

**SHIFTING THE FOCUS FROM GLOBAL
NORTH TO GLOBAL SOUTH: AN
INTEGRATIONIST ECO-LINGUISTIC
APPROACH TO CLIMATE JUSTICE
DISCOURSE**

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**Shifting the focus from Global North to Global South: An
Integrationist Eco-linguistic Approach to Climate Justice
Discourse**

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Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **Shifting the focus from Global North to Global South: An Integrationist Eco-linguistic Approach to Climate Justice Discourse** submitted by me in partial fulfilment of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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ABSTRACT

Title: Shifting the focus from Global North to Global South: An Integrationist Eco-linguistic Approach to Climate Justice Discourse

The study aimed to analyze climate justice discourse at a broader scale in order to look at the differing and overlapping dimensions of its discourse in the newspaper media of the Global North and Global South. It also explored the nature of climate justice discourse with special reference to the Global South. Likewise, the study specifically shed light on the Pakistani newspaper media discourse on climate justice to ascertain the presence of erasure and salience patterns in it. The data for the study comprised thirty (30) newspaper articles. The data analysis method utilized for the study was eco-critical discourse analysis. The analytical framework used for this study was conceptualized by taking ideas from Bang and Door's (2007) Model of Social Praxis and Stibbe's (2015) idea of Discourses (beneficial, ambivalent, and destructive), Erasure, and Salience. The major findings of the study highlight that there are some overlapping dimensions in the discourse of Global North and Global South; however, there are many dissimilarities owing to different priorities and overall conditions of the developed and the developing world. Additionally, the study established that the discourse of the Global North is beneficial, and at the same time ambivalent towards the Global South. The ambivalence has also been observed towards the central ideas of the climate justice debate. This ambivalence can turn into a destructive discourse if not dealt with properly. On the other hand, the discourse of Global South is essentially beneficial as it upholds the principles of climate justice. Lastly, the discourse produced in Pakistani newspapers represents climate justice via different salience patterns, but there are instances of erasure as well, which makes it less effective. The future research may focus on climate justice via different media and sources.

Key terms: climate justice, eco-critical, discourse, Global North, Global South

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM.....	ii
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
DEDICATION.....	xii
 1. INTRODUCTION	 1
1.1 Background and Context of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Research Objectives	4
1.4 Research Questions.....	5
1.5 Research Methodology	5
1.5.1 Method of data analysis	5
1.6 Significance and Rationale of the Study	6
1.7 Delimitation of the Study	6
1.8 Limitation of the Study	6
1.9 Organization of the Study	7
 2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	 8
2.1 Integrationist Perspective of Eco-linguistics.....	8
2.2 Eco-critical Discourse Analysis	9
2.3 Erasure and Salience	11
2.4 Climate Justice	12
2.5 Global North and Global South	16
2.6 Research Gap	18
 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	 19
3.1 Research Design.....	19
3.2 Method of Data Collection.....	19

3.3 Population and Sample	19
3.4 Method of Data Analysis	20
3.5 Analytical Framework	21
3.5.1 Dialogue model of social praxis.....	21
3.5.1.1 Ideologies	22
3.5.1.2 Sociologies	22
3.5.1.3 Biologies	22
3.5.2 Stibbe (2015): Discourses, erasure and salience	22
3.5.2.1 Destructive discourses	23
3.5.2.2 Ambivalent discourses.....	23
3.5.2.3 Beneficial discourses:	23
3.5.3 Erasure	24
3.5.4 Salience	25
4. DATA ANALYSIS	27
4.1 Dimensions of Climate Justice Discourse of Global North	27
4.1.1 Ideologies	27
4.1.2 Sociologies	32
4.1.3 Biologies	34
4.2 Dimensions of Climate Justice Discourse of the Global South	36
4.2.1 Ideologies	36
4.2.2 Sociologies	39
4.2.3 Biologies	42
4.3 Global North and Nature of Climate Justice Discourse	45
4.3.1 Beneficial discourses.....	45
4.3.2 Ambivalent discourses	48
4.4 Global South and Nature of Climate Justice Discourse	50
4.5 Erasure and Salience: Representation of Climate Justice Discourse in Pakistani Newspapers ..	55
4.5.1 Erasure	55
4.5.2 Low salience	56
4.5.3 High salience.....	57
5. DISCUSSION, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	61
5.1 Findings.....	61
5.2 Discussion and Reflections on Research Questions.....	62
5.2.1 Reflections on first research question	62
5.2.2 Reflections on second research question.....	63

5.2.3 Reflections on third research question	64
5.3 Conclusion	65
5.4 Recommendations.....	66
REFERENCES	67
ANNEXURE I: Sample for the Study	71

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sample collection breakdown21

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Analytical Framework for the study.....	27
Figure 2: Dimensions of Climate justice discourse in Global North and Global South derived from the data analysis.....	45

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
2	CNN	Cable News Network
3	COP	Conference of Parties
4	GHG	Greenhouse Gases
5	IPCC	Inter-government Panel on Climate Change
6	NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
7	UN	United Nations
8	UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
9.	SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Mother and my late Dad for their love, endless support and encouragement. Thank you for teaching me to be a kind and optimistic person.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Context of the Study

Climate justice got prominence as an idea and a movement amid rapid climate change and its manifestations worldwide. Climate justice as defined by Robinson and Shine (2018) is ‘climate justice links human rights and development to achieve a human-centered approach, safeguarding the rights of the most vulnerable and sharing the burdens and benefits of climate change and its resolution equitably and fairly’(p. 564). Climate justice claims that the impact of climate change is not equally distributed as a bigger part of the globe known as the third world countries or developing countries are at a higher risk than the developed countries or the first world countries that have the capacity to deal with the effects of climate change. This sheer injustice drives the philosophy of climate justice as the poor nations who have little contribution towards the menace of climate change are suffering the most due to its impacts. The idea of climate justice can be summed up in the following lines:

While the citizens of the rich world are protected from harm, the poor, the vulnerable and the hungry are exposed to the harsh reality of climate change in their everyday lives. Put bluntly, the world’s poor are being harmed through a problem that is not of their making. The footprint of the Malawian farmer or the Haitian slum dweller barely registers in the Earth’s atmosphere. (Archbishop Desmond Tut - Climate Justice for a Changing Planet, 2009, p. xv)

This study highlights the dimensions of the discourse of climate justice with special regard to written discourse in the form of newspaper articles published in the Global North and Global South. Climate justice has multiple dimensions that have been gaining importance in the discourse lately. The often quoted dimensions include economic justice which stands for the criticism of capitalism and talks about the issues of low-income communities and countries. It also deals with the social dimension which highlights the drawbacks of capitalism giving rise to the class system. Moreover, racial justice and gender-related justice are other sub-

dimensions of social justice. Similarly, political justice is another such aspect that is frequently discussed in climate justice discourse and it brings to light the involvement and participation in policy-making with reference to tackling and reducing the climate change impacts. There are other dimensions like physical environmental, geographical, and so on. The study also explores the nature (beneficial, ambivalent, or destructive) of the discourse of climate justice that is being produced in the Global North, and the Global South. The discourse of climate justice has been explored in the Pakistani context as well. The binaries of Global North and Global South are usually mentioned while discussing international politics, international economy, climate change, and climate justice. According to Muller (2020), Global North means the rich countries, often called the First World countries. However, the Global South often stands for the poor countries commonly known as the Third World countries.

As climate change has become a global problem, it is high time to analyze the prevalent discourses around the subject, especially climate justice, because the future of the human race depends upon it now. Global South has not been an active part of the solution for a long time in matters of policy-making at the international level and seems to be missing in terms of its voice and representation in the discourse. Climate Justice aims to empower the people of the Global South so that everyone is part of the solution. In order to move forward with the idea of climate justice discourse, bringing the Third World countries into the limelight, it becomes inevitable to first explore the current status of climate justice discourse and its present direction. Through that, the future direction of the climate justice discourse can be ascertained and there is a high possibility to extend research over this subject as it is a global issue and not just a local problem.

The importance of the subject of climate justice discourse and climate change being an undeniable reality at present motivated the researcher to look further into this domain of study. In July, 2021 almost fourteen thousand (14,000) scientists and researchers signed a petition recognizing the fact that the vital signs of the planet Earth had reached a tipping point called as ‘code red’ for humanity, and climate emergency must be recognized and treated with high priority (Al-Jazeera, 2021). They pushed the governments across the world to sign a climate emergency document as an initiative to deal with climate change impacts on the planet, as well as, the humans. ‘There is no planet B’ is a most quoted phrase when it comes to climate change advocacy and policy making. However, in recent times this phrase seems to be getting more momentum due to raging wildfires like Dixie fires in the United States of America to wildfires in Turkey and Greece that have alarmed the world. Moreover, the record breaking heat waves

in different regions, and rising instances of flooding in Spain, India, Pakistan and other such countries add to the undeniable implications of climate change. The severe drought in Madagascar and some other African countries is yet another manifestation that the problem exists and is growing unprecedentedly day by day. Since 1992, the United Nations (UN) has been vigorously engaged in bringing the international community on a single table to check the changing climate and its impact on the world. As per the UN's official website, the efforts against climate change started in the year 1979 in which the first World Climate Conference took place. Afterwards, in 1988 the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was set up. IPCC is one of the most credible sources of information on climate change and its reports are one of the most quoted reports on climate change risks. In 1992, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was presented for signatures in a famous summit known as the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Afterwards, a chain of conventions and treatise started out of which Kyoto Protocol (1997) and Paris Agreement (2015) are the most significant and widely known. Similarly, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs 2030) were introduced in 2015, with climate change and sustainability as a major focus. However, they remain largely unattainable due to lack of commitment and capacity. Despite all these efforts, the world has seen sheer injustice done to the most vulnerable countries of the Global South which renders all protocols and agreements ineffective.

In lieu of rampant climate change and its wide ranging effects, the idea of climate justice came to limelight whose discourse has been developing since then. Climate justice is inevitably linked to climate change as it is concerned with the initiatives taken to tackle and possibly reverse climate change and its influence. Climate justice aims at securing equal and equitable benefits for all, especially Global South with regard to climate change policies and decisions, prevention and adaptation measures. The main point of contention for climate justice is the ideas of mitigation and adaptation in order to tackle with climate change (Puaschunder, 2020). The ideas of mitigation proposed are such that only the developed countries can adopt them and stay protected while still maintaining the politico-economic hegemony over the developing countries. On the other hand, the developing countries cannot afford to adopt such measures (like switching to electric vehicles to lessen carbon footprint) due to their limited per capita income and overall capacity of the state. Later on, such states are blamed over shirking responsibility and violating the international agreements and best practices. This is sheer injustice on part of the international community, especially the Global North. Climate justice highlights this injustice done on part of the developed countries i.e., the Global North. Its main

aim is to make the world recognize that despite the fact poor countries have a little share in polluting the overall environment and bringing about climate change, they are at high risk in the face of global climate crisis as the impacts of climate change are felt in a non-discriminatory fashion leaving the poor in a lurch.

Lastly, in order to look at the discourse of climate justice which in itself is multidimensional, the integrationist perspective of eco-linguistics has been utilized for the study. As outlined by Stanlaw (2020) and Chen (2016), this perspective underscores the pivotal role of language in fostering sustainable interactions among humans, other species, and the physical environment. The perspective talks about the interdisciplinary approach and incorporation of varied methodologies by eco-linguistics which forges meaningful connections between the human psyche, societal dynamics, and the natural environment, thereby contributing to holistic understanding and providing actionable solution for ecological challenges.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Climate justice is the only viable solution to the menace caused by climate change. It is a discourse of emancipation and sustainability. It is an area that has been talked about frequently, but has been researched upon sparsely. A sustainable future can only be achieved via climate justice driven approach which entails that the nuances of its discourse should be explored. However, ignorance to the subject matter can severely affect the Global South countries, who will continue to get exploited at the hands of the Global North countries. Therefore, the study intends to shift focus towards the Global South in the context of climate justice.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study aimed:

1. To highlight the significant dimensions (social, political, economic etc.,) of climate justice discourse present in the Global North and Global South (newspaper) media
2. To analyze the nature (beneficial, ambivalent, or destructive) of climate justice (newspaper) media discourse produced in Global North and Global South
3. To examine the way climate justice discourse is being represented in the Global South with special reference to Pakistani media (newspapers) discourse

1.4 Research Questions

The study aims to answer the following research questions:

- Q1. What are the current dimensions of climate justice discourse of the Global North and Global South in newspaper media?
- Q2. How far is Global North and Global South newspaper media projection of the climate justice discourse beneficial, destructive or ambivalent?
- Q3. How is climate justice discourse being represented in Global South, with special reference to Pakistani newspaper media?

