weather reporting and in training journalists to understand weather forecasting systems (S. Panela, personal communication, May 19, 2015). In other words, climate change finally burst onto the national stage – but it did so deeply connected to weather and disasters. This approach to climate change persisted after

Haiyan devastated Tacloban in 2013. Haiyan made headlines for months following the storm's landfall. Like any major disaster, however, Haiyan provided opportunities for reporting on any number of subjects, ranging from stories of survival to criticism of the government's response. As Kristine Sabillo, chief reporter for Inquirer.net, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer's* online newsroom, said:

I was assigned to cover the aftermath of Yolanda. So we did a lot of feature stories on that, though not necessarily focused on climate. I guess that's a challenge there. Because we do a lot of disaster reporting. We monitor the typhoons. We haven't really pushed the envelope or dug deeper into the science. (Personal communication, May 21, 2015)

For television stations in particular, the effect of Haiyan on their reporting was to heighten their awareness that any incoming typhoon could turn out to be deadly. The Philippines is no stranger to typhoons. It is in fact the most typhoon-prone nation on the planet after China, thanks to its position in the Pacific Ocean (Rice, 2013). This meant that Filipinos were used to typhoons of a certain strength and arriving at certain times. Haiyan, one of the most powerful storms on record, upended Filipinos' expectations about typhoons. Haiyan was the third Category 5 storm in the country in three years, suggesting that storms were in fact getting stronger (Rice, 2013). The concept of "climate change" suddenly gave Filipinos an explanation for why this might be happening. And so television stations, often an important source of information in breaking weather news, were in a position post-Haiyan to raise the alarm when the next deadly typhoon arrived.

TJ Dimacali, the science and technology editor for the GMA Network website, also oversees weather news. After Haiyan, the government and media outlets were criticized for their conservative early assessment of the storm, which may have delayed

evacuations. Since Haiyan, Dimacali has struggled to know when to treat an incoming storm like a potentially dangerous event:

Before Yolanda/Haiyan, our weather stations didn't report a disturbance unless it crossed into [the Philippine Area of Responsibility, a broad area of ocean]. But now everyone's very cautious. Typhoon Dolphin was a good example. It was storming way out in the Pacific. Storms like that, we're reporting on it, although all predictions showed it wasn't going to enter the Philippine Area of Responsibility. So that was a dilemma for me reporting on it. Because the tendency, when you read a news story about a storm, like oh my God there's a storm, people don't tend to delve into the details. They're going to instantly think that they're going to be battered by rains again, etc., etc. So how do you tell them that you're reporting about the storm that's not even going to hit? That's a problem. (Personal communication, May 17, 2015)

Attributing storms, or other unusual weather patterns, to climate change specifically became a challenge for reporters after Haiyan as well. Editors would sometimes push reporters to ask if an incoming typhoon was connected to climate change, even when the reporter knew that government or university meteorologists were not able to answer such a question (S. Panela, personal communication, May 19, 2015). The extreme weather connection, according to Dimacali, is the easiest element of the climate change story for people to connect to; that results in reporters wondering whether any unusual weather pattern could be related to climate change.

A lack of understanding of how climate change works is a problem that extends to government offices. Building on the growing interest in climate change, government press releases sometimes attributed budget expenditures for climate-related projects without explaining the connection:

I saw one press release explaining how this earthquake readiness tool is going to help with climate change. But I was like, what's the connection between earthquakes and climate change? So it's like the disaster-climate change connection is just too strong. [The government doesn't] understand that climate change is more than just disasters. And some disasters aren't climate change-related. (P. Ranada, personal communication, May 22, 2015)

This faint understanding of climate change even extended to members of the Philippines' delegation to United Nations climate conventions. Some members of the delegation were "climate tourists," traveling for sight-seeing more than serious diplomacy (Y. Arquiza, personal communication, May 20, 2015). Since many Philippine journalists write press release-based stories, the governmental lack of understanding of climate change extended to journalistic production. Coverage of the causes of climate change, or an explanation of why something like Ondoy or Haiyan might be connected to climate change citing scientific reports, are still rare.

Climate change journalism

Rarer still is journalism that reflects on the global debate on emissions, such as reports on the United Nations conferences on climate change. This type of story lacks an obvious audience. For television, it is too complex and removed from "news you can use" for the average Filipino. For newspapers' more educated audiences, there is a better chance, but reporting on the international debate is still rare. Journalists who do cover U.N. events usually do so via international grants which provide funds for journalists in the developing world to attend the events. Yasmin Arquiza, the reporter who ran an environmental newspaper in Palawan, has reported on several U.N. conferences through grants. But even for an environmentally-oriented reporter like Arquiza, the global debates themselves were not especially appealing as a reporting topic. For one thing, the Philippines was not a signatory on any of the carbon trading deals brokered through the U.N., as it is not a high-emissions country.

Instead, Arquiza focused on events outside the negotiating room, such as presentations of new technologies in wind and solar: "I'm looking for low-cost

technologies that people can use in their communities ... and new strategies that other countries have come up with, like alarm systems for informing people when there's a big typhoon coming up" (Personal communication, May 20, 2015).

In other words, Arquiza's focus was on *adaptation*, not *mitigation*. These are the terms used by climate activists, government officials, and reporters to describe two processes. *Mitigation* refers to action that would reduce the onset of climate change, usually through reducing carbon pollution. *Adaptation* refers to actions on the ground that reduce the effects of climate change. In the example cited above, switching from fossil fuels to clean energy would be mitigation in the developed world. But in the rural Philippines, where the carbon footprint of each individual is tiny, Arquiza is actually referring to using these technologies to *bring* cheap energy to the communities, rather than replacing fossil fuels. Adaptation is a more local story than mitigation. For the Philippines, it could mean replanting mangrove forests, which protect against storm surges, or improving the governmental response to typhoons, or providing financial support for victims of extreme weather. It brings the conversation about climate change to the ground level.

Climate change is a difficult story for reporters to get a handle on because it means many different things. It also elevated previously-neglected environmental reporting. Mike Ubac, the *PDI* editor, put it this way:

Environment is not a gut issue when it comes to politics, elections, etc. So with Yolanda, it proved to everyone that, first, environment and climate change *is* a gut issue. It is a cross-cutting issue. It cuts across, what, food security, value chain, politics, everything. It kind of disabuse your mind that climate change is just for those who have time to study it and they don't affect us. So it's like, wow. It can remove an entire civilization in a day. (Personal communication, May 21, 2015, emphasis added)

With its emphasis on government-oriented, political reporting, Philippine newspapers are not well-positioned to start reporting on climate change as a cross-cutting issue. Ubac acknowledged this when he noted that the “first test” will be whether politicians can run – and win – on an environmental or climate change-oriented agenda (Personal communication, May 21, 2015). A-section news for the *PDI* is still primarily political news. The *Manila Bulletin* has a similar approach, relegating in-depth environmental or climate change stories to the weekly environmental page – if and when there is an editor in place who will take the time to produce such stories on top of his other duties.

Online news production and environmental journalism

After Ondoy and Haiyan introduced the concept of extreme weather-related climate change. But as I noted in the first paragraphs of this chapter, there are very few reporters in the Philippines who are on staff and assigned to focus specifically on cross-cutting environmental issues. One of the few is Pia Ranada, a reporter for Rappler.com, the country’s first fully online national news outlet.

Founded in 2011, Rappler was the first news outlet in the country to take advantage of the affordances of digital media. Five years later, Rappler has made major inroads in the digital media landscape of the Philippines. It is the second-ranked news site by traffic after Inquirer.net, the *PDI*’s online counterpart, and is ranked 13th overall for all websites in the country, including giants like Google and Facebook (Alexa.com, n.d.).⁶ Although Philippine Internet use is still low due to the cost and slow speeds of the

⁶ Inquirer.net is ranked 10th overall. GMAnetwork.com is the next top-ranked news website in 19th place. The *Manila Bulletin*’s site, mb.com.ph, is ranked 93rd after the Philippine Star (32) and the network ABS-CBN (39).

national networks, the 12 million Filipinos who live and work abroad are among the site's target audience.

Rappler's name is a portmanteau of two words: "rap," as in to discuss, and "ripple." The name is a reference to the site's mission statement: "a social news network where stories inspire community engagement and digitally fuelled actions for social change." The mission statement abandons any pretense of objectivity or distance. While it might seem at odds with the American-inspired journalism practiced at in the newspapers and broadcast news, Rappler's approach has another antecedent: developmental journalism, the newsmaking approach that views journalism as a tool of social development and national improvement. A common approach throughout the post-colonial nations, developmental journalism's roots can be traced to a workshop in the Philippines in the 1960s where a British journalist urged newsmakers to view themselves as tools of national improvement designed to help ordinary people (Chalkley, 1980).

Rappler regularly covers the international negotiations on climate change the United Nations, including the December 2015 U.N. Conference of the Parties on Climate Change in Paris; the journalists won grants to travel there through the French embassy (the *PDI* online newsroom, including informant Kristine Sabillo, and a group of freelance journalists were the other two grant awardees). Ranada described Rappler's approach to covering the international negotiations thusly:

Every time there is a climate change negotiation we make advance articles for it, explaining why it's significant, what's bound to happen there. We also publish opinion pieces of experts After, we write about what happened, if the goals were reached; we have connections with the Climate Change Commission who sends the delegates, so they give us insider news on how the negotiations are going. We also have members of the delegation write for us We're also doing infographics to explain what, because it's so complex, no one really understands, negotiate for climate change, how does that work? Also we publish pieces from

think tanks that talk about the upcoming deal, like what should be in the deal, what kind of commitments countries should be making, what are the trickiest issues the countries need to hash out. (Personal communication, May 22, 2015)

This lengthy quote illustrates Rappler's multi-pronged approach to covering the global debate on emissions. In my interviews, I did not find that any other major news outlet had such a comprehensive approach to covering the more conceptual, less reactionary disaster-related elements of the climate change story. This is not to say the *PDI* or the *Manila Bulletin*, or even the website of the GMA Network (although it is safe to say the nightly news broadcasts did not tackle climate change on an international level) did not also cover the emissions debate in some way. They were just less likely to do so, and when they did, it was often tucked away in an inside section or left to wire reports or opinion pieces. The exception of Leo Laparan's enterprise approach during his time as editor of the *Bulletin's* environmental news page ended when he moved on to other responsibilities.

Rappler can expend resources on covering climate change because it does not have the same print and air constraints of newspaper and television news. So will newsroom convergence and the institutionalization of multimedia reporters in the Philippine news system result in more coverage of this kind? Both Rappler and Inquirer.net, the *PDI's* online arm, track website visitors in real time and have established goals for traffic. The stories that do best, both newsrooms report, are the usual: "Entertainment stories. Showbiz. It's all the same" (P. Ranada, personal communication, May 22, 2015); "Our audience reads mostly politics and entertainment" (K. Sabillo, personal communication, May 21, 2015). So it seems possible that environmental

reporting could flourish in online/converged newsrooms, but also eventually face the pressure of metrics that show that other types of stories attract more readers.

At Inquirer.net, Kristine Sabillo's role as chief reporter is to manage assignments to ensure that all the beats are covered. She faces several challenges in expanding the website's coverage of climate change, despite the fact that the newly installed editor in chief of the website has covered the U.N. debates himself. Sabillo's first problem is that the primary responsibility of Inquirer.net is to report breaking news, which does not lend itself to coverage of the emissions debate. A second challenge is that most Filipinos are not aware of the emissions debate, and the complexity of the issue requires too much explaining. The third challenge is that even when the newsroom produces good climate change stories, they do not attract the traffic of a political or entertainment story, potentially hurting the newsroom's daily traffic goals. As Sabillo said:

Personally I would like us to have more reporters who would not be in the political beat and would instead pursue these kinds of stories. I get it. This is very important because if we don't do something now, it will be harder for us in the future. It will be too late. But yeah, it's an every day push and pull thing for me. (Personal communication, May 21, 2015)

At Rappler, Ranada echoed Sabillo's concerns that climate change is not an obvious priority for editors when audiences do not flock to those kinds of stories:

Audiences have to mature first for climate change to be a division or a news priority. The editors have to see the hits are coming from climate change stories before they decide that. I'm not sure that will happen anytime soon. (Personal communication, May 22, 2015)

Online journalists who want to report on climate change at the international level, then, have an extra opportunity with web reporting that is not constrained by column inches or airtime. They also have access to international audiences of millions of overseas Filipinos (known as *Balikbayans*) who may value a Filipino perspective on the global

emissions debate, and are likely to be educated and to have cheaper and faster access to the Internet. Yet climate change is still a niche topic, and the emissions debates so complex and abstract, that journalists have to work hard to find the resources, in terms of time especially, to report on climate change. The metrics made possible by online audience tracking give editors reason *not* to cover climate change even when they believe, as Ranada does, that “news people in media don’t only report what they think the people want to hear but what they think the people should hear” (Personal communication, May 22, 2015).

Conclusion

The Philippine news system is sprawling and vibrant, but social, cultural, economic, and organizational influences have resulted in little coverage of climate change, particularly the difficult-to-grasp emissions debate. Disaster-connected coverage of climate change has soared in the wake of devastating typhoons like Ondoy and Haiyan, but scant understanding of the science of climate change by government actors, journalists, and the public has contributed to reporting that does not describe the mechanisms of climate change. Journalists who aspire to be science or environmental reporters have to labor to carve out institutional space for their work. The major newspapers and broadcast news networks are unlikely to reward such work with banner headlines; it is more likely to be relegated to an inside page if published or aired at all. Many science or environmental journalists work as freelancers instead, pitching their stories to international websites rather than Philippine national outlets.

Coverage of the international debate on emissions has picked up since Haiyan, but it struggles to find a Filipino audience. Journalists who are well-versed in the

international debate have difficulty translating that discussion to a news story that is meaningful to Filipinos. Online news offers opportunities for more experimental coverage, but the trend of audience metrics means that reporting on less-popular stories like the emissions debate may fall by the wayside as the leading online news sites, Inquirer.net and Rappler, face more competition in the coming years. Right now they are far ahead of the rest of the national news media in terms of their investment in online news, but as in the U.S., online news is likely to become more and more important in the news system as the Philippines moves toward cheaper and more accessible Internet access.

As a nation that is deeply affected by climate change but bears little responsibility for its onslaught thanks to its low per capita emissions, the Philippines is still in the early stages of grappling with the meaning of climate change. It has been just seven years since Typhoon Ondoy inundated Manila and introduced a new reality to the country, and just two and a half years since Typhoon Haiyan demarked this conversation as one of life and death. My interviews have captured a population of journalists who are personally very interested in climate change and see it as a meaningful story; they are in the early stages of figuring out how it can work within the extant Philippine news media system. Fundamentally, they see their audience as Filipinos. And until the Filipino population is ready for the abstract discussion on emissions and their connection to the new reality of extreme weather – or, as Mike Ubac of the *PDI* suggested, a national politician runs with climate change as his or her platform – journalists will continue to struggle to report on climate change outside of the reactionary reporting that is deeply connected to weather-related disasters.

Chapter 3: Framing and Climate Activism

While climate change is a relatively new concept for newsmakers in the developing world, it is not new to environmental activists. The activist community has engaged with climate change as an international issue since the late 1980s, primarily using the United Nations' series of international negotiations on climate and emissions as a political opportunity structure. However, in recent years, the climate movement has undergone a fundamental structural and tactical shift. This is in part a reaction to the crisis of legitimacy facing the international process through the U.N., which until 2015 had failed to produce an international response to climate change despite two decades of negotiations, as well as a reflection of structural changes in social movements more generally in the 21st century.

The global climate movement reached a nadir in 2009 at the 15th U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of Parties (COP15) in Copenhagen, where climate negotiations failed in spectacular fashion. Major economies that were responsible for the vast majority of carbon emissions declined to commit to emissions cuts. After being banned from the proceedings, hundreds of activists were arrested in mass actions – to no end (Gray, 2009). The negotiators were not influenced, and no meaningful deal was struck.⁷

⁷ Oceana, my employer at the time, chose COP15 to dip its toe into U.N. negotiations in an attempt to add ocean acidification (a side effect of increased carbon in marine waters) to the international agenda. The venture proved expensive and futile, as Oceana activists were not allowed into any meetings. While Oceana was no stranger to difficult international processes, having run a campaign to end high-seas fishing fuel subsidies at World Trade Organization meetings for years, it has since declined to pursue a presence at U.N. meetings on climate – a move that speaks to the chaos that characterized COP15.

The climate movement retreated from Denmark in disarray. The failure of Copenhagen muted enthusiasm in the movement for several years, but it also represented a coming-out party for a more radical wing of activists – the climate justice movement, which broke with conventional NGOs that had worked diligently inside the U.N. process for years to no avail (Rosewarne, Goodman, & Pearse, 2013). COP15 marked the moment when the term *climate justice* entered the mainstream. And while the disastrous Copenhagen conference may not have been the introduction that climate justice activists wanted, it still represented a major break that has reframed the two-decades-old terms of the international climate change debate (Bullard & Muller, 2012).

This chapter takes a sociological approach to understanding how the “climate justice” frame emerged within the global climate change movement. Sociologists have examined the roles of framing in social movements since Goffman’s (1986) influential work on “social frameworks.” In the ensuing decades, sociologists have developed a rich literature that examines innumerable aspects of framing, from contests over meaning to the role of culture (Benford & Snow, 2000). Frames have been defined in many ways. The collective action frames used by social movement actors are “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Even more broadly speaking, a frame is “a central organizing idea ... for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Frames can identify problems and suggest solutions (Entman, 1993). Frames can be specific to a particular issue, or they can speak broadly to history, ideology, and culture, as in the case of “master frames” (Snow & Benford, 1992).

Gitlin's (1980) text on coverage of student activists in the news media marked the beginning of mass communication scholars' attention to questions of framing. On the whole, this line of research has emphasized the appearance of frames in news media coverage (or popular culture, such as television drama), in particular the contest for meaning between journalists and those who wish to influence the public via journalists, as well as the effects of frames on audiences. This has come at the expense of a nuanced understanding of "how [frames] are defined in the first place" – or, simply put, where they came from (Reese, 2001, p. 8).

More than two decades since Entman (1993) called framing theory a fractured paradigm, the scholarship on framing is still scattered in its approach to defining, measuring and considering frames across multiple disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. Therefore, it is helpful to specify the approach to framing theory that guides this project. In this study, I follow Chong and Druckman's (2007) basic definition:

The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue. (p. 104)

Journalism scholars have noted that journalists actively work to build certain frames by using sources and facts to shape narratives in ways that are accessible to readers (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010). Journalists craft narratives that draw on readily accessible mental shortcuts that allow audience comprehension (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Perhaps put more simply, journalists draw frames from the surrounding culture (Entman, 1991). But as Chong and Druckman (2007) note, journalists are not the only actors who work to produce frames that become part of the cultural milieu.