1.5 Research Methodology

The research methodology used for the study consisted of a qualitative research design as the data collected for this research was taken from newspaper articles so the qualitative design suited the study. The data constituted a total of 30 newspaper articles. The newspaper articles were selected from continents like Africa, Asia, Europe, and America. The population consisted of all newspaper articles on climate justice produced around the globe. The sampling technique used was purposive sampling, so specific articles were picked from selected newspapers of the four continents. The sample was collected in the form of two data sets. The first data set included newspaper articles taken from the four continents named Africa, Asia, America, and Europe. The sample was drawn from African newspapers like The East African, Mongabay, Africanews, Al Jazeera, Voice of Africa, and Kenya News Agency. The newspapers taken from the Asian continent included: Tribune India, Xinhua Net, The Asahi Shimbun, The Business Standard, The Korea Herald, and Business Recorder. The American newspapers from which the sample for the study was drawn were US Today, Guardian, National Observer (North America), Buenos Aires Times, Kiratas, and Mexico Today (Latin America). European newspapers from which sample articles were drawn included: British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), DAILY SABAH, The Moscow Times, DW – Made for Minds, and FRANCE 24. The second set of data was taken from the Pakistani newspapers published in English which included: DAWN, Express Tribune, The News, The Frontier Post, etc.

1.5.1 Method of data analysis

As the study analysed the discourse of climate justice from an eco-critical perspective so the method of data analysis used was eco-critical discourse analysis. Eco-Critical discourse analysis highlights the relations in discourse between language and ecological perspectives. It

makes use of critical discourse analysis as an approach to study the texts and documents about the environment. The ideas from analytical framework have guided the overall textual analysis of the newspaper articles taken for the study. Dialogue model proposed by Bang and Door (2007) has helped in the analysis of the current dimensions of the climate justice discourse including ideological, sociological and biological dimensions. Similarly, the nature of discourses has been analysed in detail by using Stibbe's (2015) model of Eco-linguistics. In addition to this, the ideas of salience and erasure from Stibbe's (2015) model have been analysed with special reference to the text taken from the Pakistani newspapers in order to highlight the projection or erasure of the climate justice discourse.

1.6 Significance and Rationale of the Study

As Climate Justice aims at acknowledging the third world countries as a formidable solution to the climate change crisis, it is important that its discourse must be analysed. This study adds to the overall understanding of the climate justice discourse and the possible dimensions it is covering in the Global North and Global South. Moreover, the study highlights the shifting focus towards the Global South and looks at the nature of discourses circulating in the media discourse of the Global North and Global South with reference to climate justice. The study provides important insights into the overall representation of climate justice in Pakistani media discourse. Climate change is a reality which we are currently living in and it is high time that we recognize the need and importance of climate justice discourse. This issue of climate change cannot be resolved or mitigated in an equitable manner without a climate justice driven approach. This study serves as a starting point to initiate research and scholarship on the said issue and also highlights the stories of climate change and climate justice that people are currently living by across the globe.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

The study is delimited to the discourse of climate justice taken from the selected newspaper articles and it does not include any official reports on the subject matter of climate justice.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

A slight limitation that was faced by the researcher during the span of this study was to collect data from some international online newspaper sources as they required membership for giving access to full articles. However, it was overcome eventually.

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study has been organized into five chapters. The first chapter of the study deals with the introduction, background and overall context of the study. The second chapter consists of review of the related literature regarding the subject matter of the study. The third chapter discusses the overall research methodology and analytical framework of the study. Fourth chapter of the study deals with data analysis of the sample drawn for the study. The fifth chapter of the study comprises of findings, discussion, conclusion and recommendations for the future researchers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to have a better understanding of the topic under consideration for research, it was imperative to review the related literature. This section explores different studies conducted on the topic of Climate Justice and its related ideas, as well as, the research variables of this study. This section has been divided into six subsections named as: Integrationist Approach to Eco-linguistics, Eco-critical discourse analysis, Erasure and Saliency, Climate justice, and Global North and Global South, and the research gap.

2.1 Integrationist Perspective of Eco-linguistics

Eco-linguistics, as quoted by Stanlaw (2020) from the International Eco-linguistics Association website, is a field which “... explores the role of language in the life-sustaining interactions of humans, other species and the physical environment” (Stanlaw, 2020, p. 1). Moreover, he talks about ecolinguistics in terms of two aims, one is theoretical aim which deals with the theory development and insight into the core concerns of the field of ecolinguistics. The other aim is pragmatic in nature which is concerned with the question of “how linguistics can be used to address key ecological issues, from climate change and biodiversity loss to environmental justice” (Stanlaw, 2020, p. 1).

Chen (2016) gives a brief account of the development of eco-linguistics and sheds light on the trend and research scholarship endeavoured in the said field. Chen talks about language and ecology and its interrelationship being the core of the field of ecolinguistics as propounded by Haugen (1971). The study analyses the research publications in the domain of eco-linguistics and looks at the growth trend of the field. The data analysis highlights that the field has grown since the start of the twenty-first century, especially 2006 onwards the field saw exceptional rise in the publication of scholarly articles. The study concluded that the ecolinguistics being a young discipline is making strides and is incorporating new topics by employing different methodologies that will help the field in linking the human mind, society and natural environment.

Derni (2008) conducted a study on the ‘Eco-linguistic Paradigm’ in which he focused on the integrationist trend in language study. In this study, the researcher examined different positions of language theories and analysed the newly developing area of study that is eco-linguistics. It explored the two significant sub-branches of Eco-linguistics that are: Eco-Critical

Discourse Analysis and Language Ecology. Eco-critical discourse analysis analyses the role of language in environmental and ecological domain. However, language ecology as propounded by Haugen (1970) is the study related to language death, growth, planning, and conflict etc. The study linked the ideological, sociological and biological dimensions to linguistic behaviour that can be analysed under an eco-linguistic framework. This analysis on three levels gives a broader scope to an eco-linguistic research as it brings together different levels of complexity. The study highlighted the integrationist element of eco-linguistic research that can include in itself ideas from disciplines like, economy, politics, and geography.

The study conducted by Zhou (2017) is a crucial addition to the field of Eco-linguistics becoming a life science and a discipline that can link up an ecological issue to a social one. The study aimed at creating a bond between science, axiology (ethics), and aesthetics to build a comprehensive strategy against the current ecological and environmental crisis and to reform the field of Chinese and European Eco-linguistics. The study also examines the three diverging waves in the field of Eco-linguistics and looks at their impact in creating hurdles in the overall development of the discipline of Eco-linguistics. The study criticised the Newtonian and Cartesian worldviews and argued that some value addition is inevitable in the form of eco-linguistics as science alone has failed to resolve the problems of the present world. The above mentioned studies are relevant to the current study as they reflect the overarching and cross-sectional nature of the field of eco-linguistics. These studies highlight the way Eco-linguistics deals with different fields of study and different areas of life including social and political life, in addition to the biological existence of humans and their language in an eco-system. This fact will help in identifying the various dimensions of climate justice discourse via the Eco-linguistic paradigm employed for the purpose of conducting this study.

2.2 Eco-critical Discourse Analysis

Eco-critical discourse analysis is often conducted when it comes to the question of critically analysing discourse within the domain of eco-linguistics. It helps in unmasking the facts and ideologies at play behind a certain set of discourses in any text. Van Dijk (2004) elaborates the aims of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as, “Critical Discourse analysis is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts” (Van Dijk 2004, as cited in Salma, 2019, p. 1).

Similarly, Stibbe (2014) takes it a step ahead by highlighting the link between ecolinguistics and critical discourse studies. Stibbe highlights that the field of ecolinguistics aims to identify the complex relations between the oppressor and the oppressed. He further adds that the field even focuses on the non-human subjects and the coming generations which actually makes discourses and their critical analysis and review significant along with broadening the scope of critical discourse studies.

Abd El-Hameed (2015) conducted a study on eco-critical discourse analysis of Egyptian cartoons in which he explored the socio-political discourse via Egyptian newspaper cartoons that were linked to issues of environmental degradation. Along with applying the Eco-critical discourse analysis approach, the study employed Halliday's 1990 'New Ways of Meaning' and Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH) and Visual Metaphor (VM). The conclusions drawn from his study are that critically analysing cartoons can be a good source of providing deeper insights into and highlighting the environmental, as well as, social issues of the Egyptian society.

Mansyur et al. (2021) explored the representation of the environmental and ecological issue of climate change in their study. The researchers investigated the discourse of the then Indonesian President Joko Widodo and his stance on the issue of climate change. The script of the statement was drawn from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The sample was analysed by utilizing the eco-critical discourse analysis method as a method of data analysis. Fairclough's (2013) three dimensional model was applied in order to identify the ideology behind the president's speech and later the ideologies unearthed were analysed in the light of Stibbe's (2015) ideas. The study concluded with the president's ecological ideology as prosaic and environmental problem solving which can be regarded as a beneficial discourse if compared with the other two categories of ambivalent or destructive discourse.

Acha (2022) published an article dealing with anthropocentrism in the Cameroonian press in which he analysed thirty-five newspaper articles sampled randomly from nine English language newspapers published across Cameroon. The study used eco-critical discourse analysis as a theoretical framework guiding the analysis, while utilizing the Descriptive Statistical Method (DSM) as a data analysis method. The aim of the study was to uncover and resist those discursive patterns that promote anthropocentrism (human dominance over nature and the resultant exploitation). The findings of the study revealed that the Cameroonian press frequently practiced anthropocentric ideologies in its discourse in the form of nouns, verbs,

transitivity, personification and jargons etc. The study also highlighted that the press also indulged in the spread of ideologies like deforestation, consumerism and growth, mineral extraction and construction as well as, other related areas. The study also effectively countered such discourses and ideologies. Moreover, the study suggested that such ideologies must be restricted and in their stead nature-conserving ideologies must be propagated via press as media is one of the most influential tool nowadays.

2.3 Erasure and Saliency

Stibbe is a prominent name in terms of his contribution to the field of eco-linguistics. Stibbe (2014) published an article on eco-linguistics and erasure in which he traced the definition and roots of the idea of Eco-linguistics, along with erasure in linguistics. He argues that due to the erasure, the field of Eco-linguistics evolved as a sub-discipline of Linguistics. He puts forth his idea in the following words, “Ecolinguistics, then, is a discipline that arises out of erasure – the perception that mainstream linguistics has forgotten, or overlooked, the embedding of humans in the larger systems that support life” (Stibbe, 2014, p. 2).

Stibbe (2014) also defines erasure as, “The concept of discursive erasure is frequently used in social science to denote the absence of something important - something that is present in reality but is overlooked or deliberately ignored in a particular discourse” (p. 3). Stibbe (2014) also links the idea of erasure with reminding or saliency that is a complementary idea which makes erasure more meaningful.

Chen et al. (2021) conducted a study on the discourse of oil production and its erasure of nature. The study examined the discourses of two opposing forces i.e. Shell Oil Company (SOC) and Greenpeace USA and gives insights into the synthesis of the two discourses to come up with innovative solutions. The study also reflects on the usage of Critical Discourse Analysis while discussing the Positive Discourse Analysis. The study highlights some important aspects of the way erasure is embedded in discourses. “Underlying patterns that justify energy demands, erase natural life while downplaying environmental damage, and present SOC as a philanthropic identity and innovative organisation” (Chen, 2021, p. 6). Corpus of SOC also reveals the erasure patterns of nature and causality of climate change.

Another study has been conducted by Fouad (2019) on the techniques of saliency and erasure used in Egyptian newspaper articles. The study takes into account twenty (20) newspaper articles of Egyptian newspapers covering the swine flu. The findings of the study

state that the animals are largely erased through the discourse by different erasure techniques like back-grounding, objectification, suppression, and the discursive masking. “Awe-stricken media coverage has resulted in the erasure of the animals themselves from most of the discourse on the swine flu, being backgrounded and overshadowed by pursuing the government procedures in fighting the disease” (Fouad, 2019, p. 568). The article also looks at the salience patterns in the newspaper articles standing as a voice for the animals being slaughtered and the government’s slaughter policy. The study argues that erasure patterns have been contested in some parts of the articles where the technique of salience has been applied.

Farooq (2021) conducted a study on environmental sciences discourse and the manner in which it deletes the human agent. She analysed three (03) textbooks of environmental science and applied the ideas of erasure and its techniques put forward by Stibbe (2015) on the sample for the study. The study shows the deletion of the human agent with reference to the idea of ‘void’ - a complete form of erasure, from the content and discourse of the environmental science books which leads to detachment of humans with the ongoing environmental and ecological crisis. Strategies of passivization and nominalisation have been looked into detail in this study to highlight the way in which the onus of responsibility from the human beings has been shifted, in fact, erased. The studies discussed in this section deal with erasure in detail; however, salience is an area that has been a little ignored and less elaborated. The studies on erasure and salience will help the researcher in conducting an analysis on the erasure and salience patterns of climate justice in Pakistani newspaper discourse and also fill the gap of lesser focus on salience and reminding.

2.4 Climate Justice

Climate justice as defined by Robinson and Shine (2018) is, “Climate justice links human rights and development to achieve a human-centred approach, safeguarding the rights of the most vulnerable and sharing the burdens and benefits of climate change and its resolution equitably and fairly” (p. 564).

The Routledge Handbook of Climate Justice (2019) gives various insights into the study of climate justice and sums up the idea of climate justice in the following words:

Reflecting on the multitude of existing approaches, the Centre has concluded that, in its various forms, climate justice “recognises humanity’s responsibility for the impacts of greenhouse gas emissions on the poorest and most vulnerable people in society by

critically addressing inequality and promoting transformative approaches to address the root causes of climate change” (Routledge Handbook of Climate Justice, 2019, as quoted in Meikle et al., 2016, p. 497).

Similarly, Scandrett (2016) describes climate justice as an approach that creates a link between the policies and technologies used to counter climate change with social justice i.e., linking it with human rights and impact on the poor etc.

A study conducted by Milanez and Fonseca (2012) explored the discourse of climate change and its prevalence in the press within Brazil. Their major aim was to highlight the framing of a new discourse of climate justice by climate change discourse within the articles of newspapers. The research study was conducted after devastation caused by major floods and land-sliding in two important cities of Brazil named Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The study took potential data on climate change discourse from the famous and widely read newspapers in these two cities of Brazil. After the due analysis, the study concluded with many suggestions regarding the utility of the climate justice discourse in the mainstream press. Firstly, the study highlighted that the framing of climate justice discourse can get international attention due to the widespread manifestations of climate change across the globe. Secondly, the findings proposed that through such framing the most affected factions of society can get their grievances addressed by the Brazilian government. The results of the study also indicated that the policies on climate change can be positively affected if the discourse of climate justice is widely known among the people through press. The vulnerability to climate change can be lessened via climate justice discourse and better adaptation measures can be implemented. This study was quite significant and quite ahead of its time; however, the scope of the study was limited to just Brazil specific discourse.

Alarcon (2020) conducted a study on ‘Buen vivir’ that stands for the Latin American worldview of environment and society. In this study the evolution of the discourse of environmental socialism was explored and highlighted. Development and progress were compared in the form of two discourses. One discourse was that of the Latin American governments, while the other was that of the social groups. In Ecuador, the discourse that countered the economic discourse came to be called as ‘*beun vivir*’. This discourse made the people aware of the importance of natural conservation and the protection of the oil reserves in Ecuador on which the economy of the country majorly relied. This discourse was essentially

meant to preserve the Ecuadorian Amazonia from excessive extraction. This initiative was eventually called off which led to two major streams of discourses. The state propagated the discourse of commodification by using the natural resources. On the contrary, the society started associating this discourse with nature in terms of their natural heritage, natural habitat of their ancestors and discourse of existence. Hence, '*beun vivir*' became a discourse with many voices that kept competing and have been competing till today as there has been continuous struggle over the hegemony of environmental discourse.

Leung (2020) explored the discourse of Greta Thunberg's three selected speeches by using the Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of data analysis. The study used the theoretical framework put forward by Foucault in order to ascertain the ideology, resistance and power dynamics of the discourse of youth as Greta Thunberg stands for all the youth who are demanding climate justice now. The results of the study indicate that Thunberg uses resistant political discourse to oppose the traditional and familial ladders of power. With reference to youth, she adds counter discourse in the prevalent and dominant discourses on climate justice. The analysis also reveals that a counter-movement of young people is building against the mainstream movement and discourse on climate change. The study also sheds light on the way climate justice discourse embodies political, ideological and power dynamics that makes it quite multidimensional.

Damico et al. (2020) in a feature article on the climate justice literacy talks about the issue of climate change and the emerging ideas of climate justice. The authors reflect upon the issue of gender and climate justice as well and mention some other variables that are effected by climate change and are related to climate justice. Eco-linguistic perspective on climate justice has been discussed as well. The authors have reflected upon the idea of 'stories we live by' in terms of destructive, beneficial and ambivalent stories. The article insists upon the teaching and awareness of masses especially students regarding the ecological stories we live by and also serves as a guide for the educators to start working on the idea and teach it in a proper manner.

Audet (2013) conducted a study on the discourse of climate justice and identified different types of discourses within climate justice discourse. The data for the study was taken from the sixteenth Conference of Parties (COP16) held at Cancun. The statements of the nine coalitions were used as the data for exploring the discourse. The method used for data analysis was that of discourse analysis. The findings of the study were presented in a three pronged

way. Firstly, the discourse of conflict was discussed with reference to the North-South binaries and their historical origins in taking the responsibility for climate change. The second set of findings presented the transition discourse that is aimed at resolving the issue of climate change mitigation cost and the share of different countries in it. It also focused on reducing the global carbon-dioxide emissions. The final set of findings indicated a vulnerability discourse that shed light on the urgent need of action by all the relevant stakeholders. The study concluded with highlighting the fact that different coalitions at the COP16 forum have changed the North-South divide as many developed and developing countries joined hands to put forward a discourse of their concern.

Keller (2012) conducted a study on the discourses of emerging movement of Climate Justice. She studied the documents taken from the twenty six (26) organizations working for climate justice and the method employed for the data analysis was the Foucauldian discourse analysis. In her study, Keller identified the varying nature and dimensions of the climate justice discourse as it was not a coherent and unidirectional discourse. She specifically identified four major dimensions namely; global, peasant-oriented, indigenous, and civil rights. She named these discourses as sub-discourses of climate justice discourse.

She elaborates the said discourses in the following manner:

The global sub-discourse emphasizes climate-related injustices experienced by Southern Hemispheric populations and defines climate change as a problem of the structures and logic of the globalized capitalist economy. The peasant oriented sub-discourse draws on agro-ecological theory to highlight the climate change-related vulnerabilities of peasant farmers. It sees climate change to be largely the result of the industrialization of agriculture and food. Influenced by Indigenous cosmologies and worldviews, the Indigenous sub-discourse locates the cause of climate change in the “violation of the sacred” and the loss of harmony with Mother Earth and focuses on equity issues related to Indigenous communities. The United States-based civil rights sub-discourse emphasizes the rights and interests of low income and coloured communities, particularly African Americans. (Keller, 2012, p. 80)

The study is quite concise and appropriate given the overall aim, analysis and findings. However, the sample collected for the study was not very homogenous in terms of types of sources and subject matter as well. The above mentioned studies are relevant with the current study as they seek to explore the subject matter of climate justice and its implications across the world. These studies have guided the researcher to look at the current study from a concise and clear point of view by acting as stepping stones towards the core of climate justice.

2.5 Global North and Global South

Odeh (2010) in his study on the comparative analysis of Global North and Global South economies defines and elaborate the origin and usage of both the terms. According to him:

However at the end of the cold war in 1991, the concepts of Global North and Global South were introduced in the comparative study on development among nations. While the Global North implies the developed economies, the Global South implies the underdeveloped economies. (Odeh, 2010, p. 340)

Uddin (2017) discusses the issue of North-South divide with special regard to the issue of climate change and global environmental politics. He further reflects on the concept of the North-South divide and describes it in the following words, “On a general note, the poor developing South has made little contribution to the environmental degradation when compared to the developed, highly industrialised global North” (Uddin, 2017, p. 106).

He further adds that climate change has gotten significant coverage globally as it is a widely discussed topic among the global community. He further adds that the discussion on the North-South divide that is a by-product, in fact a direct and serious consequence of climate change has rarely been initiated and a gap persists.

There has been no serious attempt or even discussion of how to bridge the divide between the North and South. The North-South divide is not only affecting the structural inequalities in the global economic system, but also attributing to global environmental issues as both are connected to each other. (Uddin, 2017, p. 110)

In an interesting study conducted by Muller (2020) the ideas of Global North and Global South have been explored. The aim of the study as evident from its title is to diminish

the hard binaries of North and South and find a mid-way between them. The researcher argues that there are countries that lie in between the Global North and the Global South. He argues that a Global East must be looked for in the current scenario. He has shed light on the fact that globality has come to be associated with only two notions of North and South, while there is no in between. In his study he has defined Global North as regions and countries like 'North America and Western Europe, Japan and Australia - the rich states and large metropolitan centres' (Muller, 2020, p. 1). On the contrary, he identifies Global South as countries belonging to the regions like 'Latin America and Africa come to mind, much of Asia, too. Places where people do not enjoy the same privilege as in the North' (Muller, 2020, p. 1). He stresses the importance of Global East and concludes that the world will be more inclusive if these binaries break; however, it will lead to uncertain theorizing.

Blicharska et al. (2017) analysed the global North and South divide in the research domain, especially the research related to climate change and climate change policy making. Besides looking at the extent of the North-South divide, the article also examines the underlying issues and the consequences of this divide for climate change policy making and implementation. The study also suggests practical steps for bridging the gap by taking actions at global, regional and national levels. The study highlights the issue of North-South divide in the following manner:

Currently, most of the science underpinning agreements and policy instruments developed under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is generated in the North and it is Northern countries that have set the global climate change policy agenda since the beginning (Blicharska et al., 2017, p. 21).

Rice (2009) in his study on ecological debt and the relations of north and south, took the research data from position papers on the idea of ecological debt compiled by non-governmental organizations. The data was analysed by using Toulmin's model of argument analysis. The results of the study indicated that the development of the North and the rampant production and consumption are the result of extracting and looting resources from the developing and underdeveloped countries known as the South. Moreover, the reason behind this excessive exploitation of resources is the financial debt that these countries owe to the North. If that debt is cancelled out, this exploitation can stop. Besides that, the results of the study indicated that the Northern production and consumption patterns are not sustainable if

seen in the long run. Fourthly, the study highlighted the presence of an ecological debt and insisted that the North must recognize this debt and start paying it back to the South. This study is quite significant as it established the presence of an ecological debt with regard to climate change as ecological debt is one of the least recognized ideas that fall under the domain of climate justice.

Beer (2014) worked on the subject of climate justice and Global South and the point of view of Kenyan Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in terms of policy making. In his study, he delved into the divide between the Global North and the Global South in detail. His research focused upon the debate that the Global North when making policies regarding the Greenhouses Gas (GHG) emissions does not look at the capacity of the Global South. The paper argues that there should be differentiated responsibilities of North and South due to the history of the industrialized North being the one with greater carbon footprint. However, the findings of the study indicate that the Non-governmental organisations of Kenya prefer the policy making of the North. The paper argues that their concerns and suggestions must be heard by the state, as well as, the international community.

The studies discussed above are relevant to the current study as these studies also give deeper insights into the nuances and conflicts between the absolute binaries of the Global North and Global South. The studies have helped the researcher in taking a clear stance on these binaries and have also clarified the never ending problematic nature of these binaries.