The bulk of this chapter will focus on the *processes* of framing long before any journalist takes note of activists' activities. As Snow and Benford (1992) emphasize, social movement actors do not merely absorb and repeat pre-existing messages. Instead, they actively engage in "the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers. This productive work may involve the amplification and extension of extant meanings, the transformation of old meanings, and the generation of new meanings" (p. 136). And in keeping with the tradition of framing studies that emphasized the unequal relationship between journalists and activists (e.g., Gitlin, 1980, Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993, Sobieraj, 2011, McCluskey & Kim, 2012), this chapter will also report on the relationship between climate activists and journalists in terms of the journalists' use (or non-use) of the activist-promoted climate justice frame.

Drawing on this tradition in the social movements literature, which considers social movement actors as agents in the creation of frames, this chapter examines the "climate justice" frame. To pose it as a single question, this chapter asks: How was the climate justice frame made? Then, it asks how the climate justice frame is *used*, both by activists, and then by journalists. Lastly, it connects the climate justice frame to the literature on transnational social movements.

By drawing on the sociological literature on framing in social movements, this chapter makes a contribution to mass communication studies of framing by expanding the lens to include the processes that occur long before the news media can play any sort of agenda-setting role.

This chapter also makes a contribution by examining social movement frame-building in the context of a uniquely 21st-century problem that does not fit neatly with the

logics of environmental problems of the past. When examining environmental movements, social movement scholars have often focused on the rapid institutionalization of environmentalism in the U.S., where the movement got its earliest foothold, and discussed NGO actors as institutional actors (Della Porta & Rucht, 2002). In addition, scholars of environmental social movements have often defined environmental issues in terms of protecting specific natural places (e.g., Hutchins & Lester, 2006). Scholars have followed the lead of activists in this way, as for a long time, the environmental movement in wealthy nations *was* largely about protecting places and wildlife.

But the climate change issue is not about protecting a specific place or perhaps even certain charismatic species, the hallmarks of conventional environmental activism. Like other transnational concerns, such as terrorism or pandemics, climate change does not respect the boundaries of national parks or laws on the books about poaching or the trade of endangered species products. It is essentially modern in that climate change reflects a globalized reality. Giddens (1991) defines globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (p. 64) A Filipino whose city is flooded thanks to the carbon emissions of strangers thousands of miles away is living this reality, even if unconsciously: the collapsed levels of local and global.

Society’s response to climate change is especially fraught because, while climate change does not respect national boundaries and is truly a transnational issue that reflects the interdependency of all mankind, the institution used to address climate change – the

United Nations – is grounded in Westphalian logic. The U.N. establishes negotiations strictly through national identities, with no room to recognize that the actual divide may be between publics of climate “takers” and “makers,” to borrow some activist language, and not by national identity. And so, despite the advent of globalization, the nation continues to be the social frame of reference. Even the advent of digital media has not altered this fundamental reality; mass media scholars who have sought evidence of global journalism have often sought in vain (Hafez, 2009).

This is not to say that transnational advocacy does not exist as a distinct characteristic of a globalized society. In the 19th century, a trans-Atlantic network of Quakers fought for abolition of slavery (David, 2007). With the advent of the jet and digital ages, transnational communications became more common. Scholars have examined the emergence of transnational advocacy in parallel with the increasingly globalization of modern life. A transnational social movement can be coordinated by social movements in two or more countries, according to Della Porta & Kriesi (2009), who consider a social movement that targets the government in another country to be a “cross-level” movement. Keck and Sikkink (1999), in their influential work on transnational advocacy, argue that the ultimate purpose of transnational advocacy networks is to amplify voices in the international arena, giving them more heft against a recalcitrant state back home. Advocacy networks, using the currency of information exchange, build new links between civil society and the state. Ultimately, Keck and Sikkink’s “boomerang pattern” describes one way how transnational advocacy networks work: domestic NGOs recruit pressure from outside, whether from a mobilized global public or an institution such as the U.N. So another question addressed by this chapter is

how climate activists are building frames to address the transnational nature of the issue itself.

Plan of the chapter

The first section of this chapter will present a theoretical argument that will trace the conceptual antecedents to climate justice as well as connect it to contemporary scholarship on transnational advocacy. First, this section will report conceptual antecedents to the idea of “climate justice” in order to lay the groundwork for how such a concept may have emerged: the concepts of *environmental justice*, *ecological debt*, and *common but differentiated responsibilities*. Both ecological debt and environmental justice can function as collective action frames, in that they have been used by social movement actors as organizing schema for social change campaigns (e.g. Čapek, 1993). The concept of common but differentiated responsibilities emerged from U.N. negotiations and was adopted by NGO actors attempting to influence the U.N. process. This trio of ideas influenced later activists who adopted on the climate justice concept.

The second half of this chapter is will reveal the ongoing framing contest over climate justice as it has emerged in our case nation, the Philippines, drawing on data from my interviews with climate activists and journalists. With its focus on direct action and moral outrage, the climate justice movement reflects forms of environmentalism that have existed in the Global South for decades that are more radical than the environmentalism often found in the Global North, which is characterized by professional NGOs working with states and institutions (Della Porta & Rucht, 2002). However, activists have yet to – and may never – coalesce around a singular understanding of climate justice as a concept or decided upon collective tactics for the movement. Climate

justice emerged from a radical wing of the climate movement, but its success in penetrating the discourse has led to its being co-opted by conventional international NGOs that represent the status quo that was initially rejected by the climate justice sector of the movement.

The framing contest over climate justice is not just between climate activists, however. In addition, this section will report on how Philippine journalists have adopted (or declined to adopt) the climate justice frame. Professional journalists still play an important role in sense-making for social movement actors and their publics (Waisbord, 2011). Building on the previous section that examined the state of climate journalism in the Philippines, this section displays the difficulty of mapping the abstract concept of climate justice onto an already-perilous journalistic scaffolding.

“Climate justice” and the climate movement

Particularly in the United States and other industrialized nations, the climate change debate has focused intently on the scientific discussion over the anthropogenic nature of climate change, that is, whether the phenomenon is human-caused or the result of natural forces. In particular, the growing consensus among scientists that climate change is indeed human-caused has attracted attention and controversy over the last two decades, in part because the minor conflict over the causes of climate change, compared to the overwhelming scientific consensus, has attracted disproportionate attention from journalists (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). This political and scientific debate has focused on the physical mechanisms of climate change. The concept of climate justice, however, introduces a *moral* element to the discussion. In its most basic interpretation, climate

justice implies that a debt is owed from one party to another in the issue of climate change.

Many scholars date the appearance of “climate justice” to 1999, when the American NGO CorpWatch published a report entitled “Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice” assigning blame to fossil fuel companies for sowing doubt and reaping profit from climate change (Bruno, Karliner, & Brotsky, 1999). This may well be the first popular use of the term. It remained in activist circles for some time. The term did not make an appearance in the *New York Times*, a benchmark for mainstream discourse, for another decade (Kanter, 2008). However, scholars – particularly in law, political science, and international studies – have considered the moral implications of climate change since it emerged as an issue of international concern in the early 1990s.⁸ International relations scholar Henry Shue may be the first academic to consider the role of justice in U.N. climate negotiations. His essay, “The Unavoidability of Justice,” connected the early-stage climate negotiations with longstanding tensions between the wealthy and poor nations of the world over environmental regulations (Shue, 1992). Shue stopped short of connecting “climate” and “justice” – in fact, he argued that poor nations should focus on climate alone and leave questions of justice for another time.

While Shue could not presage that activists would eventually explicitly link climate and justice together, his recommendation speaks to an important consideration: that justice, or rather, injustice, was already a heated topic between nations of the North and South. The advent of “climate justice” was not the first time that activists had

⁸ The first international conference on climate change, the World Climate Conference, was held in 1979. This gathering of scientists called on governments to address climate change, but it wasn’t until 1990 that the U.N. began the formal process to negotiate treaties related to climate. While climate was raised as an issue at the 1992 “Earth Summit” in Rio de Janeiro, the first U.N. conference to focus exclusively on climate change was held in 1995.

connected environmental issues to questions of morality and responsibility. Rather, the term has three important conceptual antecedents: *environmental justice*, *ecological debt*, and *common but differentiated responsibilities* (CBDR), a turn of phrase crafted by the U.N. at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro that has influenced climate negotiations, and other U.N. negotiations on issues of poverty and more, ever since. These terms were conceptualized and shared largely among grassroots and professional activist networks (or formal international negotiations, in the case of CBDR), rarely appearing in news media coverage of environmental issues.

Understanding the provenance of these three terms exposes one critical element of frame-building: the negotiation of meaning between networks of actors *outside* the journalistic space. In particular, for global environmental issues, formal international negotiations between states have provided a venue for an epistemic community of like-minded activists to debate concepts and tactics for their various movements (Haas, 1992). Since the middle of the last century, U.N. meetings have proven fertile ground for civil society. NGOs with official consultative status have grown from 41 in 1948 to 3,500 today (Tallberg et al., 2013). In addition, elaborate official and unofficial side events for activists and NGOs have become the norm at U.N. meetings. COP15 in Copenhagen included official side event slots for 165 NGOs. These events bring together the epistemic community of environmental activists and allows them to share ideas and strengthen long-distance ties between movement actors. Particularly for the issue of climate change, which is widely seen to *only* be addressable through an international process, the U.N. plays a critical role.

I will briefly describe the provenance of each term.

Environmental justice

The concept of environmental justice arose from the southern United States in the early 1980s as a reaction to the discovery that minority populations disproportionately lived in communities suffering from environmental degradation, particularly in the form of waste dumping. Activist and sociologist Robert Bullard is credited with founding the movement with his pioneering studies showing that low-income black communities were much more likely to live near dump sites (Bullard, 1983). In addition, the focus of mainstream environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club on the middle and upper classes had left lower-income communities without a voice in the American environmental movement. In response, black activists in the American south began addressing environmental issues in the language of the civil rights movement, viewing “their struggle for environmental equity as a struggle against institutional discrimination and an extension of the quest for social justice” (Bullard, 1990; p. 101).

These activists argued that equal access to a clean environment was a human right (Čapek, 1993). Thus the environmental justice movement was formed with a clear rights-oriented framework as well as an explicit message that this was a moral issue where poor minority populations were paying the price for the lifestyles of the wealthy. The emergent environmental justice movement brought together social justice and environmental activists, often using direct action and civil disobedience to draw attention to the cause (Bullard & Wright, 1990).

The environmental justice movement formalized its work with the adoption of the Principles of Environmental Justice at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991. The principles call for distributive, procedural, and

intergenerational forms of justice, as well as calling for reparations for victims of environmental injustice.

Ecological debt

In 1992, the U.N. held its second-ever environmental mega-conference in Rio de Janeiro, twenty years after the first such event in Stockholm. Dubbed the Earth Summit, it was meant to address systemic developmental issues between the world's wealthy and poor nations. Leaders had reason to be optimistic: In 1987, the U.N.-brokered Montreal Protocol led to the global phase-out of chemicals responsible for ozone depletion. Yet the long-standing disconnect between the North and the emerging countries of the South would be exposed in Rio. Leaders from the developing world expressed skepticism that they should bear any additional burden – in the form of international regulation – for environmental degradation:

When the rich chopped down their own forests, built their poison-belching factories and scoured the world for cheap resources, the poor said nothing. Indeed they paid for the development of the rich. Now the rich claim a right to regulate the development of the poor countries ... As colonies we were exploited. Now as independent nations we are to be equally exploited. – Malaysian Prime Minister Mohamad Mahathir (Bello, 2007, n.p.)

The solution, to many Southern nations, was reparation: The global South was owed a debt from the wealthy North's contribution to degraded environments in the form of pollution, open pit mining, depleted fisheries, deforestation, and so on.⁹ The Chilean NGO Instituto de Ecologia Politica was the first to describe this concept as *deuda ecologica*, ecological debt, in 1992 (Robledo & Marcelo, 1992). Numerous other Southern NGOs quickly picked up the concept with a variety of similar definitions

⁹ The flow of natural resources from South to North can be illustrated with a single example: Indonesia is the world's largest exporter of coal, yet only half of the country's citizens have electricity (Patel, 2013). Thus, Indonesians bear the environmental cost of coal extraction, but citizens of wealthier nations reap the benefits.

(Goeminne & Paredis, 2010). A review of the NGOs' approach to the concept found that they generally defined ecological debt as:

The accumulated, historical, and current debt, which industrialized Northern countries, their institutions, and corporations owe to the peoples and countries of the South for having plundered and used their natural resources, exploited and impoverished their peoples, and systematically destroyed, devastated, and contaminated their natural heritage and sources of sustenance. (Donoso, 2003, p. 13)

Unlike environmental justice, which emerged from scholarship in the North, the concept of ecological debt arose from NGOs along with grassroots efforts in the South (Hinojal & Aurrekoetxea, 2010). Yet what these concepts share is an explicit linking of environmental issues to social justice issues as well as a call for reparations from the wealthy communities who are viewed as responsible for environmental degradation.

Common But Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR)

One of the goals of the U.N. since the first mega-conference on the environment in Stockholm in 1972 has been to foster international agreements to protect environmental resources (and, closely related, human health). The 1972 Stockholm Declaration called for all nations to address environmental degradation but noted that countries do not have the same capacities for pro-environmental policy. Such policies must consider “the extent of the applicability of standards which are valid for the most advanced countries but which may be inappropriate and of unwarranted social cost for the developing countries” (United Nations Environment Programme, 1972, n.p.). The 1987 Montreal Protocol, for example, delayed the deadline for developing nations to comply with the phase-out of pollutants that contributed to ozone depletion by a decade (Bortscheller, 2010).

By the Rio Earth Summit twenty years later, the idea that some nations bore more responsibility for environmental degradation was made more explicit, as stated in the Rio Declaration's Principle 7:

In view of the different contributions to global environmental degradation, States have *common but differentiated responsibilities*. The developed countries acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and financial resources they command. (United Nations, 1992; n.p.; emphasis added)

CBDR plainly recognizes that states have different responsibilities and capacities for responding to international problems. It is difficult to overstate how important the concept of CBDR has been for international negotiations on climate change. It is also mentioned in the first U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (United Nations, 1992), and the 1997 Kyoto Protocol was crafted with CBDR as its guiding principle in that only Annex 1 – developed nations – would be required to reduce emissions under the treaty. CBDR has been a commonly-invoked theme in informal negotiations as well, particularly by developing nations, which argue that industrialized nations must not only reduce emissions but provide financing for developing nations to address climate impacts as well as build clean energy capacities (Honkonen, 2009).

Unlike the concepts of ecological debt and environmental justice, which arose from actors outside the formal processes of the U.N., CBDR represents an *institutional* argument for equity. With the imprimatur of the U.N., CBDR offers a legitimacy that the other related concepts lack. Therefore, despite its awkward wording, it is not surprising to see it used by NGOs and other civil society actors who hope to influence U.N. proceedings.

A rallying cry for radical climate activism

At their cores, all three concepts are concerned with justice and equity. They laid the conceptual groundwork for climate activists whose primary concern has been the moral element at the heart of the climate change debate: that the communities least responsible for emissions are affected the most by its impacts, while high-emissions, wealthier nations are relatively insulated from the effects of climate change.

While these strands of thinking were emerging, and the U.N. explicitly acknowledged a justice element in its foundational language on climate change by invoking CBDR, the majority of discourse around climate change negotiations still focused broadly on “political horse-trading” – that is, which countries were going to make what emissions cuts, throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Gardiner, 2011, p. 312). Moreover, for many professional environmental NGOs, the language of science was still at their heart of persuasive messages that targeted the U.N., rather than the language of justice (Hadden, 2015). This conventional approach of professional climate activists was epitomized by the Climate Action Network (CAN), a group of NGOs that formed in the 1990s in an attempt to influence U.N. proceedings by presenting a unified civil society voice (Hadden, 2015).

This conventional approach to climate activism, which had been firmly engaged with the U.N. process, began to change in the late 1990s. The narrow and slowly-moving discussion on the science of climate change frustrated activists from the global South in particular who felt overlooked even as they were the first to experience the effects of climate change: “Poor people have not been ‘waiting on the science’ on global warming. They have been living with it – and with many other forms of pollution and degradation –

for many years, as ‘social sinks’ for the externalization of environmental costs” (Pettit, 2014, p. 123).

After a meeting of international climate activists in Berkeley in 1999, Josh Karliner, a founder of CorpWatch, came to a realization: “We were missing a huge element – the integration of global, social, and environmental justice into the climate discourse and into our organizing” (personal communication, Nov. 6, 2015). Corpwatch released “Greenhouse Gangsters vs. Climate Justice” shortly thereafter, explicitly linking the different forms of justice to climate change (Bruno, Karliner, & Brotsky, 1999). CorpWatch, along with other NGOs assembled into the nascent Rising Tide network, organized the first climate justice summit that was held outside COP6 at The Hague in 2000 (Whitehead, 2014).

Like the environmental justice movement before it, climate justice activists explicitly rejected the status quo represented by most professional environmental NGOs’ messaging and insider tactics. As one activist put it, “The message we wanted to put out was that what’s going on at [COP6 at the Hague, Netherlands, in 2000] was the wrong ideas being discussed by the wrong people” (Whitehead, 2014; n.p.). The “wrong ideas” included carbon markets, which had been identified as the primary solution to climate change since the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. Carbon markets, said critics, did nothing but shift around emissions; for developing nations that contributed little to emissions, they were meaningless. Moreover, at the end of the first decade of the 2000s, the U.N. had failed to deliver a meaningful binding agreement on carbon markets or really any solution since the first COP in 1995. The U.N. process was slowly losing legitimacy. Climate policy,

whatever it was, accounted to nothing more than “malign neglect” (Rosewarne, Goodman, & Pearse, 2013; p. viii).