2.6 Research Gap

The reviewed literature highlights the research gap as no study has looked into the nature of climate justice discourse taking into account the data from both the Global North and Global South. Moreover, the studies conducted earlier have not looked into the nature of climate justice discourse. Besides that, proper study of climate justice discourse has not been conducted in Pakistan so far which created a need and space for the current study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology that has been used for carrying out the study is discussed below in detail.

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research design has been employed to carry out this study. The data collected for this research constitutes newspaper articles so qualitative design fits the study. The text has been analysed in the light of the analytical framework. Moreover, the research is exploratory in nature as it approaches climate justice discourse from various dimensions in order to explore its nature, type and overall representation. Mackey and Gass (2005) define exploratory research as an initial stage of research aimed at gaining a preliminary understanding of an area of study that is not well understood. The primary goal of exploratory research is to explore a phenomenon in depth without aiming to provide conclusive answers, but rather to open up new avenues for further investigation.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

The data for the study has been collected in the form of newspaper articles taken from different newspapers across the globe. The data constitutes a total of 30 newspaper articles. The newspaper articles have been selected from continents like Africa, Asia, Europe, and America. The timeline of the articles range from 2019 to 2021. The details of the names of newspapers and number of newspaper articles are given in the population and sampling section, and an annexure is attached at the end of the document as well.

3.3 Population and Sample

The population for this research was all the newspaper articles published on climate justice. The sample for the research was selected newspaper articles taken from specific newspapers from different continents. The sample was collected in the form of two data sets. The first data set included newspaper articles taken from the four continents named Africa, Asia, America, and Europe. Sample was drawn from African newspapers like The East African, Mongabay, Africanews, Al Jazeera, Voice of Africa, and Kenya News Agency. The newspapers taken from Asian continent included: Tribune India, Xinhua Net, The Asahi Shimbun, The Business Standard, The Korea Herald, and Business Recorder. The American

newspapers from which the sample for the study was drawn are: US Today, Guardian, and National Observer (North America), Buenos Aires Times, Kiratas, and Mexico Today (Latin America). European newspapers from which sample articles were drawn included: British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), DAILY SABAH, The Moscow Times, DW – Made for minds, and FRANCE 24. Second set of data was taken from the Pakistani newspapers published in English which include: DAWN, Express Tribune, The News, The Frontier Post, etc. Given the breakdown of the newspaper articles from different continents, well-known newspapers with significant readership were selected. Moreover, the newspapers that dealt with the subject of climate justice in their articles were given preference over the popularity or readership factor. The sampling technique used for this research is Purposive Sampling as the sample has been chosen in accordance with the subject of climate justice.

Table 1: Sample collection breakdown

Sr. No	Sample/Data	No. of newspaper articles
1.	Data (Set 1)	
	Africa	06
	Asia	06
	America (North & Latin America)	03 + 03 = 06
	Europe	06
2.	Data (Set 2)	
	Pakistan	06
3.	Total	30 articles

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

As the study sought to analyse the discourse of climate justice from an eco-critical perspective so the method of data analysis was eco-critical discourse analysis. Eco-Critical discourse analysis highlights the relations in discourse between language and ecological perspectives. It makes use of critical discourse analysis as an approach to study the texts and documents about the environment. The ideas from analytical framework have guided the overall textual analysis of the newspaper articles taken for the study. Dialogue model proposed by Bang and Door (2007) has helped in the analysis of the current dimensions of the climate

justice discourse including ideological, sociological and biological dimension. The textual analysis of these overarching dimensions has brought to light various possible aspects and dimensions of climate justice in the discourse of the Global North and Global South.

Similarly, the nature of discourses has been analysed in detail by using Stibbe's (2015) model of Eco-linguistics. The idea of discourses as beneficial, ambivalent and destructive discourses has been applied to the newspaper articles taken for the study that has brought to light the nature of discourses of climate justice used in the Global North and Global South. In addition to this, the ideas of salience and erasure from Stibbe's model have been analysed with special reference to the text taken from the Pakistani newspapers in order to highlight the projection or erasure of the climate justice discourse. Moreover, the data has been analysed in relation to the relevant literature on the topic of climate justice.

The first and second research questions have relied on the news articles taken from the African, Asian, American, and European continent. The first research question has explored the possible dimensions of climate justice currently present in the discourse of the Global North and South. The second research question has assessed the nature of discourse of climate justice produced by the media of the Global North and South. Similarly, the third question of the study has specifically dealt with the second data set that includes newspaper articles collected from Pakistani newspapers.

3.5 Analytical Framework

In order to analyse the data, the researcher has conceptualized a framework by taking ideas from two different models in eco-linguistics. One model is Bang and Door's Dialogue Model of Social Praxis (2007) and the second model of Eco-linguistics is put forward by Stibbe (2015). The resultant framework has been described in the following paragraphs along with its diagrammatic representation at the end of the sub-section.

3.5.1 Dialogue model of social praxis

Bang and Door (2007) gave a model of social praxis in order to elaborate the environmental constitution of language. They proposed that the Eco-linguistics perspective acts as an umbrella field of inquiry which covers the ideological, sociological, and biological dimensions of language and its usage. According to the model, the ideological dimension involves the individual and cognitive thought processes, psychological aspects and beliefs. On the other hand, the sociological aspect includes larger groups of people like families and

communities, their shared values and language. The third dimension is that of biologies which sheds light on the way human beings use language and interact with other living beings. This model highlighted the deficiencies in the models of linguistics put forward by Structuralist, as well as, Sociolinguistic schools of thought. Structuralists only focused on the ideologies and ignored the sheer fact that socio-logics or biologies are equally important when it comes to humans and language. Contrarily, Sociolinguists disregarded the ideological and biological components altogether. The major ideas of the model have been described briefly according to their usage in the study.

3.5.1.1 Ideologies

In the light of the Dialogue Model of Social praxis, ideologies is defined as a dimension of language that deals with cognitive and psychological aspects. These ideologies are commonly known as ideologies that reside in individual minds and then become a social or a global order as well. This study looks at ideologies like power and capitalism that are directly relevant to current global order and to the climate change crisis and climate justice debate. Ideologies has helped in identifying the relevant discourses circulating around economic and political domains in relation to climate justice.

3.5.1.2 Sociologies

Sociological or sociolinguistic dimension covers the overall social scenario and the role of language in its construction and projection. Sociologies include social dimensions like age, race, gender, income and other social indicators. The study has specifically explored such indicators that fall under the sociological and sociolinguistic perspective within the climate justice discourse.

3.5.1.3 Biologies

This perspective is about the human interaction with other living beings and species and their representation in the language. The study has utilized the idea of biologies to highlight how the mainstream discourse of climate justice includes or excludes the biological aspect.

3.5.2 Stibbe (2015): Discourses, erasure and salience

Stibbe in his book defines Discourses as ‘*Discourses are standardised ways that particular groups in society use language, images and other forms of representation*’ (Stibbe, 2015 p. 22). He further divides discourses into three different types called as Destructive Discourses, Ambivalent Discourses, and Beneficial Discourses.

3.5.2.1 Destructive discourses

These are the types of discourses that are often driven by power or economy. Capitalist discourses are usually referred to as destructive discourses if seen with reference to environment and overall social life. This does not imply that such discourses mention environment or people who are at risk. In fact, these discourses are framed in such a manner that they influence masses without them knowing the actual destructive nature of such discourses. Language is often used for highlighting economic progress and growth through industrialization in very positive connotations while the sheer fact that unprecedented growth is eating up the scarce resources is seldom discussed. Destructive discourses divert attention away from nature towards excessive consumerism and commodification. These discourses can also lead to tarnishing the image of vulnerable third world countries and their governments due to climate change, ignoring the fact that the problem of climate change emerged from the first world countries and their economic policies.

3.5.2.2 Ambivalent discourses

These are the discourses that often seem friendly and positive towards nature or any issue pertaining to a social, political, or economic sphere. However, an in depth analysis of such a discourse reveals that it is partially useful and partially damaging. These discourses are often derived from the political or economic interests. With reference to climate change and climate justice, such discourses must be identified and countered, instead of just being circulated globally. An ambivalent discourse usually tells people to buy electric cars and shun coal driven products and services in the name of adaptation, while completely ignoring the fact that the third world countries do not have the capacity to keep pace with such abrupt changes for adaptation and mitigation. This discourse is not entirely bad but it doesn't go in favour of such countries and their populations.

3.5.2.3 Beneficial discourses:

These are the discourses that are often called as nature friendly and human friendly. These discourses are the background of many movements in order to protect nature and humans. Climate justice movement can also be called as a source of beneficial discourses as it talks about various types of justice with reference to climate change and its impacts. Beneficial discourses must be propagated globally. Any discourse highlighting injustice on part of the global North and advocating for the support of the global South will be a beneficial discourse if seen in the light of climate justice.

3.5.3 Erasure

In Stibbe's point of view, the participants and things that are absent in a certain discourse are often the most important things related to that certain area or topic. He talks about the lack of focus on the ideas and discourses that have been side-lined from the mainstream discourses. Erasure happens where there is a systematic absence of a certain story or its key actors. He mentions that if ecological systems are absent in the discourses of a certain society, then nobody will realize and worry about the importance of the conservation and protection of those ecological systems. He adds that the idea of social justice is ruled out if the communities vulnerable to environmental degradation are continuously erased from the discourse. Erasure according to Baker and Ellece (2011) is marginalisation or exclusion of certain identities and social actors. Erasure is not just about identifying what has been erased, but to find ways to restore it. Erasure is further divided into two types as, Suppression and Back-grounding. Suppression occurs when an idea or actor is completely absent from the discourse. Suppression is an extreme form of erasure. On the other hand, Back-grounding is a milder form of erasure which highlights that an important actor or idea is partially missing in a discourse. It doesn't appear actively, but is present in the later or secondary part. Erasure is also present in texts like a spectrum that goes from strong erasure to mild forms and eventually to the weaker forms. The three forms are usually called as the void, the mask, and the trace. Void is the complete exclusion of something significant. The mask is the erasure and then distortion of that very idea or image that is not really absent but not properly present too as it is masked. The trace is something that is partially erased. Stibbe (2015) in his book defines Erasure as:

An erasure pattern is a linguistics representation of an area of life as irrelevant, marginal or unimportant through its systematic absence, backgrounding or distortion in texts. (Stibbe, 2015, p. 146)

Moreover, in the inherent nature of discourses erasure is ever present as whenever discourse is produced it is partial or biased as per the perceptions, beliefs, and understanding of the one producing it. A powerful technique of erasure is called as 'Nominalisation' which is often described as those expressions that cloud the agency of certain words and participants in certain discourses. Converting verbs into nouns is often called as nominalisation. Erasure becomes significant when the discourse is missing a very crucial element that needs to be present to make it meaningful, effective, and complete. A very significant instance of erasure according to McKibben (2006) is that the economy has become more concrete than the actual physical world. Discourse of finance erases the discourse of physical and muscular work put

into the whole process of running an economy. This on one hand diverts attention from the planet and on the other hand disregards the community of workers and labourers, hence erasing them from the discourse. A highly criticized form of erasure is that of animals as their representation in documentaries and movies is not the real reflection of their lives, but a mere copy of the overall social structure of human society with class systems.

3.5.4 Salience

Salience as defined by Stibbe (2015) is ‘a story in people’s mind that an area of life is important or worthy of attention’. Salience is often highly visible in images, as well as, texts that foreground certain participants in a text. Abstraction, transitivity, and metaphor are important linguistic devices to highlight salience patterns. Ecosystems on which the life depends on must be given enough importance in order to protect natural ecosystems and discourage the discourses of over-consumption and destruction. Abstract terms like flora, fauna, biomass go awry to specific and concrete terms like names of animals and plants like ant, grasses etc. Hence, using abstractions lessens the salience of certain elements, objects and beings.

Similarly, an important type of abstraction is the use of metonymy that leads to lower salience, hence for salience to be higher metonyms must be avoided. Abstraction is a common feature of discourse, but too much abstraction disregards the actual reality of living beings. Embodied cognitive theory by Lakoff and Wehling (2012) propounds that terms that are closely related to bodily experiences are more meaningful as compared to the terms that are abstract. According to them the world environment is an abstract category as compared to expressions like forest, soil, air, water, and sky etc. The theorists claim that basic level words are most effective in invoking certain images to the mind rather than abstract and general category words. A chair invokes a clear image rather than just furniture that is why it a more salient representation.