In 2002, activists from a variety of civil society organizations representing northern NGOs, such as Greenpeace and CorpWatch, joined southern NGOs to announce the Bali Principles of Climate Justice at an auxiliary conference outside the Johannesburg U.N. World Summit on Sustainable Development. The document showed its lineage: It was an updated version of the Principles of Environmental Justice drafted at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991. Later that year, in an alternative event outside COP8 in New Delhi, CorpWatch co-organized a summit of 1,500 participants from more than 20 developing nations that reaffirmed the bottom-up approach of the climate justice movement in stark contrast to the conventional, professional, science-oriented, northern NGO approach epitomized by establishment organizations:

We, representatives of the poor and the marginalized of the world, representing fishworkers, farmers, Indigenous Peoples, Dalits, the poor and the youth, resolve to actively build a movement from the communities that will address the issue of climate change from a human rights, social justice and labor perspective. *We affirm that climate change is a human rights issue* – it affects our livelihoods, our health, our children and our natural resources. We will build alliances across states and borders to oppose climate change inducing patterns and advocate for and practice sustainable development. We reject the market-based principles that guide the current negotiations to solve the climate crisis: Our World is Not for Sale! (India Climate Justice Forum, 2002; emphasis added)

As political scientist Jennifer Hadden (2015) wrote in the most complete accounting to date of the emerging climate justice movement, climate justice activists had several reasons for rejecting the conventional climate activism epitomized by the Climate Action Network. According to Hadden’s ethnographic account of the climate movement, activists were increasingly influenced by the global justice movement of the 2000s,

which had begun to adopt climate as a cause as well. Global justice activists explicitly viewed climate change not as a standalone environmental issue, but “as a symptom of a broader systemic problem” that engaged with capitalism, labor, food production and more (Hadden, 2015, p. 118). In addition, climate activists saw justice as an opportunity to expand mobilization. A *climate justice* tent was bigger than one focused merely on emissions and scientific discourse. As one of Hadden’s informants put it, “Obviously we want to make the movement as broad as possible You can fit quite a lot of different approaches under this umbrella” (Hadden, 2015, p. 118).

My own findings on this specific question echo Hadden’s; my informants reported both that the climate justice frame introduced a moral element and turned the conversation about climate change away from environmental and scientific discourse as well as broadened the potential for mobilization. “Justice is a universal ideal,” said Naderev Saño, a former climate campaigner with WWF and more recently the official Philippine negotiator for the U.N. climate conferences. “Framing the climate issue in the context of justice has drawn a lot of people into the campaign, into the movement” – and it moves the conversation away from “the technical details of climate change” (Personal communication, May 19, 2015). Climate justice, then, was purposefully adopted by activists as a new frame in the Gamson and Modigliani (1989) definition of the term: “a central organizing idea ... for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue” (p. 3).

By tracing the activities of networks of conventional and radical activists in the leadup to COP15 in Copenhagen, Hadden provides a convincing account of the cleavage in the climate movement during those years. Her fieldwork shows that climate activists

adopted radical tactics out of frustration with the slow movement of the climate talks, and she connects the emergence of radical climate activists to the global economic justice movement of the 1990s and early 2000s. But as this chapter has demonstrated so far, the climate justice movement draws on conceptual antecedents that predate the rise of the global justice movement, which is usually pegged to the 1999 protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle. The similarly justice-oriented concepts of environmental justice, ecological debt, and CBDR laid the groundwork for the adoption of the climate justice discourse in the mid-2000s. This conceptual history adds to Hadden's story of tactics and messaging, which focused on more-recent history, by demonstrating the strands of thought related to justice and environmentalism that already existed in the environmental NGO world. These concepts are markedly similar to climate justice as it was adopted in the mid-2000s; they show that NGOs are constantly reworking and refining similar ideas in order to discover one that "sticks." The concepts of environmental justice and ecological debt only occasionally made it outside of academic or NGO networks (and the wonky CBDR even more rarely). Climate justice is arguably more salient to journalists, whose adoption would be a marker of mainstream success. The question of how journalists adopted the climate justice terminology and frame is addressed later in this chapter.

Philippine civil society and climate justice

To understand how climate justice has been adopted in the Philippines, it is important to review the country's civil society sector. The history of civil society in the Philippines mirrors that of journalism in the 20th century in that its fortunes have ebbed and flowed with the rise and fall of Ferdinand Marcos and other corrupt leaders. Some

have argued that the Philippines has a *captured civil society*, that is, a non-profit sector that is beholden to elites rather than truly offering an opportunity for disempowered populations to have an effective voice (Clarke, 2012). It is true that speaking out against the government, or powerful economic interests, can be a deadly decision. The Philippines was named the most dangerous country for activists in Asia with 67 activist murders from 2002 to 2013, with those killed being primarily land rights and environmental activists (Lahkami, 2014). This figure may be low. The U.N. has estimated that more than 100 civil society activists were killed between 2002 and 2008, and laid blame squarely on the Philippine government, which has given wide latitude to paramilitary forces to put down any discontent that may be considered part of the country's leftist movement (Alston, 2008). Activists are frequently the targets of crippling lawsuits as well meant to intimidate them into silence.

Despite these challenges, Philippine civil society persists. There are innumerable peoples' organizations, trade unions, activist religious groups, and international NGOs in the country. The civil society field covers a broad range of ideologies, tactics, and affiliations, from volunteer-run, Marxism-inspired peoples' groups representing the country's poorest sectors to wealthy international NGOs like Amnesty International. Within the environmental subfield, these groups sometimes coordinate. However, an underlying mistrust exists between the national groups and the international groups, which are seen as beholden to their home nation's interests or even, in the most extreme cases, as fronts for the CIA (C. Baclogan, personal communication, May 12, 2015).

The advent of climate change as an environmental issue has the potential to open new areas of collaboration across Philippine environmental civil society actors. Climate

change-specific organizations did not exist in the country until the late 2000s, a phenomenon also observed worldwide (Hadden, 2015). Rather than form new organizations, however, Filipinos instead formed new *networks* of existing civil society groups. The two primary climate-specific networks, Aksyon Klima (AK) and the Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PM CJ), are comprised of NGOs with environmental as well as human rights orientations. In addition, the Kalikasan People's Network for the Environment, a Marxist-leaning set of groups representing the poorest sectors of the country, began to take on climate change-related campaigns in recent years. Kalikasan – which draws its name from the Tagalog word for “nature” – represents the environmental left. AK's membership includes numerous international NGOs such as Greenpeace and WWF. PM CJ falls, ideologically, between the other two networks.

Each network, and its member organizations, has used or defined climate justice in its own way. While scholars have shown that the climate justice frame broadens transnational opportunities for mobilization (e.g., Rosewarne, Goodman, & Pearse, 2013, Hadden, 2015), we have yet to understand how climate justice is operationalized at the national level. This section reports how climate justice is understood by environmental groups in the Philippines. It is important to note that while the three networks have different characters, they sometimes share member organizations; they are not wholly separate. In addition, this section reports on the activities of international environmental NGOs with presences in the Philippines.

The insider network: Aksyon Klima

Aksyon Klima was formed in 2009 in the lead-up to COP15 in Copenhagen in an attempt to persuade the Philippine delegation to the conference with a unified civil

society voice. The network contains 40 NGOs ranging from international groups such as the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) to community-based groups. At most, AK has two full-time staffers: an advocacy officer and a national coordinator. AK is funded by international grants from groups like Christian Aid and Oxfam International.

AK is known as the “insider” network because the network “didn’t just give [the Philippine delegation to U.N. climate negotiations] the civil society position or just shadow the delegation. Some of us are actually part of the delegation as advisors” (D. Fontanilla, personal communication, May 22, 2015). Especially in its early years, AK’s members worked to actively shape the official Philippine position on climate negotiations through lobbying on U.N. processes such as the Philippine INDC, or its intended nationally-determined contribution to emissions. In other words, AK works along conventional climate movement logics; under this logic, a solution to climate change can be achieved through the U.N. process.

Because of its members’ conventional tactics, the climate justice frame was not easily adopted by the network. As Denise Fontanilla, the former advocacy campaigner for the network, said:

I think some of the members were just uncomfortable with the term, but you wouldn’t hear anyone saying that you don’t want reparation, that you don’t want common but differentiated responsibilities. (Personal communication, May 22, 2015)

AK’s conventional NGO members would rather stay within the accepted framing of U.N. language than follow the radical path promoted by proponents of climate justice. For AK, then, climate justice had little meaning, except that it represented a method of activism that was anathema to its conventional, insider approach to advocacy.

The grassroots network: Kalikasan People's Network for the Environment

The oldest of the networks examined here, Kalikasan was founded in 1997 by a group of peoples' organizations representing fisherfolk, workers, the urban poor, trade unions, and other groups working for the country's poorest sectors. The Kalisakan secretariat, which organizes campaigns for the member organizations, is composed of a small group of volunteers who work in borrowed offices; the network rarely gets funding or attention from large NGOs or foundations. The role of the secretariat is to organize member organizations' direct actions and to access legal aid and media attention when possible.

Kalikasan's member groups operate primarily through mass direct action to oppose local issues like illegal mining and development that forces peasantry resettlement. Its methods are often extra-legal and its activists are likely to be jailed or even killed. In other words, human rights issues and a positioning outside the political system were woven into Kalikasan's environmental mission from the start. While the network does not work on climate change at the international negotiations level, its deep roots in local fights play a supporting role, according to the network's campaign coordinator, Leon Dulce:

You usually hear about the climate movement in the Philippines once the U.N. negotiations start to draw near But there are a lot of, not only [civil society organizations], but more especially the peoples' organizations who are becoming disillusioned about the talks, you know. Especially since it's very abstract to them when they are facing the daily impacts on a daily basis and then there are a lot of leaders talking very far away So it's very disillusioning for them. That's why we have been focusing really on helping the local fights. Because once you win those local fights, you give momentum to the big picture. (Personal communication, May 18, 2015)

For Kalikasan, climate justice is a natural framework since the network was already engaged with direct action from frontline, grassroots communities with messaging that explicitly connected human rights with environmental issues. In particular, Kalikasan equates the call for climate justice with a call to right past colonial wrongs:

So when we're demanding for climate justice, we're also demanding accountability to the U.S. government for its histories of plundering our forests, of plundering our mines, of destroying our environment. Which is what's made this country chronically vulnerable, to disasters even if climate change is not here. And of course it's worsening if the climate crisis is not addressed. So that's how we've expanded the term and how we've claimed the term climate justice for our struggles here in the Philippines. (L. Dulce, personal communication, May 18, 2015)

Kalikasan was making these kinds of calls, blaming the North for the Philippines' environmental problems, long before climate justice arose in the climate discourse. The concept of climate justice fits with the network's pre-existing anti-development, post-colonial critique of neoliberalism. And yet Dulce recognizes that climate justice is a slippery and even political term:

Climate justice is a broad and all-encompassing term that's very subject to bias, very subject to interpretation. That's what makes it so appealing. Anyone can call for climate justice and they'll just define what climate justice is for them. (Personal communication, May 18, 2015)

The challengers' network: Philippine Movement for Climate Justice

PM CJ was founded in 2009 by a group of 40 organizations with particular support from the Freedom From Debt Coalition, a network of Philippine groups working on economic justice and ecological debt. In particular, the Jubilee South Asia Pacific Movement on Debt and Development, one of the coalition's members, recognized the need for more work on climate-related issues after critiquing the World Bank's approach

to climate and finance issues. PMCJ is funded by several international NGOs and now includes more than 100 member organizations.

Like Kalikasan, PMCJ draws from the ecological debt framework, which understands the source of the Global South's ecological and economic issues to be derived from centuries of plunder by northern nations, PMCJ first understood climate justice within a similarly antagonistic north-south framework. It also engaged specifically with the developing-world position on climate justice, meeting with other developing nations' NGOs at the U.N. climate negotiations. There, the climate justice argument also blamed northern nations and situated the issue within the extant north-south division on developmental issues more broadly.

Yet PMCJ's leadership wants to push the climate justice definition in another direction: inward. Breaking from many of the other developing nations, PMCJ has begun heavily critiquing the Philippine government for its continual investment in fossil fuels. While the Philippines is a low-emissions nation currently, it has dozens of coal-fired power plants in the planning stages – meaning it could become locked into a fossil fuel-supported economy in coming decades. Other emerging economies have a similar trajectory. PMCJ's national coordinator, Gerry Arances, has worked to shift the conversation to point out the hypocrisy of developing nations calling for justice from the north while building their own carbon footprint. But there is a price:

We've been really critical of the Philippine government since last year, even in international meetings, so that's one of the key developments that we've gone through in terms of climate justice framing. And this is a debate within the southern climate justice movement, an intense debate even when we have discourse with our Indian colleagues, our Chinese colleagues, even our African colleagues. So most of the time when we are in international meetings coming from the Philippines we find ourselves almost isolated in terms of our demands

that the southern governments also have to do their fair share based on science. (Personal communication, May 14, 2015)

PM CJ is one of the first southern groups to advocate for this positioning within the climate justice framework. So while its campaign targets include northern nations at the U.N. level, it has also shifted to include the national Philippine government as a target.

International NGOs

Beyond the national-level networks, there are other major players in the Philippine environmental organization field: the international NGOs that also operate in the country, usually somewhat apart from the national or grassroots-level groups – although they are sometimes members of the networks listed above, particularly Akyson Klima. Some of these are “big greens,” or organizations that accept corporate money and often work alongside corporations on environmental issues. WWF and Conservation International are two groups that are often named big greens. Other groups, such as Greenpeace or 350, are less likely to be funded by or enter into partnerships with corporations. However, in the eyes of Filipino activists, any of these groups can be lumped into one category: international NGOs, or INGOs. These are groups usually headquartered in the U.S. or another northern nation, and they are viewed with varying degrees of skepticism as to their usefulness to actual Filipinos. Correctly or not, Filipino activists see INGOs as beholden to their home country’s agenda, and this means that any partnerships with INGOs are taken on with caution.

I interviewed representatives from four INGOs operating in the Philippines. This section reports how they have operationalized climate justice and incorporated it into their campaigns.

WWF

WWF, also known as World Wildlife Fund or the World Wide Fund for Nature in different countries, is a giant of the INGOs. It is among the top three largest and best-funded environmental NGOs in the world (Forbes, 2011). It has been criticized for engaging in greenwashing practices that benefit some of the world's biggest corporations, such as Monsanto, Coca-Cola, and Shell (Vidal, 2014). Still, it is undoubtedly one of the most influential INGOs, with a strong presence at international negotiations on climate change over the last two decades. WWF-Philippines inaugurated its climate change program in 1997, well before climate change was an issue of public concern in the country. The organization worked both on local projects, such as assessing the impact of climate change on the country's coral reefs, as well as engaging with the U.N. climate negotiations. Naderev Saño, a climate campaigner with WWF-Philippines from 1997 to 2010, served as the Philippines' official negotiator at the climate talks from 2010 to 2014. A member of Akyson Klima, and often sending delegates to the U.N. conferences, WWF epitomizes the conventional approach to climate activism.

WWF-Philippines is best known for its marine work, as the country is home to over 7,000 islands and some of the world's most biodiverse coral reefs. Along with its presence at U.N. conferences, however, the organization does engage with climate change with its Earth Hour program to turn off lights around the world to show solidarity for "climate action" – not, it should be noted, climate justice. While WWF has engaged with groups that use the climate justice language, it rarely uses it itself, preferring to stay within the realm of the scientific, policy-oriented language that characterized climate

activism in the 1990s and most of the 2000s. When I asked WWF-Philippines'

communications and media manager Gregg Yan to define climate justice, he said:

Climate justice is for a physical fund to be set up for poor nations so that the damage wrought by climate change, which is directly caused by vigilance in many of the climate-making countries, can be offset. (Personal communication, May 11, 2015)

This definition incorporates concepts of inequality and injustice, but it operationalizes climate justice as funding, or reparations for the cost of carbon emissions. This aligns with WWF's broader climate work that promoted carbon markets and other conventional approaches to climate activism. Overall, however, climate justice as a term rarely appears in WWF communications.

Conservation International (CI)

Like WWF, CI is one of the big fish in the NGO pond. A major, American-based INGO with a presence in dozens of countries, CI is best known for its biodiversity and habitat preservation work. Like WWF, however, CI has long had a presence at U.N. climate talks, and works to bring science-based policy to the fore. In particular, CI has been engaged with REDD+, a U.N. program to encourage landowners to preserve forests that act as carbon sinks.

CI-Philippines' climate program is synonymous with ecosystem-based adaptation, a process that, like preserving forests to absorb carbon, marries conservation with human needs in the face of climate change. The ecosystem-based adaptation process first involves conducting a climate vulnerability assessment of a particular area – for example, the effects of climate change on subsistence fishing communities in the Verde Island Passage, a major strait in the central Philippines. Then, CI-Philippines makes recommendations for implementing policies that can strengthen the resilience of the

affected community. In the case of the Verde Island Passage, subsistence fishermen may be able to catch eight kilos of fish per day as compared to four kilos with the implementation of strategic fishery closures, which would improve the economic and food security of the fishing communities.

Ricky Nunez, director of CI-Philippines, stressed a science- and policy-oriented approach to climate action, noting that he did not consider CI to be an “activist organization,” despite the fact that it does lobby governments and court public support (Personal communication, May 13, 2015). Nunez reported that CI had no definition of climate justice, but that he hoped to learn more from Greenpeace Southeast Asia’s approach. Like WWF, then, CI had little use for climate justice, instead keeping its climate work strictly within the scientific and environmental realms with an orientation toward climate adaptation on the ground and mitigation at the international level.¹⁰

Greenpeace

In some ways a less conventional NGO than WWF or CI, Greenpeace is nonetheless an organized and well-funded INGO with offices around the world that operate under the auspices of the group’s international headquarters in Amsterdam. And while Greenpeace’s reputation in the U.S. is as one of the more radical groups, it is conservative by Philippine NGO standards: while it may engage in direct action, its activists are rarely actually putting their lives on the line.

Until recently, Greenpeace Southeast Asia, which is headquartered in Manila, focused its climate campaigns on renewable energy and preventing the construction of new coal-fired power plants in the Philippines. In 2014, however, the organization

¹⁰ In fact, the only mention of climate justice in CI’s official position paper for COP21 in Paris was struck out in the final draft ([Conservation International, 2015](#)).

launched its climate justice campaign apart from its extant renewable energy campaign. Anna Abad, the newly named climate justice campaigner, explained that the Greenpeace Southeast Asia climate justice campaign aimed to target the 90 corporations responsible for half of the world's carbon emissions, many of them energy companies, dubbed by the organization the "big polluters": "The climate justice campaign seeks to put the blame, shift the mental frame of 'we are all to blame' to 'these 90 polluters are the one to blame'" (Personal communication, May 11, 2015).

Greenpeace International also promotes this campaign, but under a different name: the climate liability campaign. Still in its infancy, it seeks a legal route to extracting payment from the big polluters to the communities facing the worst impacts from climate change. Greenpeace Southeast Asia has pursued its version of the campaign with permission from Greenpeace International. Using the climate justice language is appropriate in the Philippines, but not the U.S., because "justice for an American perspective would have to mean whether you're a different race or color, your ethnicity etc. So I think for that audience it would have to be claimed as climate liability," according to Abad (Personal communication, May 11, 2015).

Greenpeace Southeast Asia is the first, then, to add the "justice" term to Greenpeace International's overall campaign against the big polluters. In late 2015, after lobbying by Greenpeace Southeast Asia, the Philippines Human Rights Commission launched the world's first human rights investigation into the activities of fossil fuel companies (Greenpeace, 2015). Abad's hope is that other Southeast Asia countries will follow suit.

The newest of the INGOs, 350 is the only climate-specific group of the four examined here. Its name references the level (parts per million) of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere considered safe by many scientists. Founded in 2007 by Bill McKibben, a prominent American environmental writer and activist, the organization's goal is to enable mass grassroots action on climate change. Taking advantage of digital media, 350 has organized numerous online and offline campaigns targeting, for example, the Keystone Pipeline in the U.S., as well as marches outside U.N. climate talks in 2009, 2014, and 2015. Using a fairly decentralized organizational structure, 350 secures funding for and trains grassroots groups in dozens of countries. For example, in 2013, 350 organized Global Power Shift, a training conference held in Istanbul for hundreds of climate activists from more than 100 countries.

With its singular focus on climate, rather than environmental issues at large, and its decentralized structure, heavy focus on communication by digital media, and nimble approach to choosing campaigns, 350 represents a shift from the entrenched INGOs epitomized by the three already described. It is also likely to try to frame climate change not as a country-by-country issue. As Chuck Baclogan, regional communication coordinator for 350 in East Asia, said:

How 350 and a lot of other groups view the problem is it goes beyond geopolitical boundaries. So how we frame it is we support the local struggle by providing them with access to an international audience [through digital media] and the connections of where their struggles intersect with one another. (Personal communication, May 12, 2015)

In other words, 350 works to erase the distinction between a local effect of climate change – which might be considered an “adaptation” issue in the logics of another

organization – and the international debate on global emissions. An important tactic for 350 is gathering stories of victims of the effects of climate change and bringing them to the U.N. level; marrying the local impacts and the global debate.

350 frequently uses the language of climate justice in its communications. However, following its decentralized organizational structure, the group refrains from specifically defining what climate justice is. During Global Power Shift, the training event for climate activists, the discussion about climate justice was at times contentious, with some southern activists wanting 350 to push for a more stringent definition of the term. When I asked Zeph Repollo, 350's Southeast Asia coordinator, to define climate justice, her remarks reflected the organization's anything-goes take on the term:

I mean, what is the way to really achieve climate justice? For me, there is no one rule, I mean, one standard procedure to achieve climate justice. I think all of the efforts of the climate movement are important. And I think that's the beauty of the movement that we wanted to build. It's not in standard definitions or standard procedures. We wanted to also hear how people see climate justice, how it works for them. It might not work in the U.S. It might not work other places, but it doesn't mean it's wrong. (Personal communication, June 7, 2015)

Journalists and the climate justice frame

Each NGO may have its own take on climate justice, but how the public understands a certain framework is influenced by the production of journalists. Journalists play an important role in sense-making, and their adoption or non-adoption of activist messaging is an issue of high concern for activists who wish to influence the public or policymakers. Activists promoting climate justice to the U.N. or their governments are no different; getting news media attention is valued.

As established in chapter 2, climate change has emerged as an issue of public concern in the Philippines in the last decade. In particular, extreme weather events like

typhoons Ondoy (2009) and Haiyan (2013) have contributed to raising the profile of climate change in mainstream discourse, epitomized by the national news media. However, Filipino journalists still struggle to report in-depth on the scientific mechanisms of climate change; their reporting tends to be event-driven, such as reports on incoming typhoons. As one of my activists put it when I asked if journalists competently reported the science of climate change: “No” (R. Nunez, personal communication, May 13, 2015). Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the climate justice frame would be rarely found in Philippine news coverage, since coverage of climate change beyond extreme weather events is rare itself.

However, the climate activists interviewed for this project who did work to promote the climate justice frame at the international negotiations level also worked to promote it at the national news media level. Gaining media attention on the issue of climate change has become “so much easier” due to the rise of major typhoons (N. Saño, personal communication, May 19, 2015). A decade ago, when the conversation about climate change was strictly in the scientific and environmental realm, climate change was simply “not newsworthy, especially when we talk about GHG [greenhouse gas] emissions and things that will happen a hundred years from now” (N. Saño, personal communication, May 19, 2015). The climate justice frame was broadly seen as a way to move beyond the scientific discourse, which had failed to gain a strong foothold in the news media anyway, and give journalists another angle on climate change. In addition to the breaking news events provided by typhoons, the news media had a whole new way to consider climate change as a news story.

Activists reported that the climate justice frame had two major strengths that played to journalistic appetites. First, the climate justice frame puts a human face on an issue that had previously been defined exclusively as environmental or scientific, allowing journalists to tell individual stories about victims of climate change in the justice context. Secondly, climate justice provides a conflict story, but the conflict is not between Filipinos. Rather, the conflict is between Filipinos and governments in the wealthy world. In the thinking of the activists, this prevented journalists from telling a standard two-sided story that worked against the activists' goals, as in a story about the pollution from coal-fired power plants that might also include facts about the jobs provided by the coal industry. Instead, the climate perpetrators were non-Filipinos who were overseas – easy to vilify and difficult to interview, leaving the climate justice perspective unchallenged. As Anna Abad, the climate justice campaigner with Greenpeace Southeast Asia, said:

With the climate justice messaging, [journalists] can never twist it or spin it around that we're not experiencing it because it's just so real. It becomes so tangible I do understand that they want to pit us with somebody else, but with climate justice it's really pitting us and the big polluters out there. So I think that is clearer. It's a clear David and Goliath battle. It's not something that they can pit us against a fellow Filipino. (Personal communication, May 11, 2015)

But would Filipino journalists follow activists' lead and adopt the climate justice frame? Journalists' responses ranged across a spectrum from never to occasionally, and their familiarity with the term varied as well.

A former *Associated Press* reporter and current editor at *GMA News Online* who was very familiar with the term, having first heard it at U.N. climate conferences a decade ago, nevertheless declined to use it: "I don't like using it because it's what the NGOs use most of the time ... [And] it's kind of difficult to explain" (Y. Arquiza,

personal communication, May 20, 2015). Arquiza, then, is offering two explanations. First, climate justice is a no-go simply because its origin is with activist groups. Second, her critique is that the concept is too difficult to explain to a general audience.

These critiques were echoed by other journalists who declined to use the frame. According to Kristine Sabillo, an editor for the *Philippine Daily Inquirer's* website, the frame is a poor fit with the mission of the site as well as its audience:

I am wary of using [it], maybe the Filipino audience is not yet familiar with that. If I really have to use, it, I have to explain it. The problem with our work is that we break news. We don't really have time to do longer pieces. So there are concepts that I am sure a lot of our readers have never read about, or not that familiar. To be honest, I don't think the average Filipino is aware of the U.N. talks and what the governments are doing right now, what they're trying to achieve. The challenge is always to explain and give context in our stories. (Personal communication, May 21, 2015)

Shaira Panela, a freelance science journalist, also veered away from the term because of its association with activists, even if she was personally passionate about the activists' cause:

For me, anything that is important to the public, I should report. And sometimes because of that kind of passion, I tend to forget it's not how the public thinks. That's how the activists think. But for any other person who may be or not really aware of what climate change really is, climate justice will sound like a foreign word. (Personal communication, May 18, 2015)

The reporter who was most comfortable using the climate justice frame was Pia Ranada, one of the country's few journalists assigned solely to an environmental beat and encouraged to write about climate change by editors. Ranada defined climate justice as common but differentiated responsibilities, citing the U.N. language. "[Climate justice] is a handy short word," she said, but "I don't use it like it's correct, like it's the belief that everyone should advocate. It's what [activists] believe. I'm writing about what they

believe in. It's not a true thing. *They* want climate justice” (Personal communication, May 22, 2015; emphasis added).

In summary, journalists were not unilaterally opposed to adopting the climate justice perspective, but even those who would use it had significant caveats. The frame faced two major challenges: It came from activists, and journalists wanted to avoid writing stories they perceived as overly sympathetic to the activists' perspective. Secondly, because of the overall lack of understanding of climate change as outlined in chapter 2, a new framing with a moral, rather than scientific, underpinning still faced a largely uneducated audience.

Yet there is another way that climate activists get their messages across in mainstream news media. The Philippine news media frequently run guest reports. Denise Fontanilla, the former advocacy officer with Aksyon Klima, reported on U.N. climate conferences for GMA News Online and other national outlets in both the Philippines and the countries where the U.N. conferences were held. Her presence at the conferences spanned both an activist and a journalistic role. She provided material to news outlets that were minimally edited and sometimes run without any edits. Likewise, Purple Romero, a journalist turned communications specialist for the Philippines' Climate Change Commission, regularly provides articles for national outlets. The lack of institutional capacity for climate reporting beyond disaster stories provides an opening for climate activists to fill an unmet niche.

Conclusion

It seems logical that climate change, an issue that connects people's behaviors and experiences around the world, would be the subject of transnational advocacy. Armed

with the literature on transnational social movements when I met with activists in the Philippines, I expected the target of their campaigns to be the climate “makers” – that is, the gas-guzzling lifestyles of people in the Global North who are responsible for pumping the vast majority of carbon into the atmosphere.¹¹ But I found very little evidence that Filipino activists are interested in trying to influence Americans to change their lifestyles or the U.S. government to pass carbon-cutting regulation. The activists were not designing campaigns that pitted Filipinos against Americans, or Chinese, or any of the big polluting nationalities. Naderev Saño, the former WWF climate campaigner and official Philippine negotiator for the climate talks, put it starkly: “Looking at things from a sovereign right perspective I would frankly say is even racist. It’s unwittingly racist” (Personal communication, May 19, 2015).

The usual target of the activists’ campaigns was, to my surprise, the Philippine government. The activists who went to U.N. climate talks were not there to lobby the northern nations. They were there to make sure the Philippine delegation did not capitulate to those northern nations. And as some of the interview data showed, activists are also thinking about the Philippines’ energy future. Now a low consumer of fossil fuels, the country has dozens of coal-fired power plants in the production pipeline. It is this moment – the opportunity to pursue either a clean energy future or become locked into a fossil fuel economy – that consumes the attention of many Filipino climate activists.

So where is the transnational approach to this transnational environmental issue? I argue that it is a conceptual place. It is in the adoption of the climate justice frame.

¹¹ I probably also suffered from prejudicial thinking that the United States is at the center of the universe, an easy assumption to make as an American.

Climate justice not only shifts the long-standing scientific argument around climate change to the consideration of moral responsibility; it explicitly connects the local lived experience of victims of climate change to the actions and attitudes of those responsible for producing the world's carbon emissions. Climate justice integrates the social movement fields of action from local to national to global. It brings cosmopolitanism to activists. From Greek, *kosmo-polite* means citizen of the world. Ulrich Beck (2002) called cosmopolitanism "internal globalization, globalization from *within* national societies." Climate justice clambers for citizens to recognize their shared responsibility on the problem of climate change, and for victims of climate change to get fair treatment. These activists are what Sidney Tarrow (2005) would call rooted cosmopolitans, or people in national contexts who engage in political activities that involve them with transnational networks.

The transnational perspective of the climate justice frame does not change some of the essentials about social movements and framing. My results show that activists are using frames the way they have used them for a long time. However, one interesting finding is that at a more granular level than the entire NGO field, organizations adopt frames only so far as their organizational logic will allow. You see conventional NGOs like WWF and CI rejecting climate justice messaging, but other groups embracing it – and defining it for themselves along the way. The social movement as a whole has not decided what climate justice is or how to use it.

My findings also show that journalists are responding in a way that Todd Gitlin would recognize from his work on the civil rights movement: They use NGOs to make news, but they are skeptical of adopting the language of activists. They want to maintain

the imbalance of power that has characterized the relationship between advocacy and newsmaking for a long time (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). These findings as a whole show that while the climate justice frame is novel in some ways, particularly its cosmopolitan perspective, its use and success are generalizable to advocacy more generally.

Lastly, a contribution of this chapter is to reveal the processes of framing before frames appear in the news media or popular culture. This section has traced the influences on climate justice from several conceptual antecedents. None of these – ecological debt, environmental justice, or common but differentiated responsibilities – has gained the cultural cachet of climate justice, which can now be seen in the hashtags and on the signs of activists in the north and south alike. Climate justice may have arisen from the concerns of developing nations’ activists who felt unheard in the international climate talks, but in the last couple of years, it has been adopted by a number of NGOs from the North, such as Greenpeace and 350. The risk for southern activists is that the initial conception of climate justice as a radical, institution-defying rallying call, could be lost as more powerful and well-connected INGOs adopt the term, softening its edges, and, in the case of 350, declining to define it at all.

Social movement scholars have recognized that global civil society is not a monolith, and that transnational advocacy networks are arenas of struggle (Keck & Sikkink, 1999), but mass communication scholars are less likely to make fine-grained distinctions among civil society actors. This chapter has shown that transnational advocacy and frame-making is a contested process, and one perhaps with no resolution. Even recognizing this does not stop activists from trying to win the framing contest.

Chapter 4: Networked digital media and climate activism

The previous two chapters have demonstrated how climate change is understood and discussed in the realms of journalism and advocacy in the developing world context. These interrelated spaces are populated with groups that have a symbiotic yet tense relationship. Journalists frequently rely on activists to provide news, and activists turn to the news media to provide amplification for their messages and, ideally, lend credence to activists' claims. A rich body of scholarship has demonstrated, however, that journalists tend to undercut activist claims even as they report them, often depicting activists as unruly, clownish, or even dangerous (e.g., Gitlin, 1980; Sobieraj, 2011). This leaves activists in a quandary: They need news media attention to reach their audiences, but are forced to entrust their messaging to journalists who may not articulate it in a favorable fashion.

Since the advent of digital networked communications in the last decade, activists have naturally flocked to social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. Free to use for anyone with an Internet connection, social media sites seem to resolve the activists' dilemma: Here is a way to reach their audiences without the intervention of journalists. Many scholars agree, with theorists like Manuel Castells extolling the potential of these "networks of outrage and hope" to break down borders and upheave existing power relationships and even allow people to topple governments (Castells, 2012).

A full decade into the rise of these forms of media, however, it is less clear than ever that social media will be equally revolutionary for all. The digital divide persists and

even grows beyond mere access to the technology; socio-economic and cultural factors also affect the decision to participate in online life (Reisdorf, 2010). And rather than upending existing power structures, the digital media space may simply reinforce them; the “people’s platform” may be an illusion altogether (Taylor, 2014). The digital space is not only populated by do-gooders and grassroots organizers; it is not itself inherently democratic. It is, rather, a contested space as other actors such as corporate or government interests attempt to take advantage of the affordances of digital media. Activists must compete for attention in an ever more chaotic digital public sphere.

Yet the mere fact that networked digital media afford a cheap way to communicate about global issues without the gatekeeping efforts of journalists means that it will continue to attract activists who see it as a potentially game-changing new tool. Using digital media to communicate about climate change is a natural choice. Climate change is a global issue that involves relationships across borders and between what activists sometimes call “climate makers” and “climate takers,” or those who are responsible for the majority of carbon pollution and those who experience the detrimental effects of that pollution. Digital networked communications are especially vital to activists from developing countries that are less likely to have national news systems that report frequently on climate change, as demonstrated in the earlier chapter on climate journalism in the Philippines. Even national news systems with more established science and international journalism often struggle to reflect global perspectives on global events, nationalizing coverage for the home audience when global events are reported at all (Hafez, 2007).

So the question is begged: Can networked digital media – colloquially, social media – truly provide an alternative public sphere for activists and fulfill the social movement roles typically provided by the news media? Can it give voice to the voiceless, in this case the people who are least responsible for carbon emissions but most vulnerable to the effects of climate change? The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it will report on qualitative findings from my interviews with Filipino climate activists and their perspective on the use of social media in climate activism. Second, it will report the results of a mixed-methods analysis of social media use, specifically Twitter, surrounding the 21st Conference of the Parties to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP21) held in December 2015. Activists from wealthy nations as well as developing nations launched social media campaigns targeting the conference.

While I take a social scientific approach, I am informed by the tradition of critical/cultural scholarship that considers the power relationships underlying all social interactions. In this case, the communities that are most vulnerable to climate change are also relatively disempowered to act upon the problem, given that they produce few carbon emissions. They must innovate, pester, and persist in their efforts to get the big carbon polluters to consider their claims. Because of the power imbalance between activists and journalists, activists are especially likely to embrace social media, with its horizontal structure and relative lack of gatekeepers, as a potential space for empowerment. When they get there, however, developing nation activists must compete to have their messages heard in a hugely voluminous and cacophonous “global town square,” as Twitter likes to call itself (The Brookings Institution, 2013).

The underlying research questions guiding this chapter are:

RQ1. How do climate activists from a developing nation view social media as a venue for their messages?

RQ2: What social movement roles do Twitter posts fulfill?

RQ3: How successful are climate activists in penetrating a transnational digital public sphere, Twitter, with their chosen messages?

And,

RQ4: How are developing-nation activist voices heard in a transnational digital public sphere created by networked communication as displayed on Twitter?

Social movements and digital media

It has been well-established that social movements struggle to get positive coverage from the news media. Activists are aware of this, but still rely on the news media to perform several important roles: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Thus, they alter tactics in order to conform to media logic. “Insider” tactics, or peaceful events and using professional media relations personnel, can result in more frequent coverage (Andrews & Caren, 2010). But such tactics can backfire. When journalists perceive activists to be inauthentic – that is, working too hard to fit journalists’ news-making needs – they decline to cover activism (Sobieraj, 2010). When they do cover it, they tend to focus on conflict. This puts activists in a double bind: be polite and be ignored, or rouse drama and be disparaged in news coverage (McLeod, 2007).

Fortunately for activists, the rise of networked digital media provides an alternative public sphere that activists can use to perform the roles they once relied upon the news media for – mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement – without

journalists meddling in their messages. Castells (2008) has argued that we are witnessing an historic shift of the public sphere from the institutional to the new digital, multi-modal communicative realm; a network society. Previously, the battle for public opinion was waged through institutions like the legacy news media; now, he argues, the space where power is decided is found in digital media systems that enable open, personalized messaging from many to many without interference of traditional gatekeepers (Castells, 2008). Even in this new network society, however, journalists still work to protect vested interests (Hutchins & Lester, 2006).