Another type of abstraction is impersonalisation that can potentially divert the focus from the people, in fact, dehumanise the social actors. Impersonalisation entails the missing names that make any text or living beings less salient. Names are actually the opposite of homogenisation as they represent individualisation. The ideas of commodities, similar food and clothing brands repudiate uniqueness resulting in lesser salience. The value of a thing or a living being is lost if uniqueness is taken out of the equation which eventually leads to its destruction. Salience can also occur because of using foregrounding as a device which results

in activation of the actors within a text or discourse. Contrarily, passivation leads to loss of salience as the actors are at the receiving end and not actively involved in the process.

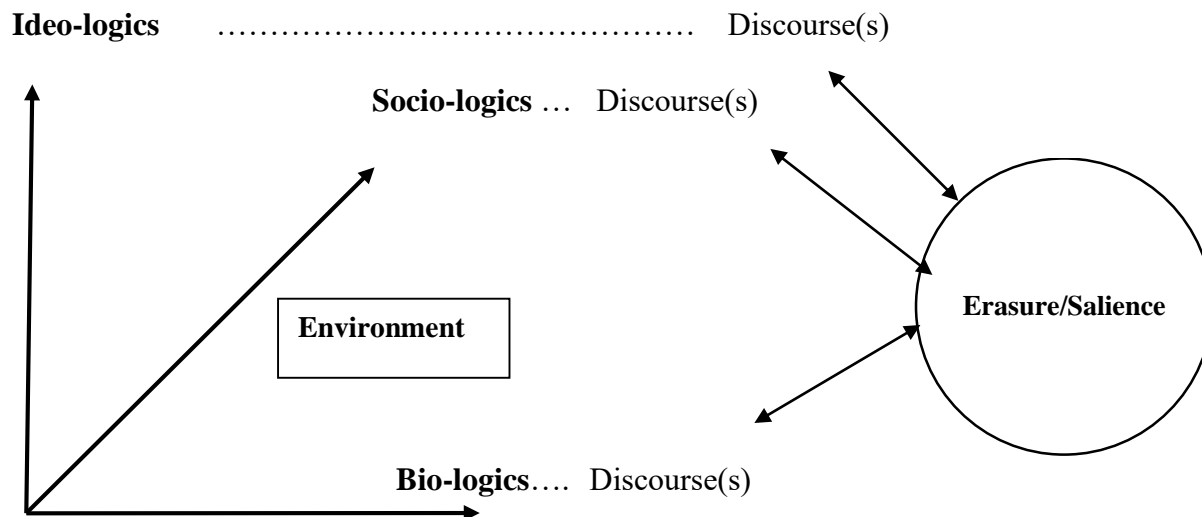


Figure 1: Analytical Framework for the study

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

The analytical framework adopted for the study deals with various overarching dimensions of any environmental discourse that falls under the domain of eco-linguistics. The data taken for the study has been analyzed in three sections. The first section deals with the various dimensions that are the part of current discourse being produced on climate justice. The first section of data analysis deals with the dimensions of climate justice discourse. The second section deals with the nature of discourses being produced in both the global North and South and answers the second research question. The third section of the analysis deals with the erasure and salience techniques being used in the Pakistani newspaper media discourse which sheds light on the third research question of the study. The first research question deals with the three overarching dimensions of the discourse of climate justice in the Global North and South, as per the ideas of Bang and Door (2007) include:

- a) Ideologies
- b) Sociologies
- c) Biologies

The sample drawn from newspaper articles from Global North and Global South has been analyzed in the light of the following dimensions, thereby answering the first research question of the study.

4.1 Dimensions of Climate Justice Discourse of Global North

4.1.1 Ideologies

There are many ideologies circulating around the subject matter of climate justice. This section will highlight the types and nature of ideologies present in the sample drawn from Global North newspaper articles on climate justice.

a) Capitalism and Imperialism

Capitalism and imperialism are two major ideologies that have been running the global system for a long time which have been repeatedly identified in the data analysis. The Guardian news article states, “Cancelling poor nations’ historic debts would allow their governments to channel money into climate adaptation”. This demand of the cancellation of debt deals with ensuring climate justice to the poor nations in monetary terms which links it to the capitalist

ideology. The article goes on to state, “Poor countries are deemed to owe massive financial debts to the rich nations”. This also reflects the overall capitalist system that is keeping the poor nations in a debt trap and they are far from getting the justice they deserve in the face of the devastating climate change crisis. The study conducted by Rice (2009) also talked about the excessive exploitation of Global South countries due to the financial debt that these countries owe to the Global North. If that debt is cancelled out, this exploitation can stop. The article talks about the mounting debt to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio which has increased from 90% of the GDP of poor countries to around 170% of their GDP. Similarly, the imperialist ideology is clearly reflected in, “The idea that the global south, looted and enslaved for centuries, should owe money to its exploiters is grotesque”. This reflects an imperial system that has been depriving the Global South of a chance to develop and has led to the current plight of climate change-related disasters. The article talks about the reasons that the poor nations have to allow ‘destructive industries’ to install their plants due to the fact that they are impoverished and are ‘coerced by debt’. This again highlights the fact that capitalist ideologies have a greater role in the spread of climate injustice with regard to the Global South. Similarly, the Canadian newspaper named ‘National Observer’ in an article on climate justice opines that the countries of the Global North have developed due to excessive ‘burning of fossil fuels’ while the countries of the Global South didn’t get a chance to burn their rightful share and benefit from it in monetary terms and overall economic progress, as there lies a major ‘disjuncture’ between the wealthier countries and the poorer countries. This is also indicative of the capitalist ideology in the discourse of climate justice that is actually trying to highlight the manner in which the capitalist and imperialist world of developed countries has harmed developing countries endlessly.

BBC article talks about the reasons why climate justice has failed to garner enough support and attention. It talks about “legacies such as colonialism and national debt in vulnerable countries” that refer to the imperialist and capitalist ideology where colonialism stands for imperialism and national debt highlights the capitalistic world which has handicapped many developing countries in the face of growth and progress. The article also compares the luxury emissions of developed countries like the United Kingdom (UK) that exceed the emissions done out of necessity for survival in underdeveloped and developing countries like Mozambique. In this line of thought, the article further adds, “From carbon markets to flight levies, economic intervention has the potential to drastically reduce the world's carbon emissions”. The term ‘economic interventions’ at a global level also highlights the capitalist

dimension of the climate justice discourse. Another important excerpt from the article is, “Many poorer countries haven't had the chance to amass wealth from burning huge amounts of fossil fuels, but are now being asked to give them up”. This idea resonates with the discourse of Canadian newspapers where a similar idea has been mentioned that the rich countries became richer due to excessive burning of fossil fuels while the poor countries are being denied the chance to do so. The article also discusses the problem of debt in the Global South and highlights the unfair practices running rampant under the guise of climate action. “71% of climate finance in 2019 was distributed as loans rather than grants”. The article further adds a quote from an activist, “This is criminal, you count loans as climate finance, which are going to come back to you with interest?” This idea of climate finance for climate action highlights further climate injustice done towards the developing and underdeveloped countries while bringing to light the capitalist and imperialist dimension of the climate justice discourse. The article also discusses the idea of debt cancellation and debt relief which is a major stream of thought in the climate justice discourse as “Debt cancellation and other kinds of debt relief are increasingly considered by some as another crucial aspect of climate justice”. Debt cancellation and relief arise out of the current global economic system that is based on the capitalist ideology, hence emphasizing the capitalist dimension of the climate justice discourse. The article also reflects upon the ongoing colonial legacies and talks about undoing the structures that have been extractive in nature for the poor and colonized countries. Another important excerpt taken from the same article criticizes the developed countries for extracting the resources from poor countries of the Global South and leaving them further impoverished and indebted in the face of ongoing climate-related disasters thereby creating deep-rooted injustice.

Resource extraction often happens in impoverished countries at cheap costs, which benefits already wealthy former colonisers or present-day imperial nation states, and then, "further impoverishes and in-debts the countries of the global south, who are also facing the double whammy of disproportionate climate related hazards and disasters. (BBC, 2021)

Similarly, the CNN news article criticizes the involvement of the UK government in installing more “fossil fuel” projects that are the leading cause of water and air pollution. The article also talks about looking for the legal possibilities for blocking the “state money flowing into new fossil fuel projects”. This highlights the capitalist dimension of climate justice

discourse that emphasizes the harmful capitalist practices damaging the planet and spreading injustice among the masses. The Moscow Times article talks about the attitude of the Russian government and administration towards climate change as it is more concerned about the “carbon levies” and other fines rather than the impacts of climate change. The article also voices concerns that the country’s priority is its “industrial giants” as it shows more concern for them rather than climate change and its detrimental impacts. The article further says that the government is merely paying “lip service” to the issue of climate change and reforms related to it due to the pressure put on it by the economic giants. Likewise, the German newspaper DW – Made for Minds’ article on climate justice also puts forward the capitalist ideology of rich ‘industrialized countries that have been polluting the planet for their own benefit; while the poor countries suffer due to the consequences. The article also draws a comparison between the skewed annual emissions of the rich countries versus the poor countries, it says, “Each year, rich countries like the US emit about 10 times as much carbon dioxide as poorer ones like India, and about 20 times as much as a country like Nigeria”. This clearly shows the injustice done towards the poor countries; hence re-emphasizing the need of a deeper understanding of climate justice discourse. FRANCE 24 news article discusses COP26 with reference to climate justice as the article comments upon the commitment of “196 countries to draw down coal-fired power”. The article also brings to light the increase in “financial aid” for vulnerable countries. Both of these areas are directly linked to the capitalist system, especially financial aid and its use to keep poor countries satisfied with little contribution. The article also takes into account the need to transform “all sectors of the global economy” and “decarbonize” them.

The article published in the Turkish newspaper (Daily Sabah) talks about the ‘consumption patterns’ that vary among the countries which lead to different footprints between the developed and low-income countries. This resonates with the study conducted by Acha (2022) in which he uncovered the way in which the discourse of consumerism and capitalism damages the environment and leads to climate change. The developed countries are leaving a larger footprint than the poor countries. The article compares the figures of the developed and developing countries as, “...material footprint per capita is 27 metric tons in developed countries, this value is only 2 metric tons in low-income countries”. Over-consumption is the hallmark of the capitalist world and an ideology that is creating an existential crisis for developing countries. Similarly, the article in Korea Herald talks about the ‘climate crisis’ and ‘inequality’ and advocates for a ‘shift away from a carbon-intensive

economy'. Furthermore, the article highlights that excessive consumption is not a viable option in the face of climate emergency. The ideology behind carbon-intensive economy and consumption is that of capitalism which has led to injustice everywhere. The Asahi Shimbun news article pushes the Japanese government and the “business community” to take more active steps in order to address the issue of reducing carbon emissions. The article also denigrates the new “coal-fired” projects that are boosting the economy in Japan, but are detrimental to the environment. Capitalist ideology is predominant in the climate justice discourse of the global North as evident from the analysis. However, the realization and awareness of the damages caused by the developed countries towards the developing countries due to this capitalist and imperialist ideology is a surprising facet in the climate justice discourse of the Global North.

a) Power

Power has been an evident ideology in the climate justice discourse as capitalist and imperialist ideologies are the manifestations of power itself. Some excerpts also show the discourse of power reflected within the climate justice discourse. The Guardian newspaper talks about the term “debt trap diplomacy” which is equivalent to the manifestation of power under the guise of debt given to poor nations. Similarly, it talks about “odious debts” that are loans usually taken by the ‘dictators’ for their own vested interests, which does not benefit the general public of poor countries is another way of exploiting and abusing the power; hence creating injustice, especially climate injustice in the current context. The article published in BBC news talks about the ‘international financial system’ which is created by the developed and powerful countries who use and abuse it to their own benefit to keep the poor nations indebted to them. This abuse of power actually leads to the problem of climate change being unattended as the poor nations are worried about repaying their debts and being subservient to the rich developed countries. The article also talks about the dominance of the “big players at the UN” who are reluctant to discuss the way forward for “undoing the (exploitative) structures”. This highlights the ideology of power runs through the discourse of climate justice, as injustice is born out of the abuse of power and excesses committed by those in power. This idea is similar to the study of Leung (2020) which shed light on the way climate justice discourse embodies political, ideological and power dynamics that makes it quite multidimensional and effective. In a similar manner, The Moscow Times article stresses the need for climate change-related response while the government is more concerned to protect the “economic status quo” rather than the common masses who are being affected due to

climate change. This shows a clear power imbalance where status quo maintenance is more vital than addressing the issue to prevent injustice at a broader scale.

4.1.2 Sociologics

Sociologics is a dimension that deals with sociological concerns like age, class, ethnicity, gender, race, and other processes like migration, etc. In the discourse of climate justice, the sociologic dimension is of significant importance because climate injustice directly affects societies around the globe and leads to changes in social behaviors and patterns as well. The sample drawn from newspaper articles reveals various components of the sociological dimension of climate justice that are of tremendous importance in the climate change and climate justice debate.

a) Race and ethnicity

Firstly, race and ethnicity have been identified as one of the main concerns of climate justice discourse, as the USA Today news article highlights that “People of color face disproportionate harm from climate change”. Moreover, the article talks about “Black people” who are at a higher risk, which highlights its concern with race and ethnicity; however, ‘black people’ is a prejudiced and outdated term. On the brighter side, the discourse concerns itself largely with the issue of different races and ethnicities being unfairly affected due to rampant climate change. The article adds, children belonging to the “communities of color” are prone to “asthma” due to their localities. The article also highlights that the black, as well as, Hispanic and Latino people are more likely to suffer from “extreme weather temperatures”. Similarly, the National Observer news article talks about the “disproportionate” impacts of climate change and its related injustice on the “indigenous peoples” and “local communities”. These two terms reflect the race and ethnicity of the people living or belonging to a certain area. Moreover, indigenous is a word that is often used for those communities that are still isolated from the mainstream societies and continue to live in their own closely-knit societies; therefore, those people are least involved in polluting the environment and bringing about climate change. Ironically, those races and ethnicities are the ones that are bearing the brunt of the menace of climate change which is a major injustice done towards them. Besides that, the article says that different races especially “minority groups” are more likely to live near toxic sites and face other environmental risks”. The degree of pollution is “correlated with race and ethnicity”. This reflects how different races and ethnicities are being harmed due to this injustice or in other words, climate injustice.

"[Climate justice] also gives us an opportunity to redress those colonial racial class-based harms that have occurred over time". Saño says he has been inspired by how the Black Lives Matter movement has unearthed centuries of injustice. It is the same with climate justice. (National Observer, 2021)

The terms colonial and racial directly point to the exploitation done by one superior race towards another so-called inferior race which remains relevant to date as certain races and ethnicities face greater climate injustice. Similarly, a reference to the Black Lives Matter movement and its correlation with the climate justice movement also emphasizes the link of race and ethnicity with abuse of power and ways of retaliation in the face of that abuse. A newspaper article published in DW Made for Minds (Germany) quotes climate activists demanding an end to the racist behavior towards the "Black, brown and indigenous communities" of the Global South by the Global North's excessive damage to the environment and bringing about climate change.

b) Class and inequality

Secondly, class and inequality is another idea that runs through the climate justice discourse. The USA Today news article makes a statement about the roots of climate justice as a movement that lies in the belief that "pollution and poverty are bedfellows". Similarly, the article in DW- Made for Minds talks about the fact that the world is "very unequal" which is eventually manifesting itself with reference to climate change. The article mentions the unprecedented amount of emissions done by the rich nations while talking about the emissions from "booming middle class" in China and India that must be taken into consideration. The article mentions a quote on the current climate change-related crisis that is "We're all in this climate crisis, but we're not all in it together," which amplifies the fact that inequalities and class systems play out at the global level and eventually cause climate injustice. The Korea Herald talks about climate justice in terms of climate change having "disproportionate social and economic impacts on marginalized, underserved populations". This brings to light the idea of widespread inequality and class system as those belonging to lower social status are often marginalized.

c) Migration

Thirdly, climate change-related migration is another component of the sociological dimension that has been identified in the discourse of climate justice. National Observer article sheds light upon the issue of migration which is closely related to climate change and climate justice. It mentions the term “climate migration” which means that people are forced to migrate from an area because the living conditions of that area have deteriorated to such an extent that it is almost impossible to live there. Climate migration in itself is a social issue and it is sheer injustice towards the people especially from Global South to move from their ancestral homes, leaving so much behind to look for a new life in strange places. The article taken from a Turkish newspaper talks about “migration waves” in the whole world due to climate change-related disasters and highlights these migrations as a “security threat”. This labelling of migrations of people from low-income countries to high-income countries as a security threat is itself an injustice to them. The problem that wasn’t created by the Global South in the first place is labelling it as a part of the problem while exonerating the Global North totally from this debate.

d) Age and gender

Lastly, sociological components like age and gender, have been frequently discussed in various articles of the Global North with reference to climate justice debate and the injustice done to people because of their age and gender. The Guardian news article mentions the preamble of the Bali Principles of Climate Justice in the following words, “The impacts of climate change are “disproportionately felt by small island states, women, youth, coastal peoples, local communities, Indigenous peoples, fisherfolk, poor people, and the elderly”. This quote mentions different age categories like youth and the elderly. It also mentions gender as in ‘women’. These are a few social indicators in any society. The discourse of climate justice seems quite aware of the sociological dimension and its implications for people around the globe. This resonates with the study of Demico et. al (2020) in which authors reflected upon the issue of gender and climate justice as well and mentioned some other variables that are effected by climate change and are related to climate justice.

4.1.3 Biologics

Biologics or biological dimension deals with the correlation between language and the biological world, including plants, animals, multiple ecosystems, and even the planet Earth as a whole sustaining life in various forms. This section highlights the biological elements found in the climate justice discourse. Guardian talks about the mounting “debt” of the poor countries leading to the destruction of their “ecosystems” as well. Here, the term ecosystem stands for the biological dimension of the climate justice discourse highlighting the link between the

capitalist world and ecosystems in which humans and other animals and plants thrive. The article further talks about the “deaths caused by climate breakdown” in the Global South and links it to a debt that is not “purely financial”.

a) Natural/Climate-induced disasters

According to the National Observer article, natural disasters like “droughts, floods, more extreme storms” due to rapid climate change have grave effects on the people, especially in the Global South. BBC article also takes into account the “flooding” and “sea-level rise” due to the melting of “glaciers”. It sheds light on these natural disasters in the context of climate injustice as the countries least responsible for bringing about climate change are the most affected in terms of damage caused due to natural disasters. CNN article also mentions a list of climate change-induced disasters like, “droughts, heat waves, flooding, and rising seas” that have severe impacts on the countries, especially of Global South, who have little contribution in bringing about climate change which makes it a human rights issue and a main concern of climate justice discourse. The Moscow Times article mentions the “extreme weather events” like, “Forest fires, floods and droughts” which can pose serious threats to Russia. The article also backs this claim with facts and figures as it mentions the “biggest forest fires” in Yakutia (a Russian Republic) that happened due to a long-lasting drought. Similarly, the German newspaper also highlights the severity of the problem of “droughts” in Eastern and Southern Africa, which are slowly turning the fertile land into deserts. It also mentions the predicted havoc that can be caused due to rising sea levels in the following words, “sea levels will have risen so high that coastal floods that used to hit once a century will strike many cities every single year”. FRANCE 24 article takes into account the ravaging impacts of climate change in the form of “deadly floods, heat waves and wildfires across four continents”. The article addresses the issue of “permafrost” releasing dangerous gases, and the “Amazon” turning into a “savannah”, that it talks about fastly melting of “ice sheets” that cause excessive flooding around the globe. The article emphasizes that these disasters are more than proof of the danger planet Earth is facing due to climate change and the continuous rise of temperatures. This highlights the space natural and climate-induced disasters take in the climate justice debate.

b) Global warming

Global Warming and rising temperatures have been discussed in various newspaper articles. National Observer mentions “increased warming temperatures” harming the Global South. Similarly, the CNN article also stresses the increase in the “intensity of heat waves” that

is damaging to the planet Earth and affects the lives and livelihoods of vulnerable people around the world.

German newspaper excerpts also indicate global warming and its consequences for low-income countries in continents like Africa and Asia.

Across Africa, extreme heat is growing so severe that some areas could be uninhabitable within decades. Big cities will increasingly become too hot to safely walk outside in, and those who can't afford air conditioning struggle to stay cool indoors. (DW – Made for Minds, 2021)

The article also talks about the rapidly melting glaciers of “Hindu Kush and Himalayas” in Asia leading to the complete disappearance of ice by 2050. Heat waves have also been discussed in the Daily Sabah article that refers to the lethal consequences of such heat waves in the form of, “also cause many diseases, destroying thousands of lives, forests, the air and biodiversity”. This highlights the sheer injustice towards the people of Global South who do not have the resources to shield themselves from the life-threatening events due to climate change.

c) Damage to plants/crops/ food sources

National observer pinpoints the horrifying “crop failures” in the Global South due to the disproportionate impacts of climate change. BBC talks about the loss of “food sources in Madagascar” due to drought. Daily Sabah shares some statistics on trees as “An adult tree tirelessly replaces 22 kilograms (48.5 pounds) of carbon dioxide with oxygen every year”. These excerpts indicate the loss of crops, plants, and food sources in general due to changing climate conditions and climate-induced disasters leading to an increase in hunger and poverty that is detrimental to the Global South, while Global North is not directly affected due to this catastrophe, at least not yet.

4.2 Dimensions of Climate Justice Discourse of the Global South

The major dimensions of ideologics, sociologics, and biologics contain the sub-dimensions of climate justice discourse of the Global South.

4.2.1 Ideologics

The major ideological underpinnings in the discourse of the Global South on climate justice have been discussed below.

a) Political

Political ideology has been given adequate importance in the discourse of climate justice. Rio on Watch talks about the direct involvement of politics in the context of climate change creating injustice at a national and global level. It mentions a survey conducted in Brazil whose results highlight that a majority of people vote for politicians “based on their proposals for environmental defense”. It highlights that climate change considerations are a priority even when it comes to elections and political ideologies of the common masses. The article adds that a staggering majority of Brazilians prefer those political leaders who prioritize “environment to economic profitability”. The article emphasizes the vulnerability of Brazil as a country and highlights that this ‘climate injustice’ must be a part of political agenda “nationally and internationally”. The article in ‘Mexico Today’ talks about the incapacity of political leadership over the subject of climate justice discourse and urges that genuine efforts must be made in order to stop the ensuing injustice. The East African article sheds light on the subject of climate security and the political will of Kenya to uphold it at an international level as climate insecurity continuously harms the African population in general. The article highlights that organizations like African Union must add climate insecurity in their peace and security architecture to help the African population suffering through climate injustice as they are paying a heavy cost for erratic climate change patterns. Hence, political will is important to ensure climate justice is being ensured for the African people.

b) Capitalism and colonialism

The article published in Mexico Today sheds light on the climate change crisis and explores its origins in the “harmful systems of colonialism, oppression, capitalism, and market-oriented greenwash solutions”. This highlights the relationship between the inherent inequalities and injustice at the global level to the colonial and imperial systems of subjugation, as well as, the green-washing of the capitalist system that has been plaguing the markets for ages. The article also gives deeper insights into the “fossil fuel investments” that have become a leading cause of climate change and the resultant climate injustice for people worldwide, especially the Global South as fossil fuel is considered an asset in a capitalist economy and its extraction has continued for ages by the present Global North countries. Buenos Aires Times (BA Times) article expresses concern of the Argentinian President Alberto Fernandez over the rising climate injustice as lower and middle-income countries continue to face losses. He insisted on the idea of a ‘debt swap’ to be considered by the international credit organizations in order to provide financial support to the lower-middle income countries for climate action. He also made remarks on the ‘irresponsible over-indebtedness that has been exacerbated by the

COVID-19 pandemic and said, “We need to renew the international financial architecture,” which refers to the capitalistic and imperialistic international financial structure. The Business Standard article highlights the annual losses to the economy of Bangladesh due to climate change and talks about the diversion of funds to tackle climate change and its impacts instead of spending a hefty amount on development projects for uplifting the general public. Business Recorder expresses the thoughts of Pakistani academia on climate change and capitalism as the problem of climate change cannot be resolved until and unless there is a manifest change in the global ‘capitalist production’. Africanews promotes the idea of financial justice in the face of climate change while quoting the Head of the African Union’s address at the COP26 Glasgow Summit. The article further sheds light on his remarks, “It is time for Africa to be compensated for the good of the planet”. The President of the African Development Bank talked about the plight of African people and the constant shortage of funds for climate change mitigation and adaptation and the gap that has worsened due to the pandemic situation. He concluded his remarks “Africa simply cannot breathe”.