This shift in the public sphere has affected the very organization of social movements. Bennett (2004) described a break between 20th century activism that was official NGO-oriented and issue-specific, and 21st century activism that is social technology-enabled, multi-issue, focused on direct action rather than lobbying, and horizontally-organized, embodied by the worldwide anti-Iraq War protests of 2003 (Bennett, 2004). The new 21st century activism is characterized by low barriers of entry for participants as they are not asked to conform to a collective identity or a common ideology; instead, diversity, subjectivity, and flexible identities are encouraged (Della Porta, 2005). Transnationalism, or social movement activism across countries, is increasingly common in NGO campaigns that address globalized issues such as climate change and pandemics that are similarly not bounded by national territories (Della Porta & Kriesi, 2009).

More recently, Bennett and Segerberg (2013) observed that legacy civil society actors and dispersed public protesters could share tactics in a hybrid format that combines elements of traditionally unified collective action with digitally-enabled connective

action (embodied by networked communications such as social media). They term this *hybrid connective action*. Social movement actors have long drawn on well-hewn collective action repertoires such as protests and letter-writing campaigns (Tarrow, 2005) on behalf of people with WUNC, the acronym coined by social movement scholar Charles Tilly to describe collective worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment to next steps (Tilly, 2004). While the rise of professional civil society actors in the last half-century has formalized social movements in many ways, as first described by the resource mobilization paradigm in social movements scholarship (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), events like the anti-Iraq War protests and the anti-globalization protests in Seattle around the turn of the millennium displayed the characteristics of social movements without the infrastructure or knowledge set provided by NGOs or professional activists (Bennett, 2004).

While scholars have focused on the seemingly leaderless social movements that seem to characterize the network society and the shift of the public sphere to the multi-modal digital communicative space (e.g., Hamdy & Gomaa, 2012, on the uprising in Egypt; and Juris, 2008, on the anti-globalization movement), the role of professional NGOs in this new arena has been relatively overlooked. Professional NGOs are interested in capturing the emotion, public attention, and news media attention that has surrounded social movements that play out in the social media space (“Twitter revolutions” as dubbed by the news media), and using that to mobilize their supporters and reach their campaign goals.

One purpose of this chapter is to examine how NGOs have moved into this space and taken advantage of the affordances of digital media to meet their own social

movement goals. A social movement, as defined by Tilly (2005), must have WUNC. Combined with Gamson & Wolfsfeld's (1993) social movement roles that the news media traditionally play, and the scholarship that shows that the news media focuses on conflict when reporting on activism, this chapter will examine what roles the networked digital public sphere plays in social movements.

Twitter as a transnational public sphere

This chapter focuses on Twitter as a transnational digital public sphere. Founded in 2006, Twitter has 320 million active users per month who share short messages consisting of images, links, hashtags, and up to 140 characters in text (Twitter, 2016). The company considers itself a global town square (The Brookings Institution, 2013). It does have massive reach; 79% of Twitter accounts are located outside the U.S., according to the company's data (Twitter, 2016). Twitter users can theoretically reach hundreds of millions, if not billions, of readers with their posts. Users send messages to an "imagined audience," whether that audience exists or not (Marwick & boyd, 2010). When a specific audience member is invoked, he or she is "mentioned," or tagged with the "@" symbol. The audience can be anyone and no one; people may tweet for attention or simply to entertain themselves (Marwick & boyd, 2010).

Twitter feeds are presented only in reverse chronological order. Unlike Facebook, which uses an algorithm to determine what posts its users may like to see first, Twitter feeds are meant to be purely real-time.¹² Thus, unless users curate their own internal lists (a feature of the site), the basic news feed represents every post from every user that someone is following, whether the user is an important journalist or politician or a

¹² In early 2016, Twitter announced it would begin using an algorithm to rank posts (Guynn, 2016). This did not affect the study period, which was in late 2015.

college roommate or a parody site. In other words, Twitter is considered democratic. Any voice has a *chance* to be heard. It is also relatively linguistically open, although some languages dominate. Most tweets are in English (38.2%), followed by Japanese (11.8%), Spanish (11.4%), Indonesian (8.8%), and Norwegian (7.7%), with a dramatic dropoff to other languages (Leetaru et al., 2013). Despite its democratic appearance, however, the reality is that just 10% of posters are responsible for 90% of Twitter content (Carlson, 2009). Not every voice is heard, or even trying to be heard.

Twitter is available to anyone with an Internet connection, and has become popular around the world. While its userbase may be international, Twitter is not equally available. The digital divide persists. Twitter's geography generally mirrors that of electricity availability (Leetaru et al., 2013). Moreover, many NGOs and social movement actors still lack the resources to take advantage of available digital media (Thrall et al., 2014). So it remains unclear whether NGOs can utilize Twitter as a transnational public sphere even when dealing with a transnational environmental issue, such as a climate change advocacy, for which it seems well-suited.

Methods

The method for the interview data section is covered in pages 26-29 of the dissertation, and will not be repeated here. Instead, I will focus on the social media analysis methodology.

With its firehose of 500 million tweets a day, Twitter has become catnip for big data researchers. Big data studies can show trends and large-scale behavior, but they may also fail to capture nuance. And big data researchers are frequently advised to “discard outliers,” or data that fail to fall into typical use patterns (Lin & Ryaboy, 2013, p. 8). This

atypical behavior may be caused by what Lin & Ryaboy call “non-human actors in a human domain” such as spambots or other robots (2013, p. 8). Data cleaning smooths out these and other aberrations. Meanwhile, more granular content analyses can show the content of what people say on Twitter, but like big data researchers, content analysis researchers have a tendency to throw out tweets that show up in their data sets but are not obviously related to their topic of inquiry, are not in English, or are “re-tweets,” that is, shares of original tweets that can result in “popular posts or spam saturating the sample,” as explained in a content analysis of tweets about the 2009 swine flu outbreak (Chew, Eysenbach, & Sampson, 2010, p. 5). In addition, researchers often focus on the Twitter pages of specific organizations for analysis, such as examining the feeds of NGOs following the 2010 Haiti earthquake (Muralidharan et al., 2011).

These approaches to Twitter research attempt to make order of a fundamentally disordered space. Cleaning data, throwing out non-English tweets, ignoring the enormous popularity of some re-tweets, tossing out spam, and/or focusing on the output of specific pages results in studies that show some elements of Twitter conversations, but fail to grasp the interactivity, dynamics between groups, and more chaotic nature of the Twitterverse. One major challenge of Twitter research is for researchers to accept chaos into their studies. Cleaned-up Twitter analyses show a very narrow slice of the space, and a two-dimensional one at that. To fully grasp Twitter, researchers must conceptualize it as a 3-D space: a digital public sphere with pings of contact constantly whizzing back and forth, some connected and others isolated, some heard by millions and some heard by very few, some “on trend” and others bafflingly out of step. Network analyses get closer

to reflecting this reality with their visual depictions of interconnected nodes, but they show user connectivity better than textual context (e.g., Himelboim et al., 2014).

Of course, researchers must make choices to make analysis and conclusion-drawing possible. Scientific research, it has been said, is a compromise between the ideal and the possible. The disorderly nature of Twitter makes it an especially challenging site of investigation compared to say, classic content analyses of newspaper articles, which draw on universally-acknowledged concepts of what newspaper articles should contain. There is no such agreement (and may never be one) on what should comprise a tweet, and so Twitter content analysis is still very much in its infancy. Methods that have worked for other forms of communication may not be as applicable here. Thus, my approach to a Twitter-based social media analysis is to borrow a phrase from Freelon and Karpf's (2015) study of Twitter use in the 2012 presidential election: "hybrid methods for hybrid media" (p. 394), meaning a mix of qualitative and quantitative analysis. While the current study is not specific to hybrid *uses* of media, such as Freelon and Karpf's (2015) examination of dual-screening during presidential debates, a mixed-methods approach may reveal findings that may be missed in strictly quantitative or qualitative studies. The current study is a quantitative content analysis informed by qualitative interview data and combined with qualitative analysis of tweets.

For this social media analysis, I focused on tweets using the hashtags #climatemarch and #nowisthetime in the weeks surrounding COP21 in Paris in December 2015. #climatemarch was promoted by international NGOs, in particular 350, in conjunction with marches coordinated around the world on the weekend before the conference began. Since 350's mission is to empower local climate activists around the

world – or, arguably, impose a common discursive and tactical umbrella – many smaller groups from the Global South also used the #climatemarch hashtag, hosted their own marches, and drew on 350’s “activist toolkit,” which included sample tweet and Facebook post language and fonts and imagery for sharable macros; it was essentially activism branding. (See Appendix B for 350’s activist toolkit.) In addition, another of the organizations I met with for this study, the Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PM CJ) promoted its own hashtag during COP21: #nowisthetime. While PM CJ was associated with 350, also drawing on 350’s resources, activist toolkit, and event coordination abilities, the two hashtags for the same event, COP21, allowed for a comparison between the social media penetration of a well-funded, U.S.-based international NGO and a national-level Philippine NGO. (See Appendix C for PM CJ’s activist toolkit.) This allowed me to ask questions about how well both groups influenced the transnational digital public sphere of Twitter.

Using a custom Python script, tweets containing #climatemarch and #nowisthetime were collected from November 25, 2015 until December 15, 2015. The collection included tweets and all their associated metadata, such as the tweet’s unique ID number, the username of the poster, date and time of publication, and time zone and location data (if the user had chosen to make this information available). This resulted in a population of 234,614 tweets. Two time period subsets were also created to allow comparison of tweets during active civil society events and two weeks later as COP21 concluded. Time period 1 (T1) was Nov. 25 to Dec. 1 and encompassed major civil society demonstrations in Paris and around the world on Nov. 28.¹³ Time period 2 (T2)

¹³ 350 and other major NGOs had planned a large demonstration in Paris, the host city for COP21, on Nov. 28. In the wake of the terrorist attacks earlier that month, French police would not allow the demonstration

was Dec. 9 to Dec. 15 and included the conclusion of the conference and the signing of the Paris Agreement, the first U.N. agreement that would commit nearly every country to lowering carbon emissions. T1 included 224,306 tweets, while T2 included 2,966 tweets.

Using a second custom program, all tweets were searched for language from 350 and PMCJ's sample tweets promoted in their activist toolkits. The language was: "All over the world, people are fighting for the places they love"; "If governments can't or won't lead, people will"; "On the eve of the big UN summit, the climate march is taking to the streets"; "How many more wake-up calls do we need"; and "Tell world leaders #nowsthetime to keep fossil fuels in the ground"; the typo in "#nowsthetime" is original to the PMCJ activist toolkit.

For the hand-coded content analysis, a random sample of tweets from #climatemarch and #nowisthetime in both T1 and T2 were collected. A random sample of each population at 95% confidence level with a $\pm 3\%$ confidence interval resulted in 2,756 tweets for the content analysis. Approximately 300 tweets not included in the final random sample were selected for evaluation and for inductive development of the coding protocol. It was during this process that I discovered that the #nowisthetime hashtag was used by both climate change activists and anti-gun control activists. In 2013, the Obama Administration announced an effort to pass gun control measures with #nowisthetime as its social media element. Three years later, the White House had stopped promoting the hashtag, but it continued to live on Twitter – now co-opted by pro-gun advocates. Thus, the codebook was adjusted to examine this phenomenon under the general guiding

to take place. The civil society groups responded by placing thousands of pairs of shoes in the Place de la Republique in central Paris in silent protest, while co-current climate marches continued around the world. If anything, the cancellation of the flagship event in Paris increased the emphasis of organizers on the virtual version of the march on Twitter via #climatemarch.

principle of this analysis, which considers competition amongst messages and messengers.

The random sample of tweets was coded for support of climate change and support of gun control. Based on the literature on the role of the news media in social movements, the tweets were also coded for elements of social movement role-playing: mobilization, scope enlargement, validation, and commitment to next steps. Lastly, the tweets were also coded for the presence of conflict, based on the literature that conflict is a staple norm in journalistic coverage of activism. Each variable was dichotomous and coded 0 for no and 1 for yes for absence or presence. (See Appendix D for the full coding protocol.) A reliability check was conducted with a second coder on 280 randomly selected tweets not included in the final sample. Simple agreement between coders was 91.3%; Krippendorff's alpha was .81, meeting generally-accepted requirements for intercoder reliability.

In order to uncover the *types* of actors dominating the conversation, I examined the prominence of activist, media, public, and elite/official actors in terms of frequency of posts by users during the study periods in addition to frequency of mentions (users who are tagged with an “@” sign). The top 50 users and mentions for both time periods, T1 and T2, and both hashtags, were coded as activist, news media, public, elite/official, or other based on an evaluation of the first 50 tweets on their homepage. This resulted in a total of 400 users and mentions coded. Twitter pages that were not in English were translated and kept in the study. This approach was piloted in a study conducted by this author on a similar climate march event in 2014 (Evans, Riffe, & Hester, 2015). The coding was based on the following protocol:

Activist: Users who used Twitter to post exclusively or almost exclusively about social change or political issues. They were often identified as professional activists by the listing of a professional NGO in their Twitter bios. If they did not explicitly state they were professional activists on their Twitter page, they were considered “activist” if they appeared to use Twitter mostly or entirely to promote social change or political issues. Note: They did not have to be supportive of progressive social change to be counted as “activist”; conservative activists were also represented in this category.

Media: An official media account or professional journalist identified as such in their Twitter handles or bios. This included mainstream media outlets such as traditional television stations and newspapers as well as alternative outlets focused on environmental issues, such as @grist.

Elite/Official: The Twitter pages of official organizations, celebrities, and politicians (other than activist organizations such as Greenpeace’s official Twitter page, which were coded as activist).

Public: A user who appeared to have no activist or media relationship and used Twitter for purposes other than exclusively promoting social change or political issues.

Other: A user who could not be placed in the above categories because their page had been deleted, did not exist, or had not tweeted in the examined time period.

A total of 400 users and mentions were coded. A reliability check was conducted with a second coder on 40 randomly selected users and mentions not included in the final sample. Simple agreement between coders was 92.5%; Krippendorff’s alpha was .828, meeting the requirement for intercoder reliability.

Lastly, 159,467 tweets (68% of the population) included time zone data in their metadata, which was analyzed to show the geographic location of those tweets. Determining location of tweets is not easy, but there are some options. Only about 3% of tweets include native location information, an option that users can turn on or off (Leetaru et al., 2013). However, users may also enter location information in their profiles; drawing from that source, more than a third of tweets can be geolocated with high accuracy (Leetaru et al., 2013). Time zone information is manually entered by the user. Because tweet metadata provided city-level time zone data for 68% of the population, it was accepted as a measure, if limited, for location.

In addition, as they were quantitatively coded, tweets were qualitatively evaluated for content and message. Any imagery included in the tweet, such as a photo or meme, was evaluated, as well as any link to a news article or other site. The analysis was meant to be a “sanity check” for the quantitative analysis, especially since the quantitative analysis allowed for potentially confusing results, such as the appearance of users in the mentions whose Twitter pages did not actually exist. The qualitative analysis allowed me to parse why that could happen and connect it to the larger discussion on power dynamics and competition between messages in the digital public sphere.

In accordance with my attempt to reflect the actual interactions on Twitter, show the transnational nature of the space, and avoid imposing false order, non-English tweets were kept in the sample (translated into English for analysis). Re-tweets were kept as well, because while they may dominate the sample, they reflect the third dimension of analysis: the space taken up by the most popular tweets. Removing re-tweets flattens the data set and gives equal weight to all tweets, regardless of whether they were read by one

person or thousands. Keeping re-tweets in the sample reflected the *shape* of the population. And lastly, apparently unrelated tweets, spam, or tweets that appeared to be created by robots were also kept in the sample. Regardless of the source or content of the tweet, it was still competing for eyeballs with “legitimate” tweets from activists, the public, the news media, and so on. To reflect the actual dynamics at work on Twitter, it is important to remember that these less-than-savory communications are part of the public sphere.

Findings

Interview data

The interview data address **RQ1**: How do climate activists from a developing nation view social media as a venue for their messages? and **RQ2**: What social movement roles do Twitter posts fulfill? While meeting with Filipino activists from three national NGOs and four international NGOs, I asked each about their organization’s social media use (using the colloquial term “social media” to stand in for digital networked communications). All seven organizations had social media presences; all have Facebook and most also have Twitter. The questions were general, prompting my informants to reflect on *why* they use social media as well as *how* they use it. While every staffer expressed enthusiasm about social media and saw it as an opportunity for advancing their messages and campaigns, *how* organizations used social media varied. Generally speaking, staffers at international NGOs were more likely to use social media strategically and were able to articulate their purposes of and goals for social media use. Staffers from national NGOs also professed excitement about social media, but were more limited in their application of social media to their organizational goals.

At their most optimistic, activists hoped that social digital media would reorder social relationships. Naderev Saño, a veteran climate activist since the 1990s with international NGOs including WWF and Greenpeace, told me said he believed social media would:

unshackle the world from the inequitable economic order I see the Internet/social media as driving unprecedented transparency and accountability. That scares the hell out of those who are exploiting the world. It scares big governments. It scares the big corporate leads. Why, because social media can bring them down. (Personal communication, May 19, 2015)

This statement expresses a belief that social media can be an integral tool for activists to achieve concrete campaign victories. But Saño also saw that digital media as important communicative and mobilizing tools. In the months preceding COP21, Saño joined the People's Pilgrimage, an interfaith NGO based in the U.S. that invited people to participate in pilgrimages, or walks, around the world to support a positive outcome at COP21. The flagship pilgrimage, led by Saño, walked from Rome to Paris in the weeks leading up to the conference. Saño was savvy about the role of social media for both walkers and supporters:

The hashtag 'peoplespilgrimage' should be used by anyone, by everyone. We should see people posting pictures of themselves doing their pilgrimages with the hashtag. And once we see a chorus of voices around the world making it happen, I think traditional media would follow suit and our hope is for them to recognize that there is this – again I hate to compare it with Occupy movement, which was decentralized and quite spontaneous, but it is, it is similar to that in many ways. Although this has a more of a central organizing group but what we would want people to embrace is that they're part of it. (Personal communication, May 19, 2015)

Here, Saño embraces Bennett and Segerberg's (2013) concept of hybrid connective action. He also expresses that a benefit of hybrid connective action is that it attracts the

attention of the news media, suggesting that seeking traditional news coverage is not abandoned by still considered a mark of movement success.