Besides the criticism of the systems of capitalism and colonialism, there are instances where the climate justice discourse talks about the space for developing countries to grow and thrive within this capitalist system. Tribune India promulgates this idea in the following words, “Climate justice also means giving the developing countries enough space to grow”. The article also mentions the true spirit of climate justice which is of “trusteeship” in which the poorest are dealt with with compassion in order to ensure growth. The article published in a Bangladeshi newspaper also conveys a similar idea of just climate action in the face of ongoing climate injustice as, “compensating the indigenous people, developing countries, and the most affected communities”. It also discusses the idea of carrying out proper “climate diplomacy and negotiations” which requires the documentation of the losses incurred due to climate change in the developing countries. The article taken from Mongabay (Africa) throws light upon the “consumption and production patterns” of the “polluting countries” and their impact on the rising global temperature that is making the Global South countries highly vulnerable to climate change. The article talks about the positive change in the capitalistic mindset by changing the consumption and production patterns of the Global North. VOA news article talks about the mitigation strategies to save the agriculture sector of Somalia by making ‘climate investments’ and employing ‘climate-smart technology’. Climate investment and climate-smart technology both refer to the capitalistic thought of investing in countries that desperately need climate-related capital in order to save them from further crises.

c) *Power*

Mexico Today article elucidates the ideology of power within the discourse of climate justice and the criticism of the misuse of that power by the Global North. The article talks about the inclusion of the ‘forty’ leaders in the climate change summit while a majority of these leaders belongs to that of Global North which has been dominating the Global South by perpetuating injustice via their use and abuse of power. The Business Standard article also illustrates the rampage caused by the developed countries in the following words, “The developed countries cause damage, misuse and abuse privileges.” This highlights the damage caused to the developing countries is majorly due to the misuse and abuse of power by the Global North, while the price has been paid by the Global South. Mongabay explores the underrepresentation of the African nations in the “climate talks” despite being the most vulnerable to climate change is a proof enough for the manipulation at the international level and the power play of the developed countries. The article also illuminates the masking or “erasure” of the voices of the Global South as, “We have seen how continuously activists from the global south, who are speaking up from the most affected communities — their voices are not being platformed. Their stories are being erased.” This intentional erasure hints at the global power hierarchies and systems that have been formed to favour its creators, i.e. the Global North. The article also discusses the nature of COP26 being the “whitest and most privileged summit ever” as most of the civil society representatives from the Global South could not attend it. A statement by a community worker from Malawi indicates the plight of the poorly represented Global South countries as, “They will be speaking on behalf of my village, which we do not like,” he said. “They end up misrepresenting our issues.”

4.2.2 Sociologics

a) *Awareness*

Rio on Watch article describes the lack of awareness around the subject of climate change and stresses the importance of “access to digital media” as a key to raising awareness over the subject matter. The Mexico Today article also stresses the importance of awareness in the following words, “including literacy on climate justice, environmental racism, ancestral and indigenous wisdom, disability justice, green careers, and sustainable living.” Business Standard (Bangladesh) highlights the awareness component being a central issue in the climate justice debate, “Until we get justice, we need to keep organizing campaigns on a massive level across the world and raise public awareness.” Business Recorder news article refers to the ‘Climate Justice March’ held in Lahore, Pakistan which was meant solely for raising awareness

among people over the issue of climate change and ensuing climate injustice. The slogans like “Climate revolution, not pollution” were chanted by the participants of the march and they also wore shirts with this slogan and other such slogans that highlighted the concept of climate justice for the sake of raising awareness among the people of Pakistan. Similarly, the VOA news article talks about the importance of raising awareness among the Somali people as the article mentions remarks of a Somali agriculture and resilience expert, “But above all, we need to educate our people”. These words have been said in the context of the ravaging impacts of climate change and the sheer injustice of the global community towards the Somali people and the need for introducing climate-friendly technologies. In order to do this, the first step is to raise awareness among the people for which the government is highly responsible as well. Likewise, the Kenya News article stresses the importance of awareness among the people as a stepping stone towards fighting climate disasters and bringing about justice. The article refers to the program named Voices for Just Climate Action which is meant to aware and equip the African people in the fight against climate change by making them aware of the ‘innovative and inclusive’ climate change solutions.

b) Hunger and poverty

The Mongabay article interlinks ‘climate change’ and ‘hunger’ in Sub-Saharan Africa where the speakers are asserting that the growing issue of climate change is equivalent to growing hunger in the communities. It emphasizes the role of civil society members from Africa, who are making continuous efforts to bring the prevalent hunger and food insecurity in vulnerable countries like Madagascar and other African countries, to light. Another quote by a community worker from Zimbabwe goes like this, “Climate change means hunger and scarcity in our communities.” The article also underscores that “Millions of people go hungry in the region every year.” It further adds that climate change has made the figures even worse which definitely requires a quick climate action. Tribune India expresses the sad reality about climate change which, “impacts the poor the most,” which highlights that poverty is a central theme to the subject matter of climate justice. Xinhua news article quotes the words of President Xi Jinping stressing the need to remove poverty in order to deliver justice and equity during the wave of ‘green transition’. For this cause, the Chinese president stressed to, “Join hands, not point fingers”. Moreover, Kenya News Agency emphasizes the adverse effects of climate change on livelihoods and rising poverty levels in rural areas specifically.

c) Climate security/insecurity

The East African news article indicates another important dimension of climate justice known as climate security/insecurity. The article talks about the domino effect of climate change destroying the livelihoods of people and eventually resulting in conflict. ‘Competition over resources’ due to the “arrival of migrants displaced by flooding, drought, or storms or violence” is the leading cause of high levels of insecurity increasing among the general population due to climate change. The article explores the case study of Somalia - a country ravaged by drought, where farmers and pastoralists are at loggerheads with each other due to climate change and its aftermath. Due to security issues, many people have left their land and are being exploited by the insurgent group named Al-Shabaab. This movement of population is continuously changing the demographics, hence creating major governance issues that again lead to insecurity. The article also explores the options for the resolution of climate insecurity issues in the Horn of Africa that transcend borders and affect other nearby nations as well. However, it is sheer injustice to the people of Africa to bear the double burden of ‘conflict and climate change’ leading to persistent security threats on their own.

d) Art and social change

Bringing about social change through art is a unique dimension identified in the discourse of the Global South. The article in This Day (Nigeria) introduces this concept of utilizing art and creativity to induce social change in communities. The article talks about the South African moving market that gives opportunities to businesses and entrepreneurs to sell their products and services via different platforms like “WE!ARE showcase”. This platform “aims to highlight the blessing and “curse” of water using art and creativity to dissect and interrogate climate justice within a South African context.” It intends to feature those South African areas that are facing water shortages or are flood-stricken. Similarly, the article highlights “creative advocacy” being carried out in Mozambique through a social circus on the loss and damage that climate change has brought upon the marginalized communities in Africa. The article also acknowledges the efforts of Nigerian entrepreneurs and youth in showcasing a futuristic scenario. The article also puts emphasis on the power of art to change the narrative and bring about change by narrowing the gap between the affected people and policymakers. This news article brings about a unique dimension to climate justice discourse that is seldom seen in other articles across the globe and presents an innovative way to change behaviors around the issue of climate change by utilizing the arts.

4.2.3 Biologics

The biological dimension explored in the discourse of climate justice has been analysed in this section.

a) Natural/climate induced disasters

Mexico today's news article highlights the biological dimension of climate justice in terms of natural and climate-induced disasters which eventually affect vulnerable communities to make them further impoverished and marginalized. The article identifies natural and climate-induced disasters like “drought, flooding, wildfires, crop failure” and the resultant displacement of communities facing such disasters. Similarly, Mongabay's article elucidates the sheer injustice done toward African countries especially Madagascar “which is facing the world’s first climate change-induced famine”. The article ironically compares the per capita carbon emissions of Madagascar and that of the USA which stands at 0.12 tons/person and 16 tons/person respectively. Likewise, the Nigerian newspaper This Day also highlights the staggering number of people at risk due to climate change-induced disasters. The article mentions, “up to 118 million impoverished people will be exposed to drought, floods and extreme heat in Africa by 2030.” Additionally, the VOA article emphasizes the damage caused by the recurring and “prolonged drought, floods and locust infestations” in Somalia and overall Horn of Africa region. The article sheds light upon the issue of food security as a result of ‘climate change-related disasters’ that stands for the people of Africa being met with injustice.

a) Crop failure and loss of livelihood

Mongabay's article highlights the impact of changing weather patterns on crop production as “High temperatures and droughts cause crop failures” which has an unprecedented impact on the lives of people depending solely on the land for livelihood. The article further states the plight of the farmers who work hard, but are repeatedly failed by the changing climate conditions like “poor soils and erratic rains”. Along with it, the article introduces the phenomenon of climate-smart agriculture that started with a Non-governmental organization for empowering women and equipping them with new ideas that are climate-friendly as well. The East African news article talks about the dependence of people’s livelihood on natural resources like, “pasture and water for livestock, fertile and well-watered arable land, healthy fish stocks, or productive forests” while continuous damage and scarcity of these resources due to changing climatic conditions are adding to the plight of the people as

they are losing their sources of livelihood. VOA news article quotes the remark of Somalia's Deputy Prime Minister Mahdi Mohamed Gulaid as he said, “Somalia and other poor countries are paying with their lives and livelihoods for a problem not of our making”. These words reflect the dangerous impacts of climate change on Somalia leading to excessive crop failures and loss of livelihood for the Somali people who haven't contributed to the climate change and that is where injustice is being done to them.

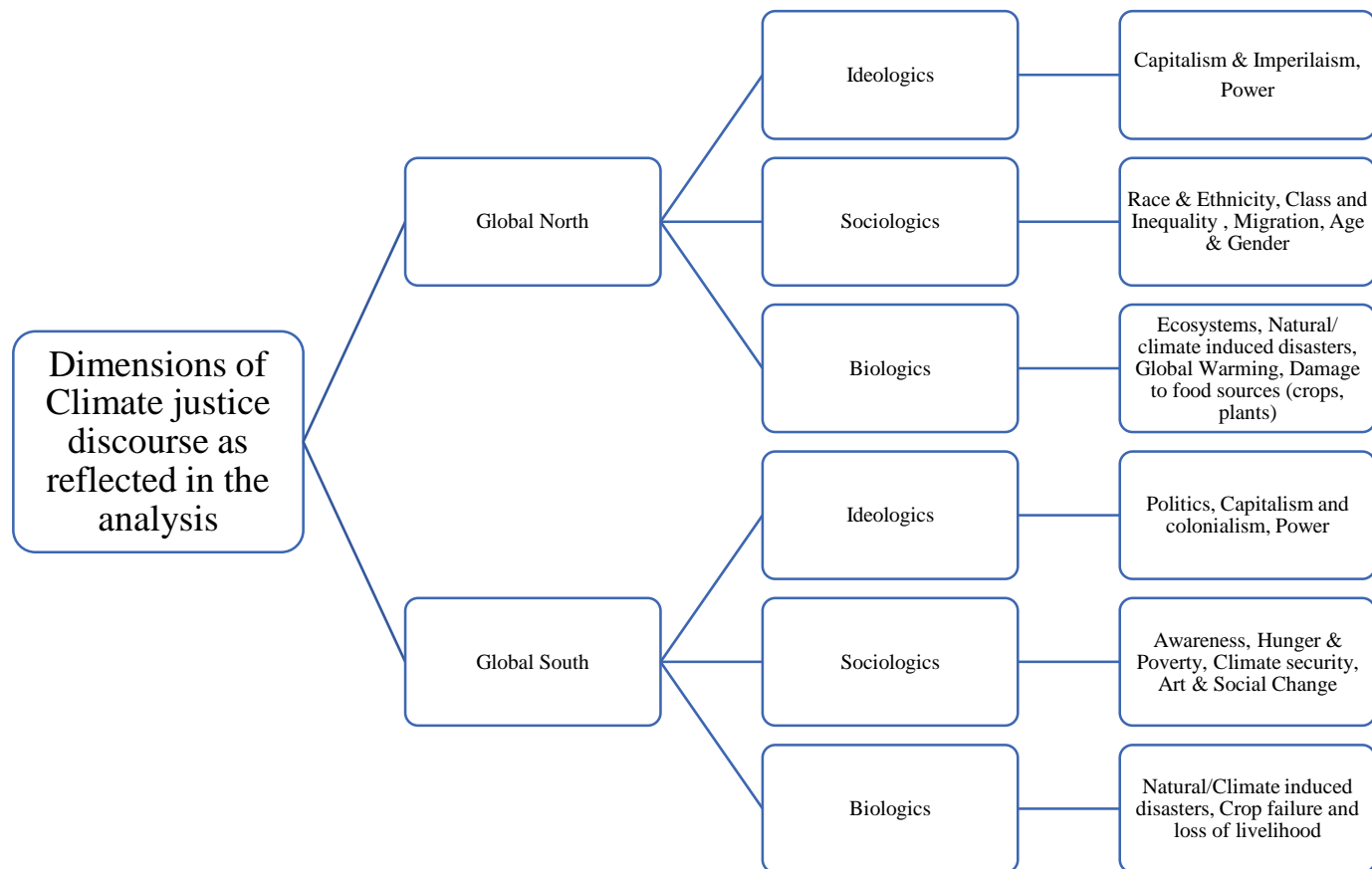


Figure 2: Dimensions of Climate justice discourse in Global North and Global South derived from the data analysis