Like the People's Pilgrimage, 350, a U.S.-based organization founded on the traditional activist notion that peaceful demonstration can promote social change, digital media is woven into the organizational structure. 350 operates globally with minimal staff and oversight, primarily working to empower local organizations to participate in the global conversation on climate change through visibility in digital media. For example, a group of indigenous Pacific Islanders can block Australia's coal export terminal using canoes and surfboards and have their images spread globally, thanks to support from 350 and its online networks (Al Jazeera, 2014). In addition, 350 has been one of the primary organizers of global coordinated marches in 2014-2016 to call for climate action, mobilized largely through digital media (Evans, Riffe, & Hester, 2015).

As expected with an organization operated with little staff and heavy reliance on digital media, 350's Philippine staff had a nuanced approach to measuring social media campaigns and success. It has presences on numerous platforms, but is most active on Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. The organization had a fine-grained approach to digital strategy and measurement:

Social media communities are often defined by the kind of function and the kind of people that it attracts. For example, how we would use Flickr [a photography sharing site] is not the same as we would use Facebook Facebook is basically, how we would imagine it is the community space for people who has shared values with 350 to live out their values in cyberspace. We would measure it threefold in the functionalities that Facebook allows. It would be likes, shares, or comments. But we measure them different. Definitely a share is worth more than a comment. (C. Baclogan, personal communication, May 12, 2015)

In addition to a sophisticated approach to measurement, 350 had a specific understanding of the role of digital media in its campaigns. As Baclogan said, "We support the local

struggle by providing them access to the international audience and the connections of where their struggles intersect with one another. Like my role as a digital communications campaigner with 350 is basically to amplify a local struggle” to a global audience (Personal communication, May 12, 2015). Here, digital media could have mobilizing and unifying effects – showing people around the world that they are one in the climate change issue – as well as campaign efficacy by influencing the international audience with stories of climate victims.

For Greenpeace, one role for digital media allowed the international organization to make global events relevant to Filipinos, an inversion of 350’s approach. For example, a Greenpeace International team of six activists who illegally boarded an oil rig bound for Arctic waters contained no Filipino members, but Greenpeace’s Manila office found a Filipino crewmember on one of the organization’s support vessels. Coincidentally, a typhoon was approaching the country. The organization shared videos of the Filipino crewmember with the goal of showing the Philippines that local people were supporting Greenpeace’s international campaign. They also connected offshore drilling in the Arctic to the incoming typhoon: “We were able to get the message that while [the Arctic] is very far away, the impacts are being felt here” (A. Abad, personal communication, May 11, 2015). In this instance, Greenpeace viewed its goal as showing Filipinos its work around the world – more of a promotional approach than participatory. But Greenpeace also used its social media accounts to mobilize followers by sharing petitions and other campaign-oriented messages, usually with the Philippine national government as its target.

National-level NGOs often partnered with international NGOs for social media campaigns. For example, Aksyon Klima, the national network of NGOs, used the social

media accounts of its international member partners – including Greenpeace and WWF – to lobby for the passage of the People’s Survival Fund, a fund for local communities to do climate adaptation projects – again, a mobilization/campaign progress use.

The Kalikasan People’s Network for the Environment was the most grassroots-oriented group included in my sample, and it was the most likely to express frustration at the limitations of digital media for its causes. Kalikasan’s member groups include organizations representing the country’s poorest sectors, including laborers, farmers, and fishers – the group least likely to have Internet access. The Philippines, despite being one of the world’s top countries for mobile texting, is “not really as wired as we are made to think,” said Leon Dulce, campaign coordinator for Kalikasan:

We haven’t had one successful environmental campaign online yet. The height was probably during ... Yolanda. So we employed to the full extent our social media capacities during the Yolanda anniversary last year. Although the problem we had then was the infrastructure. [The city struck by the typhoon] is still rebuilding, the Internet is much slower than usual, we still had limited, what do you call this, limited use for the Internet during the campaign. But it was able to bridge the local campaign not to the national, but also the international community. (Personal communication, May 18, 2015)

In this statement, Dulce expresses a desire for digital media to allow a connection between the victims of Typhoon Haiyan (known as Yolanda in the country) and the global audience. For Kalikasan, however, opportunities like that are still rare, and the organization has yet to fully take advantage of the affordances of digital media due to access issues. In an echo of Taylor (2014), Dulce suggested that the unequal relationship between a national, underfunded grassroots group and an international, established NGO persists online: “Sometimes it still ends up that only the organizations, institutions, companies that have the resources, they’re still the ones that will dominate social media” (Personal communication, May 18, 2015).

Taken as a whole, the interview data show that, while all groups express interest in the digital media space, different organizations take different approaches to understanding and utilizing the affordances of digital media. The most optimistic and digitally-engaged embrace networked communications' potential as a tool in climate activism for Filipino voices. The less-convinced see the limitations of a technology that is not available to all. Activists from internationally-funded, well-established NGOs were more likely to be in the former category, while activists from national organizations were likely to be in the latter category. Unsurprisingly, the activists from the latter category were also less able to articulate the mechanisms of how digital media communications may aid campaigns or how success could be measured. These activists in particular relied on support from international groups like 350, which can use its existing social media savvy to amplify voices from indigenous, rural, poor, or otherwise less-connected groups. While the national groups often worked with international NGOs like 350, they did so with caution and a recognition that the more established NGOs could take advantage of their relatively disempowered position, not unlike the relationship between activists and journalists. Dulce, of Kalikasan, bristled when I suggested international NGOs could use stories of Philippine victims of climate change, calling fundraising and campaigning efforts by international NGOs using images of Filipinos “racketeering” (Personal communication, May 18, 2015). Gerry Arances of PMCJ said the organization would partner with international NGOs “on a cautionary engagement, very cautionary” (Personal communication, May 14, 2015). Still, most groups reported a hope that networked digital media would provide opportunities for mobilization as well as campaign progress, to pass around petitions and so on. None of the groups expressed

much desire to allow social media users to play truly engaged roles that would shape the NGOs' goals or campaigns; rather, all groups viewed digital media as a tool for their organizational ends. Again, this echoes the concept of hybrid connective action, in that the NGOs take advantage of the mobilizing capabilities of digital media while still guiding the interactions and behavior of their online supporters.

Only those activists associated with globally-oriented organizations such as 350 or Greenpeace really viewed digital media as borderless/transnational. Americans – to this writer, the villains in the climate change issue – were never targeted by the NGOs. Aside from targeting the Philippine government for failing to provide support for victims of Typhoon Haiyan, or for planning dozens of coal-fired power plants despite accepting the connection between fossil fuels and climate change, the NGOs rarely targeted specific other countries. While digital media provide the opportunity for transnational advocacy networks to form, the NGOs oriented much of their social media use and campaigns toward Filipinos and the Philippine government (with important exceptions being Greenpeace and 350, but that is reflected in their being international organizations).

The orientation of the NGO's campaigns, and thus their social media use, was more national than expected, given the borderless nature of digital media and the global nature of the climate change issue. Still, several of the NGOs had campaigns oriented toward COP21. 350 and PMCJ both participated in civil society actions around COP21 by organizing marches and mobilizing online. Thus, these two NGOs became the focus of the social media analysis. With one organization a U.S.-based international group, and the other a Philippine national group, it allowed for comparison of their behavior and use in the digital public sphere surrounding the transnational event of COP21.

Social media analysis

The social media analysis also addressed **RQ2**: What social movement roles do Twitter posts fulfill?, as well as **RQ3**: How successful are climate activists in penetrating a transnational digital public sphere, Twitter, with their chosen messages?, and **RQ4**: How are developing-nation activist voices heard in the transnational digital public sphere created by networked communication as displayed on Twitter?

To provide some general descriptive statistics, first, computational analysis was conducted to examine the volume of climate activist messaging on Twitter using #climatemarch and #nowisthetime, two hashtags promoted by an international NGO and a national NGO, respectively, during COP21 in late 2015. During the entire study period, Nov. 25 to Dec. 15, #climatemarch was used 232,232 times, with the large majority (222,975, or 96%) occurring during T1. Just 2,478 (.001%) #climatemarch tweets were posted in T2. During the entire study period, #nowisthetime was posted 2,382 times, with 1,331 (55.9%) posted during T1 and 488 (20.5%) posted during T2.

To address **RQ2**: What social movement roles do Twitter posts fulfill?, each tweet was coded for presence or absence of five roles: mobilization, scope enlargement, validation, commitment to next steps, and conflict. First, the random sample of tweets from #climatemarch were analyzed (N = 1808; 45 tweets from this population did not meet any of the social movement role requirements, and so 1763 tweets are reported in the analysis). Pairwise comparisons showed that #climatemarch tweets that supported the climate change issue were significantly more likely to play a mobilizing role compared to tweets that were skeptical ($z = 59.9, p < .001$). While much less frequent than mobilizing tweets, which comprised 72.3% of the sample, supportive tweets were also more likely

than skeptical tweets to express commitment to next steps ($z = 11, p < .001$). Skeptical tweets outperformed supportive tweets in terms of the scope enlargement role ($z = -2, p < .01$) and the conflict role ($z = -22.8, p < .001$). See Table 1.

Table 1: Social movement roles in #climatemarch, comparison across roles by supporters and skeptics

	Mobilization	Scope enlargement	Validation	Commitment to next steps	Conflict	Total
Support	1282 (79.4%)*	141 (8.7%)*	73 (4.5%)	112 (6.9%)*	6 (.4%)*	1614
Against/skeptic	2 (1.3%)*	22 (14.8%)*	8 (5.4%)	0*	117 (78.5%)*	149

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

For tweets containing #nowisthetime ($N = 938$; 610 tweets did not meet any of the social movement roles, resulting in an analysis of 328 tweets), the analysis included pro- and anti- tweets for both the climate change and gun control issues. First, social movement role was compared between pro- and anti- climate change tweets, and pro- and anti- gun control tweets. In climate change-related tweets, no anti-climate change sentiment occurred. Therefore, no statistical analysis was conducted to demonstrate that pro-climate change tweets expressed more social movement roles; it was clear from the absence of any anti-climate change sentiment that skeptical voices were not participating in this hashtag. For tweets related to gun control, the n on each category was beneath the threshold for meaningful statistical analysis with the exception of the validation category. There, anti-gun control tweets were significantly more likely to validate than pro-gun control tweets ($z = -2.4, p < .01$). However, the most notable finding from the analysis of #nowisthetime was that the discussion was bifurcated between pro-climate change activists and anti-gun control activists, two unrelated social movement conversations. Their natural debate partners were nearly (in the case of gun control) and totally (in the

case of climate change) absent. In addition, climate activists were likely to use the hashtag to mobilize supporters, while gun control skeptics used the hashtag to seek validation for their perspective, demonstrating two logics of using networked media.

Table 2: Social movement roles in #nowisthetime, comparison across supporters and skeptics on climate change and gun control

	Mobilization	Scope enlargement	Validation	Commitment to next steps	Conflict	Total
Climate change						
Support	238	2	4	8	0	252
Against/skeptic	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gun control						
Support	2	0	1 (25%)**	1	0	4
Against/skeptic	7	1	57 (79%)**	7	0	72

** $p < .01$

To address **RQ3**: How successful are climate activists in penetrating a transnational digital public sphere, Twitter, with their chosen messages?, descriptive statistics were first examined. By clear measure, #climatemarch was more successful than #nowisthetime. #climatemarch was promoted by 350 to its hundreds of partner organizations around the world, so it is not surprising that #nowisthetime, promoted by a national NGO in the Philippines, would struggle in comparison. However, #nowisthetime appeared to have more staying power, dropping by 63% in T2 compared to #climatemarch’s 99%.

I searched for sample tweet language taken from activist toolkits provided by 350 and PMCJ. Three sample tweets were provided by 350, while two more were provided by PMCJ. (It should be noted that PMCJ and 350 worked together on the Philippine version of the climate march; PMCJ simply modified/added to the list of sample tweets that 350 had provided.) Of the five sample tweets, only two were posted at all during the study period, and both were from the original 350 toolkit. The tweets that were posted were, “All over the world, people are fighting for the places they love,” which was posted 55

times in T1, and “On the eve of the big UN summit, the climate movement is taking to the streets,” which was posted 5 times in T1. Clearly, there was little enthusiasm for the NGOs’ sample tweet language.

However, another way to measure the success of NGOs’ messaging was to look at the valence toward the climate change issue. Did users of the #climatemarch hashtag fall in line and support the issue, or was it used to express skepticism toward the issue? In #climatemarch, the tweets were overwhelming supportive of the climate change issue in both T1 and T2. However, there was a significant drop in support from T1 to T2 ($z = 2.88, p < .001$) and a significant increase in anti-climate change valence as opponents seized a small portion of the sphere ($z = -3.44, p < .001$), as shown in Table 3. Only a small percentage, under 3% in both time periods, of tweets were unrelated to climate change, meaning that #climatemarch stayed on topic.

Table 3: Valence toward climate change in #climatemarch

	T1: 11/25-12/1	T2: 12/9-12/15
Support climate change	990 (93.2%)*	667 (89.4%)*
Anti climate change	47 (4.4%)*	59 (7.9%)*
Unrelated	25 (2.3%)	20 (2.6%)
Total	1062	746

*** $p < .001$

In #nowisthetime, however, nearly half (47.6%) of the sample was actually related to the gun control issue, not climate change. As discussed earlier, the White House promoted #nowisthetime as part of its push for gun control legislation in 2013. While the White House’s active promotion of the campaign and its hashtag had ended, the hashtag’s life continued on Twitter. Thus, the results for #nowisthetime are less tidy than the orderly #climatemarch. Support for climate change experienced a dramatic dropoff from T1 to T2 ($z = 23.2; p < .001$). Support for gun control legislation showed a

significant decrease from T1 to T2 ($z = 30.8, p < .001$), but the number of tweets per time period was so low as to make support for gun control virtually nil in the data set. Instead, while climate change-related tweets outnumbered anti-gun control tweets in T1, anti-gun control sentiment dominated in T2, maintaining a presence in both time periods while climate change-related tweets all but disappeared in T2. Anti-gun control tweets experienced a jump in proportions for T2 ($z = -6.9, p < .001$), as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Valence toward climate change and gun control in #nowisthetime, time period comparison

	T1: 11/25-12/1	T2: 12/9-12/15
Climate change		
Support	300 (49.6%)*	5 (1.5%)*
Against/Skeptic	0	0
Unrelated	303 (50.5%)*	330 (98.5%)*
Gun control		
Support	4 (.6%)*	7 (2.1%)*
Against/Skeptic	230 (38%)*	206 (61.5%)*
Unrelated	369 (61%)*	122 (36.4%)*
Total	603	335

*** $p < .001$

The valence results for #nowisthetime demonstrate the competitiveness of messages in the digital public sphere. While activists were actively promoting the climate change issue in the days before COP21, climate-related #nowisthetime tweets outnumbered gun control-related tweets, and were overwhelmingly positive toward the climate change issue. However, gun control-related tweets persisted, despite the absence of the White House’s promotion of the hashtag. This suggests that other parties were continuing to promote the hashtag, although, interestingly, not in favor of gun control. The valence toward gun control was negative. After official promotion by pro-gun control groups, such as the White House and NGOs associated with gun control, the hashtag persisted as an outlet for anti-gun control voices.

Lastly, the analysis of *who* was using Twitter addressed **RQ3** by displaying what types of actors were involved in the digital public sphere. The top 50 users and mentions for #climatemarch and #nowisthetime were coded activist, media, elite/official, public, or other. In #climatemarch, the users who posted the most were largely activists in both T1 (84%) and T2 (66%), but there was a significant drop in activist users in T2 ($z = 2.12, p < .01$). The difference was made up by an increase in media ($z = -1.7, p < .05$) and users

Table 5: Users and mentions in #climatemarch, comparison across time periods

Users	T1: 11/25-12/1	T2: 12/9-12/15
Activists	42 (84%)**	33 (66%)**
Media	1 (2%)*	5 (10%)*
Elite/Official	1 (2%)	0
Public	6 (12%)	9 (18%)
Other	0*	3 (6%)*
Total	50	50
Mentions		
Activists	12 (24%)	13 (26%)
Media	3 (6%)	4 (8%)
Elite/Official	4 (8%)	4 (8%)
Public	1 (2%)	5 (10%)
Other	30 (60%)	24 (48%)
Total	50	50

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Table 6: Users and mentions in #nowisthetime, comparison across time periods

Users	T1: 11/25-12/1	T2: 12/9-12/15
Activists	37 (74%***)	22 (44%***)
Media	3 (6%)	6 (12%)
Elite/Official	0	1 (2%)
Public	7 (14%***)	18 (36%***)
Other	3 (6%)	3 (6%)
Total	50	50
Mentions		
Activists	17 (34%)	14 (28%)
Media	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
Elite/Official	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
Public	6 (12%)	8 (16%)
Other	23 (46%)	24 (48%)
Total	50	50

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

who could not be categorized ($z = -1.7, p < .05$). Interestingly, while there were no significant differences across time periods for mentions (users who were tagged), nearly half or more were users who were coded “other,” meaning the pages had been deleted, did not exist, or had not tweeted during the study period (60% for T1 and 48% for T2). See Table 5.

While activists also dominated #nowisthetime, they experienced an even greater decline in T2 (74% to 44%; $z = 3.2, p < .001$). The difference was made up by an increase in voices from the public ($z = -2.6, p < .001$). And like #climatemarch, there were no significant changes in mentions across time periods. However, nearly half the sample of mentions (46% in T1 and 48% in T2) were coded “other.” See Table 6.

The results for **RQ3**: How successful are climate activists in penetrating a transnational digital public sphere, Twitter, with their chosen messages? are, then, mixed. When the hashtag was associated with a discrete event, such as #climatemarch, activists were more successful in keeping the conversation on topic and in favor of their cause. But when active promotion by NGOs ended, the hashtag died, as in #climatemarch, which all but disappeared in T2, or took on a life of its own, as did #nowisthetime. Pro-gun advocates hijacked #nowisthetime to the point that gun control voices were rarely associated with the hashtag. However, even if #nowisthetime had remained a venue for pro-gun control discourse, it still would have provided competition for PMCJ and its use for #nowisthetime as a rallying cry for climate change advocacy.

In addition, activists were the most common group of users who posted content. In this regard, they were likely able to control the messaging even though posters declined to use the official sample tweet language provided by NGOs. Instead their

cooperation can be noted in the high percentage of conversation dominated by activists and the positive valence toward the climate change issue in both hashtags. The media, elites or officials, and the public comprised a much smaller portion of the top content creators, creating fewer opportunities for competitive messaging or counterspeech. One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that activists were using Twitter to mobilize, not to target officials or explicitly pressure news media into paying attention (as evidenced by the few mentions of elites/officials and the news media). Instead, the activists worked to create a positive digital space for activist expression. In this, they succeeded. Anti-climate change sentiment was absent throughout the hashtag. Anti-gun control activists experienced similar success. Pro-gun control voices were also virtually absent. Thus while both conversations were happening on the #nowisthetime hashtag, they never interacted and may as well have happened in different universes. Each provided a miniature echo chamber rather than a place for genuine debate, undermining the function of Twitter as a true town square.

Another interesting finding was the jump in mentions of usernames that did not exist, had been deleted, had not posted during the study period, and/or were utterly unrelated to climate change or gun control. This included usernames like @fascism, @bernie, and @hillary (accounts unrelated to presidential candidates Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton, who were sometimes invoked by anti-gun control posters), and @sanbernadino (an empty account unrelated to the California town where a mass shooting took place in 2015). Again, this suggests that users (namely, activists) were not using Twitter for campaign targets or to actually converse with the top mentioned accounts. They were not actually interested in utilizing the borderless nature of Twitter

by tagging accounts relevant to their campaigns. Rather, mentioning an account such as @fascism or a top political figure – even if it was not that figure’s actual Twitter account – was a discursive move that was part of the grammar of Twitter; a political expression rather than an actual connection.

To address **RQ4**: How are developing-nation activist voices heard in the transnational digital public sphere created by networked communication as displayed on Twitter?, I focused only on #climatemarch tweets. This was due to the low volume of #nowisthetime tweets (2,382 compared to 232,232 #climatemarch tweets for the entire study period). Also, #climatemarch was explicitly connected to a transnational campaign by 350 to hold climate marches around the world on the same date in advance of COP21. Because of 350’s explicit efforts to connect to hundreds of activist groups and formal NGOs around the world, it could be expected that #climatemarch would indeed reflect a transnational digital public sphere. Time zone data were available in 68% of #climatemarch tweets. This data showed the city and number of tweets associated with each city. The city level data were recoded into country-level data. Countries with a maximum of 9 tweets or less were eliminated, resulting in 87 countries included in the analysis. The analysis comprised 159,491 tweets. Due to a quirk of Twitter’s metadata, tweets from the U.S. and Canada were collapsed into one category. Since the RQ was concerned with activists in developing vs. developed nations, this did not affect the findings. Using software from MapsData, I created a map visually displaying the volume of tweets by country represented by bubbles. See Figure 2.

The visual depiction demonstrates that larger economies, particularly in Europe or North America, dominated #climatemarch posts. However, #climatemarch succeeded in

reaching many corners of the globe, with a fewer amount of posts scattered over the entire planet. A closer look at the data confirms this first assessment. The 87 countries with 10 or more posts were categorized as developed, emerging, or developing based on an economic assessment by the U.N. (Country Classifications, 2014). Emerging economies were rolled into the developing nations bucket with little effect on the findings, as only one country listed (Serbia) was considered an emerging economy by the U.N. Again, developed economies dominated Twitter volume. They were responsible for 134,120 tweets (84.1% of the tweets that included time zone data) ($M = 6,706$; $SD = 12,364.5$). Meanwhile, developing nations produced 25,371 tweets (15.9% of the total tweets that included time zone data) ($M = 378.7$; $SD = 610.9$). See Table 7 for the top 30 countries represented in the analysis.

In order to evaluate this RQ, however, the data must be compared to extant data on Twitter geography and volume independent of this data set. Twitter use largely mirrors available electricity. An overlay of a global map of tweets with available

Table 7: Top 30 Countries By Volume of Tweets

Country	Tweets	Country	Tweets	Country	Tweets
U.S./Canada ¹	54,337	Greenland ¹	2,691	Serbia ²	1,031
U.K. ¹	22,775	Morocco ³	2,583	Chile ³	994
Netherlands ¹	11,868	Brazil	2,483	Switzerland ¹	965
Australia ¹	7,712	Ireland ¹	2,296	China ³	943
Spain ¹	5,923	Germany ¹	2,199	South Africa ³	926
Greece ¹	4,927	Mexico ³	2,042	Japan ¹	799
Italy ¹	4,521	Sweden ¹	1,681	Malaysia ³	726
France ¹	3,844	India ³	1,618	Denmark ¹	557
New Zealand ¹	3,485	Belgium ¹	1,427	Finland ¹	555
Ecuador ³	2,740	Slovenia ¹	1,169	Pakistan ³	513

¹ Developed economies

² Emerging economies

³ Developing economies

georeferencing information in their metadata by Leetaru et al. showed substantial correlation with a global map of available electricity, with the exceptions of Iran and China, where Twitter is banned (Leetaru et al., 2013). The authors concluded that the map, despite only drawing on the 3% of tweets that included specific location metadata, was highly representative of where Twitter users would be found (Leetaru et al., 2013). Figure 3, from Leetaru et al., shows the map of expected average Twitter activity. A visual comparison shows some overlaps: North America and Europe dominate on both maps. However, the Middle East, Asia – particularly Japan and Southeast Asia – the Caribbean, and South and Central America seem relatively underrepresented on the #climatemarch map. Africa is fairly dark on both maps, with an important exception of Morocco, which was the 12th most common country using #climatemarch but is dark on the map of expected Twitter activity. Similarly, Ecuador's #climatemarch traffic is as large as Brazil's, but according to the map of expected activity, it should be smaller.

Overall, however, #climatemarch activity largely reflected expected geographic patterns of Twitter use where wealthy developed nations dominate, and was even less present than expected in large swaths of the developing world. There were important exceptions, however. Morocco and Ecuador beat expectations to rank in the top 12 countries. This could be due to exceptionally good mobilization by NGOs partnering with 350 in those countries. It shows that Twitter does offer an opportunity for developing nations to participate in a transnational discussion, although there is still ground to make up. Morocco and Ecuador produced just one-tenth of the volume of tweets that came from the U.S. and Canada.

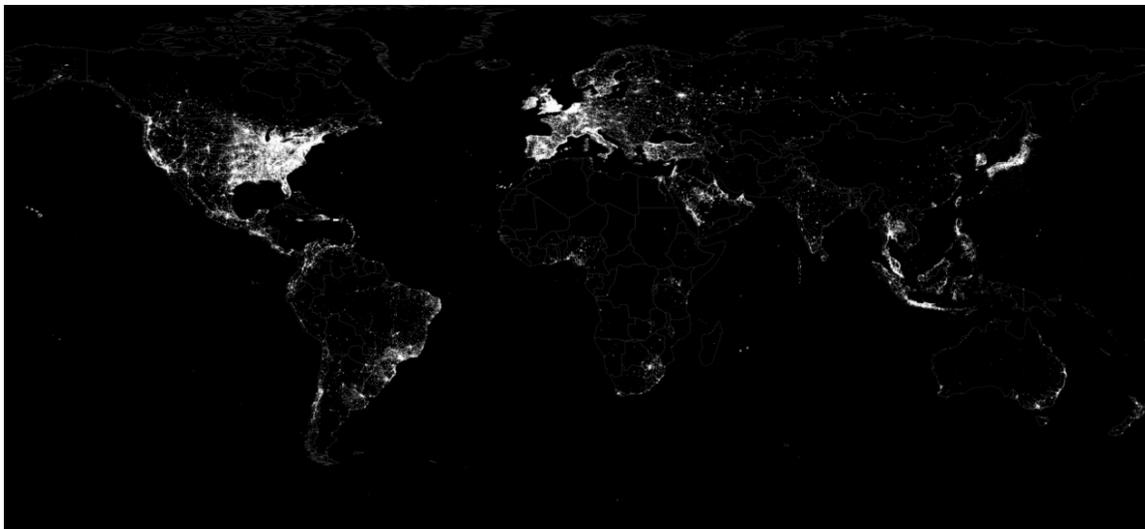
Qualitative analysis

Upon concluding the quantitative analysis, one issue needed clarification to shed more light on the dynamics between groups. I wondered about the differing roles taken

Figure 2: #climatemarch volume by country



Figure 3: Expected global Twitter activity



From Leetaru et al., 2013. All Exact Location coordinates in the Twitter Decahose 23 October 2012 to 30 November 2012.

on by climate change and anti-gun control advocates on Twitter (mobilizing for the former, and validating for the latter). More generally, the competition between climate and anti-gun control advocates warranted a closer inspection. Climate change advocates were very likely to use Twitter to mobilize. Mobilizing posts encouraged people to join the official civil society events, marveled at the scale of the event, and highlighted the novelty of activists from varying groups and in funny costumes or with moving messages written on their signs. See Figure 4 for an example of a mobilizing post. Using Twitter for mobilizing had both organizational and discursive effects. First, it encouraged people to join the event. Second, it depicted the event as successful. Anti-gun control advocates, however, used Twitter largely to validate their views. Validation came from external sources, such as quotes from former presidents or statistics on gun control; for example, graphs that purported to show no link between violence and gun ownership. See Figure 5 for an example. It makes sense that climate activists, focused on an actual event – a demonstration ahead of COP21 – would focus on the mobilizing abilities of digital media. Anti-gun control advocates, however, had no such offline event to focus upon. Instead, they pumped out tweets that shored up their point of view in order to influence, or simply flood, the conversation about gun control with their perspective.

A look at the top posters and their identities for climate activists and anti-gun control activists reveals another layer to types of advocacy on Twitter. Table 11 shows the top ten posters in #nowisthetime for T1. Only one of the top ten is climate-related - @gpph, the official page for Greenpeace's Philippine office. The rest are anti-gun control advocates or aggregators (accounts that appear to automatically post news links related to guns), general conservative activists, or apparently unrelated, as in the case of

@swee24myswee2, which posted more about Avon products than the similarly-ranked @avonrepct, an account that posted almost exclusively about supporting anti-gun control measures. The volume of tweets per account dramatically dropped off after the first three accounts. The top two accounts were anti-gun control advocates, and while the @damnit_obama account had been suspended by the time of analysis, one can guess from its handle that it was at least a general conservative advocacy account. See Table 11. Four of the top ten accounts appeared to be bots or some kind of automated account. The top two, @manxsv and @xmansv, were anonymous accounts that pumped out thousands of tweets specifically attacking gun control measures, legislation, and NGOs, often with crudely-created memes with nonsensical phrasing, quotes or statistics

Table 8: Top usernames in #nowisthetime, T1

Username	Tweets	Identity
Manxsv	344	Anti-gun control advocate
Xmansv	261	Anti-gun control advocate
Damniti_obama	214	Account suspended
Gpph	26	Environmental NGO
Uccshooting	21	Anti-gun control aggregator
Oregonshooting	19	Anti-gun control aggregator
Ishillaryinjail	19	Anti-Hillary Clinton advocate
Sir_max	18	Anti-gun control advocate
Avonrepct	17	Anti-gun control advocate
Swee24myswee2	11	Avon makeup re-tweeter

that were impossible to verify, and images of political enemies or, rather frequently, moms openly carrying guns. See Figure 5 for examples of these kinds of posts. Two accounts, @uccshooting and @oregonshooting, appeared to be the same kind of automated account that posted links to news stories about guns.

It is beyond the scope of this project to determine if these accounts actually belonged to human actors. And if they were bots, it is also beyond the scope of this project to determine who programmed them – perhaps an anti-gun control NGO such as

Figure 4: Mobilizing tweet

 **Jenny Tuazon**
@jennytuazn Follow

Tens of thousands Filipinos unite for
[#climatejustice!](#) [#climatemarch](#)
[#actionsforclimate](#) [#NowIsTheTime](#) [#cop21](#)

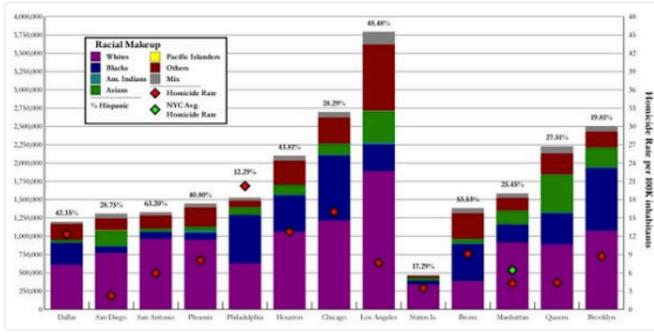


RETWEETS **283** LIKES **259**

Figure 5: Validating tweet

 **X-Man**
@XManSV Follow

[#Obama](#) [#NowIsTheTime](#) [#HillaryClinton](#)
[#BenghaziCommittee](#) [#GunReform](#)
[#OathKeepers](#) [#RKBA](#) [#GunOwners](#)



RETWEET **1** LIKE **1**

8:30 PM - 25 Nov 2015

Figure 6: Typical anti-gun control tweet

 **Ecks Mannix**
@ManXsv  

WOW WOW LIOK #Obama #NowIsTheTime
#Hillary #HillaryClinton #GunSense
#MomsDemand #GunControl



11:01 PM - 9 Dec 2015



the NRA. Regardless of the source of these tweets, it is clear that the effect for Philippine climate advocates was that it was extremely difficult for them to break through in the #nowisthetime hashtag. They had some success; pro-climate change tweets did moderately well in T1, as noted earlier. But they were wading into already muddled waters. Also, interestingly, the top #nowisthetime users, aside from @swhee24myswee2, all appeared to be at the very least advocacy-adjacent. This indicates that Twitter is a highly contested space with many special interest groups at work.

Conclusion

Professional activists turn to the digital space not necessarily because it provides a wealth of uncaptured information and energy that can be transformed into advocacy. Rather, professional activists view networked digital communications as a resource for their organizational goals. They take advantage of the offerings of networked communications' horizontal organization, free content creating and sharing, and so on, but while maintaining (or attempting to maintain) gentle control of the conversation. This is an expression of Bennett and Segerberg's (2013) hybrid connective action, a middle point between traditional top-down communications and fully free and open Internet mob-type swarms of information. Like any user of a digital medium, activists envision an imagined audience (Marwick & boyd, 2010) – one that will, largely, do their bidding. This is a subversion of the ideal of the networked space as a purely democratic one. Walker (2014) described how “grassroots for hire” can promote participatory inequality. While the professional NGOs described here may not have actually hired consultants to shape public discourse, as described in Walker's study on the commercialization of public participation, they were keenly interested in shaping the discourse to their ends.

The end result was a multitude of transnational public spheres that rarely interacted, but instead provided echo chambers for the voices NGOs wanted to be heard in both the cases of climate change and gun control. NGOs are not very interested in fostering actual debate. They are instead seeking support and looking to mobilize their base (Hestres, 2014).

For activists from a developing nation, however, the advantages of digital media are still difficult to grasp. Without a connection to a strong support system from an international NGO, Filipino activists struggled to be heard in the digital public sphere. And despite the availability of the technology, they worked to create transnational advocacy networks only some of the time; it was only when a local story could serve a global movement or an international NGO's audience – the wealthy, First World audience, or the audience of the negotiators at COP21. Perhaps these audiences are the same, as the big carbon-polluting countries were the ones whose cooperation was most-needed at COP21. Overall, however, the national NGOs tended to have national audiences in mind with their social media use. When they did orient themselves transnationally, they often required the assistance of international NGOs, with whom they crafted wary partnerships. National NGOs were concerned that they would give up sovereignty in these partnerships. 350 and Greenpeace have a huge reach, but arguably control the ultimate message. But when national NGOs work on their own messages, they must be careful in their strategies. They will still compete for attention, as seen in #nowisthetime and its co-option by anti-gun control advocates (it was also a vague enough term that it was used in general parlance by other Twitter posters talking about going to the gym and so on; only about one-third of the #nowisthetime tweets were

related to gun control *or* climate change). Also, activists (and digital media researchers) should not underestimate the power of bots, spam, or automated accounts. “Genuine” activists are still competing for eyeballs with these bursts of content-creators. Recognizing their mark on the landscape allows researchers to better understand the digital media sphere, and lets activists have more success in choosing strategies that further their control of the message.

Activists used social media to fulfill only a few social movement roles. Mobilization was the primary use, and echoes other scholars’ findings that climate activists use social media to reach the converted rather than change minds or influence policymakers (Hestres, 2014). Anti-gun control advocates, meanwhile, relied primarily on validation as the role of social media, promoting statistics and facts that shored up their perspectives on gun control. The disparity here shows that social media do not play a one-size-fits-all role, even in the case of the examination of one platform, Twitter. The logics of social media are fluid and can be applied in different ways in different scenarios, ultimately fitting to the logics of the organizations guiding the communications. However, given that social media were rarely found to play the other social movement roles – scope enlargement and commitment to next steps – one can wonder whether NGOs are missing the opportunity to use networked media for these roles, or whether networked media is not well-suited. It is possible that other forms of social media, such as Facebook, may play the other roles more suitably than Twitter. In a hybrid media environment, different formats can play ever-more specific roles in daily life (Chadwick, 2013). These results also showed that activist posts on Twitter rarely, at least in the case of these issues, focused on conflict. Combined with the literature on

conflict in activist coverage in the news media, and the interview findings that news media attention still matters deeply to climate activists, it seems that Twitter is no replacement for the traditional role that news media play in social movements. It is merely another opportunity; NGOs consider multiple outlets in their public outreach strategies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This sprawling project has given glimpses into three aspects of climate communication in the developing world. This perspective is important because it has been underserved in so many ways. First, the people who are on the forefront of climate change are the most disempowered to do anything about it. They are at an historic disadvantage that draws on decades or even centuries of environmental degradation that has enriched wealthier nations in the form of logging, mining, and other extractive industries; this time the degradation comes in the form of carbon pollution. Their struggles deserve to be heard.

Secondly, scholars have tended to focus on climate communication in the wealthy world (Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014). This is not surprising. Wealthy nations have also been the location of most of the world's climate skepticism, an interesting aspect of climate communication for scholars to explore (Painter, 2011). Climate skepticism is rare or non-existent in the developing world. And many of the world's communication scholars are located in wealthy nations. Research "away from home" brings major expense and often unexpected challenges as cultural differences become clear. An American researcher, this one included, runs a risk of misunderstanding the object of study when it is ensconced in an entirely different social and cultural milieu. Qualitative methods lend themselves well when one's assumptions must be constantly questioned and beliefs re-evaluated. This is humbling work; it is also necessary work. As Olausson and Berglez (2014) noted in their evaluation of two decades of climate communication

scholarship, there is a deep need for scholarship that takes a sociological approach to understanding climate communication in different cultures, particularly amongst the most-vulnerable nations.

Thus, while this project adds to our theoretical understanding of the workings of transnational public spheres, it is less concerned with theory-building than with doing the grunt work of description. The paltry extant research on climate communication in the developing world generally, and the Philippines specifically (which has rarely been the subject of peer-reviewed scholarship on communication), means that these building blocks must be laid. This is not to say that the project offers no theoretical contribution. On the contrary. It informs theories about global journalism and practice, showing that working journalists can conceptually connect their work to transnational climate responsibility but struggle to make those connections on the printed page. The project also responds to social movement scholarship that often treats global civil society as a monolith by elucidating how organizational logics weigh in on social movement actor choices. Chapter 3 showed that organizations bring their own logics to the climate movement, and these organizational logics can work against movement unity even as they build a common frame, in this case, the climate justice frame. And Chapter 4 demonstrated that transnational advocacy networks may exist through networked media, but they are not free from competition from other voices; these networks are not purely democratic.

While there are many findings reported in the previous chapters, I want to touch on a handful of findings that are of special interest and would be worthy of continued investigation.

- Climate journalism has a chance to grow in the Philippines thanks to the growth of online journalism and the gradual convergence of print and online newsrooms in the country. The effect of convergence on Philippine newsrooms norms and practices in an era of social media (unlike convergence in the U.S., which took place before the rise of networked and participatory forms of media), particularly on journalism related to transnational issues like climate change, should be examined.
- The role of culture in journalistic production about climate change cannot be overemphasized. Poor science education limits understanding about climate change even at the governmental level in the Philippines. In order for climate journalism to find an audience, science education and literacy must be addressed more broadly.
- Journalists who had reported on climate change did report a global outlook (Berglez, 2008). However, they were rarely able to translate that global outlook into day-to-day reporting. This has a theoretical implication: What purpose does a global outlook serve for *readers*?
- The climate justice arm of the climate movement, and the climate justice frame, represent a break from conventional climate activism. Conventional climate activism has emphasized an epistemology of science frame, which asks how we know what we know about the physical mechanisms of climate change. News coverage has also largely used this frame, as have climate skeptics, who use it to undermine the possibility of scientific consensus by emphasizing the inherent uncertainty of science. But with

the climate justice movement, the associated climate justice frame now competes with the epistemology of science frame. Climate justice emphasizes a moral responsibility to act on climate change. While activists have been using the frame since the early 2000s, and used its conceptual antecedents for years before that, it entered the mainstream with Pope Francis's encyclical on climate change in 2015, which explicitly called on Catholics to act on climate change as moral citizens of the planet.

- Transnational, networked digital media seem like a natural choice for climate activist communications, given that climate change is about the interrelationships between climate victims and perpetrators. Yet environmental NGOs in the developing world have yet to fully take advantage of this space. Like journalists, they lack the audience. With low Internet availability/knowledge, developing-nation NGOs are limited in their abilities to use the digital space. They are most successful when they are connected with international NGOs. However, they may trade sovereignty for connectivity, compromising on tactics and messages with the better-established international NGOs.
- Developing nation NGOs compete not only with international NGOs, but with other actors in the digital media space. Activists and researchers should not underestimate the level of noise, human- or robot-made, in digital public spheres. Activists must choose their tactics carefully so they are not drowned out. Researchers must attempt to recognize the chaotic

nature of the digital public sphere in their research designs and analyses. Otherwise they risk presenting a version of the networked media space that is much more orderly than it actually is.

Limitations

As with any social scientific endeavor, this project has limitations. The primary limitation is that the interview data were gathered in one fieldwork trip to Manila. The Philippines is a large country with a vibrant culture; it is impossible for a foreign researcher to claim she has grasped every nuance in one bout of fieldwork. The claims made here, then, should be viewed as a sketch that future research can continue to fill in. Interviewing more journalists, including those who have reported on climate-adjacent events like Typhoon Haiyan, but not on the science of climate change, would be illustrative. A more complete look at the climate communication milieu would also examine the work of governmental/political actors. The Philippines has some of the world's strongest laws for mitigating the effects of climate change (Ubac, 2012), although the government has been criticized for failing to follow through on the law (Calunsod, 2014). Government and political actors are a major influence on the Philippine news media; as Mike Ubac of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* noted, one of the major tests of climate change as a national issue in the country was whether a politician would run with climate change on his or her platform. His implication was that *that* would make climate news. The role of government actors looms large. Finally, as with all interview-based data, the presence of the researcher is intricately linked to the actions and words of the interviewees. I rarely felt that activists were “performing” for me. For some of journalists, although certainly not all, I got the impression that my presence – an

American who had traveled around the world to ask them questions about something they rarely reported on – convinced them that climate was an important story, and so they may have oversold their interest in it to me. I responded by reporting my findings conservatively and do not believe I overstated the importance or growth of climate journalism in the Philippines, although of course, future research would be worthwhile.

A last word

International fieldwork is a humbling experience. I am immensely grateful to the participants in this study, who were to a person generous with their time, kind and considerate, and thoughtful in their responses. I am especially grateful to Ricky Nunez, who offered me a desk in the Conservation International office during my time in Manila. The CI office had wired Internet and air conditioning, and it was one of the few offices within five miles of the condo I had found on AirBnB. While I was only able to use the desk at CI a handful of times due to my travels across town for most of my interviews, the gesture meant a lot to an American who felt rather intimidated by the unfamiliarity of the city.

My interviews were conducted across Metro Manila in newsrooms, coffee shops, NGO offices, and most pleasantly, under the thatched roof of a *kubo*, an open-air hut surrounded by leafy plants that was one of the few quiet, green places in the 12-million-strong capital city. Navigating the city proved challenging. Taxis were cheap but difficult to find, as they are too expensive for most Filipinos. I picked my location – a tiny condo next to the city’s latest mega-mall – strategically, halfway between downtown Manila where newsrooms were located and Quezon City, the municipality where government and many NGO offices were located. It wasn’t until I arrived that I realized I had picked

that one desolate neighborhood where taxis refused to go. While there is rail service, the three lines operate in narrow strips of the city; I took the train only once during my many crossings of the city. Jeepneys, the cheap, open-air buses that jam the streets, were too inaccessible for this American; you needed to know exactly where the jeepney was going and how long it would take to get there, and finding that out as a visitor was rather difficult. In an effort to be as accommodating as possible for my participants, I crossed Manila up to three times a day. It was essentially the equivalent of traveling from Harlem to Brooklyn, only there is no real train service, taxis don't want to take you there, and the ones that do appear to follow only the laws of nature, making for a white-knuckled ride. Another challenge of meeting participants in public places, when we did not meet in their offices, is that Manila is loud. Very loud. Finding a spot to interview someone in relative quiet was a challenge. It is one of the most densely-populated cities in the world, and it felt like it.

Lastly, Manila is dangerous. I should note that my interviewees were all professional and exceptionally generous with their time. I am grateful to each for their participation and hospitality. However, my general experience as a foreigner in Manila was uncomfortable. As a tall, pale American woman, I was basically a unicorn in the Philippines. I was the subject of unwanted attention at nearly all times, from my walks at 6 a.m., to inside a taxi, to leaving newsrooms downtown after dark. One taxi driver told me multiple times how much prettier white women were than Filipinas. I made a noncommittal response. Because of the color of their skin, he clarified.

When not conducting interviews, I stayed in my condo as much as possible. This was due not just to exhaustion from the travels across town and the heat, which could

reach 80 degrees by 7 am, but because I felt it was risky to be out in my neighborhood by myself. Even my early morning walks were uncomfortable, as groups of dozens of men waiting for jobs at the construction site behind the condo stared and called to me in Filipino. Perhaps it was wrong for me to feel intimidated, but the frank truth is that I did. Police presence in the Philippines is virtually non-existent. Heavily armed officers stand outside police stations, but that is the only place where they patrol. With the absence of any real police effort, citizens are on their own to protect themselves. Concrete walls with broken glass bottles sticking up from the top are common in the wealthier parts of town. In retrospect, I should have stayed downtown in the financial district, where foreigners and professionals are more common and unlikely to attract attention.

One morning, I arrived for an interview at the Philippine Movement for Climate Justice's office in Quezon City a little bit early. A small man with shaggy hair and a broad smile was standing outside the unmarked office, a two-story white building with a little walled courtyard. He had on a t-shirt that called for indigenous rights in English, so I figured he might be connected with PMCJ. While he didn't really speak English himself, he introduced himself and offered me coffee. In my fieldnotes, I wrote that his name was Vale or Wally. He stayed with me until the campaigner I was interviewing arrived.

A month later I learned his name was Wowie. He was a longtime activist who was involved with numerous trade, indigenous, and environmental movements; his small stature, big smile, and presence at the front of every march, waving a flag or hoisting a placard, made him a bit of a celebrity amongst the activist community. In June, a few weeks after my visit, he was in the PMCJ office by himself when an intruder came in. As

he had his whole life, Wowie fought. He was stabbed 20 times. The killer ransacked the office and left.

Wowie's death was shocking in its randomness. Activism in the Philippines is fraught with dangers, especially if you are protesting mining or logging. A recent report said that nearly three times as many land rights and environmental activists were killed worldwide in 2012 compared to ten years earlier, suggesting a trend (Lahkami, 2014). But Wowie was murdered by a thief. He was murdered simply for being there.

I mention Wowie not to express that I was brushed with danger. I mention it because it highlights the hazard of everyday life in a developing nation. Manila is snarled with traffic that causes its air quality to be so bad that your eyes and throat burn. The river that runs through downtown, the Pasig River, is black with human waste, yet the people living in the slums alongside the water still use it to wash their clothes. Violent crime is an ongoing problem. Simply put, the government is failing to serve its citizens in terms of very basic public health and safety needs. This underscores the big important question: How can a country that cannot meet the simple health and safety needs of its citizens *ever* hope to combat climate change, an abstract idea a million miles away from the lives of Filipinos?

The fact that there are Filipino journalists and activists who had made communicating about climate change their life's mission speaks to the incredible determination and passion of these individuals. Their success will be measured in generations, not years. Thus I hope that my findings, which show the challenges of climate change communication from the developing world perspective, are not seen as

criticism of the efforts of these individuals. Rather it is a catalog of the initial steps toward having a true voice in this most important of modern calamities.

APPENDIX A: Participants

Name	Role	Affiliation
Anna Abad	Climate justice campaigner	Greenpeace
Gerry Arances	National coordinator	Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PM CJ)
Yasmin Arquiza	Editor	Currently, Oceana; previously Associated Press and Bandillo ng Palawan
Chuck Baclogan	Regional communication coordinator	350; previously Greenpeace
TJ Dimacali	Science and technology editor	GMA News Online
Leon Dulce	Campaign coordinator	Kalikasan People's Network for the Environment
Denise Fontanilla	Climate and media campaigner	Asian Peoples' Movement on Debt and Development; previously Aksyon Klima and Haribon Foundation
Leo Laparan	Research head	The Manila Bulletin
Ricky Nunez	Country director	Conservation International
Shaira Panela	Science journalist	Freelance; previously GMA News Online
Aaron Pedrosa	Lawyer	PM CJ; also secretary-general of Sanlakas
Zeph Repollo	Southeast Asia coordinator	350
Pia Ranada	Environmental reporter	Rappler
Purple Romero	Climate change communications specialist	Climate change commission; previously reporter for Rappler
Kristine Sabillo	Editor	Philippine Daily Inquirer
Naderev Saño	Executive director	Greenpeace; previously Our Voices, WWF, and Climate Change Commissioner for the Philippines
Mike Ubac	Editor	Philippine Daily Inquirer
Gregg Yan	Communications and media manager	WWF

APPENDIX B: 350 Activist Toolkit

Global Climate March: Social Media Toolkit

#CLIMATEMARCH

Sample Tweets:

- All over the world, people are fighting for the places they love. Join the Global #ClimateMarch Nov 28-29: <http://globalclimatemarch.org/>
- Climate change is our common threat and the #ClimateMarch can help show what solidarity across borders can do. Join: <http://globalclimatemarch.org/>
- World leaders will still gather in Paris for the climate talks. All over the world people join the #ClimateMarch calling for a better world.
- On the eve of the big UN summit, the climate movement is taking to the streets bit.ly/1Mfx55W #climatemarch
- If governments can't or won't lead, people will. People must. Join the Global #ClimateMarch: <http://globalclimatemarch.org/>
- Tell world leaders we must keep fossil fuels in the ground & move to 100% renewables. Join the Global #ClimateMarch <http://globalclimatemarch.org/>

Sample Facebook Posts:

- The world is at a turning point. 2015 has been the hottest year on record and we must take a stand. Even as climate change fans the flames of conflict in many parts of the world — through drought, displacement, and other compounding factors — a global movement that transcends borders and cultural differences is rising up to confront this common existential threat. Join marches all over the world on November 28-29th.
- The marches and actions happening around the world on November 28-29 can help be a catalyst for a global transformation. The window to act and avert climate catastrophe is small — which is why acting together is so important. The world needs solidarity and love right now, and that's what the global climate movement can bring
- The biggest U.N. climate conference of the decade is happening in Paris soon. The weekend before it starts, the world will stand together for a weekend of global action to send a powerful message to global governments: Keep fossil fuels in the ground and finance a just transition to 100% renewable energy by 2050.

Add your voice and energy to the drumbeat for action.

- 2015 will be the hottest year on record. Renewable energy is cheaper than ever. The biggest U.N. climate conference of the decade is happening soon. Globally people are demanding a better future. Now is the time to take a stand.
- The stakes are high. The opportunity for change has never been brighter, the risks of inaction never darker. During the U.N. climate talks in Paris, world leaders need to hear loud and clear that the age of fossil fuels is coming to an end. It is up to us to make it happen sooner rather than later. Join the Global Climate March on November 28-29
- This is our moment. The opportunity is before us. Together, as a global movement, we can make the U.N. climate talks in Paris about people and power, not polluters and politicians. Join the Global Climate March on November 28-29

APPENDIX C: Philippine Movement for Climate Justice Activist Toolkit



MARCH FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE SOCIAL MEDIA TOOLKIT #NOWISTHETIME | #CLIMATEMARCH

Sample Tweets:

- On the eve of the big UN summit, the climate movement is taking to the streets <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph> #climateMarch #nowisthetime
- If governments can't or won't lead, people will. People must. Join the #ClimateMarch <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph> #nowisthetime
- How many more wake-up calls do we need? #NowIsTheTime for a bold, ambitious climate deal. Join the #ClimateMarch <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph>
- Tell world leaders #nowisthetime to keep fossil fuels in the ground & move to 100% renewables. #ClimateMarch <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph>

Sample Facebook Posts:

- The biggest U.N. climate conference of the decade is happening in Paris soon. The weekend before it starts, the world will stand together for a weekend of global action to send a powerful message to global governments: Keep fossil fuels in the ground and finance a just transition to 100% renewable energy by 2050.

Add your voice and energy to the drumbeat for action >> <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph>

- 2015 will be the hottest year on record.
Renewable energy is cheaper than ever.
The biggest U.N. climate conference of the decade is happening soon.
The Philippines demands a better future.
#Nowisthetime to take a stand >> <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph>
- On the eve of the big U.N summit in Paris, the climate movement is taking to the streets. With climate change in the global spotlight, this is our chance to make the talks work for our movement. This is our chance to set the agenda for ambition >> <http://bit.ly/climateMarchph>
- The stakes are high. The opportunity for change has never been brighter, the risks of inaction never darker. During the U.N. climate talks in Paris, world leaders need to hear loud and clear

APPENDIX D: Coding Protocol

Instructions: Copy and paste the Twitter ID number into your browser using the following format: <https://twitter.com/anyuser/status/twitterIDnumber>. Read the tweet, using Google Translate to translate into English if needed. Also view any image or link that may be associated with the tweet. The entirety of the tweet, including an evaluation of the image or link, should be reflected in your judgment of the coding questions. Please note when a tweet has been deleted.

1. Does the tweet express *support* or *skepticism/criticism* toward the climate change issue? (Meaning, climate change is a human-caused phenomenon) Tweets that mention climate change uncritically should be coded as “support.” Only tweets that are explicitly critical/skeptical toward the issue should be coded “skepticism.”

Tweet is unrelated to climate change (0)

Support (1)

Skepticism (2)

2. Does the tweet express *support* or *skepticism/criticism* toward gun control?

Tweet is unrelated to gun control (0)

Supports gun control (1)

Skepticism/criticism of gun control (2)

3. Does the tweet encourage *mobilization* of participants by explaining where to show up, expressing excitement at participation, focusing on large turnout, emphasizing the spectacle/size of the event, and so on?

No (0)

Yes (1)

4. Does the tweet invite *scope enlargement*, as in broadening the specific climate issue to something related or more general, such as veganism or the economy?

No (0)

Yes (1)

5. Does the tweet promote *validation*, or some reference to an external event/fact/statement that validates the perspective of the tweeter? Often this comes in the form of facts from respected sources such as official government polls or media coverage.

No (0)

Yes (1)

6. Does the tweet reference *commitment to next steps* following the rally/event/march, such as donating, voting, writing legislators, attending a future event?

No (0)

Yes (1)

7. Does the tweet focus on *conflict*, such as between activists or between activists and the police?

No (0)

Yes (1)

Coding Protocol for Users/Mentions

Activist: Users who used Twitter to post exclusively or almost exclusively about social change issues. They were often identified as professional activists by the listing of a professional NGO in their Twitter bios. If they did not explicitly state they were professional activists on their Twitter page, they were considered as “activist” if they appeared to use Twitter mostly or entirely to promote social change issues. Note: They did not have to be supportive of progressive social change to be counted as “activist”; conservative activists were also represented in this category.

Activist: 1

Media: An official media account or professional journalist identified as such in their Twitter handles or bios. This included mainstream media outlets such as traditional television stations and newspapers as well as alternative outlets focused on environmental issues, such as @grist. In addition, content-sharing sites such as @fromcentralprk, a photography aggregation site, were coded as media.

Media: 2

Elite/Official: The Twitter pages of politicians, celebrities, and official organizations (other than activist organizations, which were coded as activist).

Elite/Official: 3

Public: A user who appeared to have no activist or media relationship and used Twitter for purposes other than exclusively promoting social change issues.

Public: 4

Other: A user who could not be placed in the above categories because their page had been deleted, did not exist, or had not tweeted in the examined time period.

Other: 5

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