After due deliberation on the current and recurrent dimensions of climate justice discourse in both Global North and Global South, with special focus on the Global South, it is imperative to look at the nature of the discourse being produced. The following discussion revolves around the question of climate justice discourse produced in both Global North and South as beneficial, ambivalent or destructive. Moreover, the section specially focuses on the treatment of Global South in the newspaper discourse of the Global North, whether it is beneficial, ambivalent or destructive.

Stibbe (2014) in his article titled ‘An Eco-linguistic Approach to Critical Discourse Studies’ talked about the necessity of beneficial discourses that support life instead of harmful or destructive discourses that support consumerism and economics over the sustainability of ecosystems in which humans and non-human beings thrive. Similarly, Stibbe (2015) has written extensively on the three types of discourses in his book, *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By*. This section aimed to determine the nature of climate justice discourse as a beneficial, ambivalent, or destructive discourse, produced by the Global North, as well as, the Global South.

4.3 Global North and Nature of Climate Justice Discourse

4.3.1 Beneficial discourses

USA Today article represents beneficial discourse that is in line with the idea of climate justice in instances like, “Historically underserved communities are less able to prepare and recover from extreme weather events driven by climate change”. In another instance, the article emphasizes the roots of the environmental justice movement that started because of the acknowledgment of the fact that “pollution and poverty are bedfellows”. This highlights the mutual relationship between poverty and pollution as pollution causes poverty and poverty further exacerbates pollution due to a lack of resources to tackle it. It is a beneficial discourse, as the idea of climate justice advocates helping and supporting the nations caught up in this dilemma.

The article published in Guardian talks about cancelling the poor nations’ “historic debt” that will help them in taking measures against changing climate. The article stresses upon the campaign for climate justice to be run by developed countries and not just the poor countries. The article also talks about the “massive climate debt” that the rich nations owe to the poor nations and tries to find solutions for the international community as a whole to move forward. The idea of rich nations owing a debt to poor nations was analyzed and highlighted

by Rice (2009) in a study that advocated for the ‘ecological debt’ that rich developed nations owe to the developing countries for damaging the planet and bringing about climate change. So, the idea of cancelling out the debts and paying the climate debt that the Global North owes to the Global South is highly beneficial discourse. Similarly, the article also states, “The idea that the global south, looted and enslaved for centuries, should owe money to its exploiters is grotesque”. The article also reveals the true nature of “debt trap diplomacy” being used as an exploitation strategy by the rich nations in order to keep the global South subdued. The Guardian article resounds the reservations of the climate justice ideology and movement by clearly stating that emissions rise from the Global North, while people die in the Global South due to such emissions.

National Observer (Canada) article emphasizes the definition of climate justice by highlighting the fact that people suffering at the hands of climate change have a minimal role in creating the problem itself. The article further states,

Those in the Global South, through quirks of geography and climate, are much more vulnerable to the manifestations of climate change, such as increased warming temperatures, droughts, floods, more extreme storms, increased disease, crop failures, climate migration, and increased climate change-related social conflict. (Tindall, 2021)

The quote reflects self-critique and openly acknowledges the plight of the Global South which makes it a beneficial discourse seen through the lens of climate justice. BBC news article on climate justice recognizes the adverse impact of emissions on millions of people around the world who did not contribute to the making of this menace. The article talks about reparations needed for ‘loss and damage’ especially the irreversible loss and damage like rising sea levels and ‘glacial melt’. Moreover, there is a deep acknowledgment of the “looming debt crisis” of the smaller states due to climate change-related damage. This concern was also manifested and analyzed by Audet (2013) in his study on the discourse of climate justice. His ‘transition discourse’ highlighted that concerns related to climate change mitigation cost and the role of the developed countries, which directly links it to the acknowledgment of the debt issue of the Global South. The BBC article also identifies “ongoing colonial legacies” towards the Global South countries, hence fulfilling the requirements of beneficial discourse as it is meant to sustain life and recognize the harm done to the Global South.

The Moscow Times article criticizes the carbon emissions law signed by President Putin and asserts that the document has no tangible processes that actually regulate carbon emissions. The article also targets the “net zero emissions” timeline of Russia as the country continues to fall back on the practical steps needed to reach the target, in fact, Russia is “planning to keep increasing emissions through 2030”. This resounds the central idea of the study conducted by Alarcon (2020) on the discourse of *‘Buen Vivir’* that emerged as a significant discourse of nature in Latin America against the discourse of commodification supported by the government, which makes it a beneficial discourse. The Moscow Times article also points out the lack of awareness of “just energy transition” among the Russian people, only a smaller faction is aware of these ideas. The mere criticism is in line with the determinants of a beneficial climate justice discourse as it calls out the unfair practices and processes, especially of the Global North. The German newspaper DW – Made for Minds represents beneficial discourse with reference to climate justice by criticizing the US being the biggest polluter while her climate-related pledges are not at all effective. The article states that this is a question of justice which makes it a beneficial discourse exposing the exploitation done by the Global North. The article cites many quotes from different climate activists regarding the issue of climate change and the plunder of the Global South especially the continents and regions like Africa, Asia, and East and Southern Africa, which is quite beneficial if seen from the perspective of ecolinguistics’ life-sustaining beneficial discourses. However, no direct mention and involvement of Germany is a little worrisome, despite the discourse being predominantly beneficial.

FRANCE 24 news article quotes a powerful statement by a senior energy analyst in which he argues, “the atmosphere responds to emissions -- not COP decisions” and demands more work needed to change this rhetoric into a living reality, where the countries pledging at COP meetings fail to practically implement the decisions aimed at reducing emissions and stopping the damage to the planet. The article quotes facts from the IPCC report charting the ever-growing climate adaptation finance gap that is meant to help vulnerable countries to cope with the effects of climate change. Similarly, Daily Sabah – a Turkish newspaper, talks about the responsibility factor that must be taken by those who have contributed excessively to climate change. The article stresses that the responsible ones must make amends to reverse or stop the impacts of climate change. The article further compares the “material footprint per capita” which is around “27 metric tons in developed countries and only “2 metric tons” in low-income countries. However, the impacts are disproportionate as low-income countries

suffer more than developed countries. The article also discusses climate-related issues like global warming and heat waves due to deforestation and rapid melting of glaciers etc. The article concludes in the following manner, “the solution to the problem also lies with us, the people who caused the problem”. This highlights a beneficial discourse in terms of promoting life-sustaining ideas and criticizing the leading agents of the looming climate change crises.

Korea Herald article talks about the need for putting ‘justice’ as a focal point for making all sorts of climate-related legislation that can serve as a backbone for carbon neutrality targets for South Korea. The article adds that any legislation must address the issue of climate justice and the ones responsible for generating higher emissions while also recognizing Korea as the seventh highest carbon emitter globally. The discourse is very beneficial as it criticizes the actions of the government and demands that blind economic progress must be slowed down to protect the planet Earth which has limited resources. The article supports the idea of shifting the economy to a green economy by shunning dependence on fossil fuels. The article also denigrates the culture of excessive consumerism and promotes new thinking to deal with climate emergency. The Japanese newspaper Asahi Shimbun talks about the criticism of the government’s policy on reducing emissions as they are not considered enough by climate change youth activists. The article states that Japan is one of the highest emitters and is being called out by the younger generations out of concern for their future. The Japanese youth are specifically targeting the coal power stations and speaking up to cease their operations makes it a beneficial discourse with reference to climate justice despite its narrow worldview.

4.3.2 Ambivalent discourses

The USA Today article talks about climate justice and the people who are at higher risk in the face of changing climate change which sounds quite beneficial; however, the article labels the vulnerable people as ‘people of color’ in the article title hence reinforcing the idea of racism and inequality that goes against the spirit of climate justice. This makes the discourse ambivalent in nature as it is beneficial, but can be potentially harmful as well. In another instance, the article talks about increasing death risk related to climate change and rising temperatures, but in a racist light by labelling people living in slums as “black people” instead of highlighting their proper ethnicities that make the discourse ambivalent as climate justice talks about ascending the boundaries and races and talks about sustaining life and humanity. The article reiterates a statement similar to the title, “climate change disproportionately impacts lower income and black and brown communities”. The prejudice in the words like black and

brown communities is predominant in this statement as on one side it is talking about providing low-income communities with the justice and support they deserve, while on the other hand, labelling them by the color of their skin goes awry to the true spirit of the climate justice discourse.

CNN article explores the unmet “emission pledges” and the increasing gap in commitments of the nations which sounds like a beneficial discourse; however, it evades responsibility on specific nations or countries by using the generic term. As the article progresses, it mentions case laws where climate scientists are being called to courts to give their testimony and then goes straight to criticize Brazil – a Global South country, without taking into account the damage caused by the Global North countries towards Brazil. Firstly, the article mentions an Austrian group going to the court against Brazilian president for deforestation of the Amazon while disregarding all the other climate change-related factors that are continuously threatening the Amazon itself. The article continues to keep up an ambivalent tone while talking about the impacts of climate change and the way in which Bolsonaro’s politics is a leading cause of ‘heat waves’ that is affecting people around the globe. On one hand, the concern about emissions and heat waves is valid from the viewpoint of climate justice discourse, but the sheer criticism of one Global South country defies the spirit of climate justice. No mention of the USA makes the discourse even more deceptive and harmful as the article calls the Brazilian president’s policies a “crime against humanity” while taking no responsibility on their shoulders for being the top emitters in the world. This predominance over the discourse of climate change and climate justice by the Global North was also manifested in the study of Blicharska et al., (2017) in which the researchers concluded that among the global North and South binary, the dominance stays with the Global North as it gets to create the narrative and make policy instruments and agreements keeping the hegemony of the Global north intact. This makes the discourse highly ambivalent as it is beneficial on one side but is comparatively damaging and misleading on the other hand because it projects the narrative of the Global North which gets to speak on behalf of the Global South as well.

Likewise, The Moscow Times article quotes the remarks of President Putin as he rightly talks about climate change as a ‘global problem’ that rose out of ‘human economic activity’. The problem with Putin’s statement is that it does not specify the ones responsible for carrying out excess economic activity. Secondly, there is no intention of showing empathy for those affected by it, especially the Global South countries. The article further talks about the ‘carbon levies’ and the rising concerns of Russia’s huge energy companies that can probably suffer

extensive economic damage if the European Union finalizes the ‘Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism’. This reveals a capitalist mindset and a threatening level of ambivalence in the climate justice discourse as it has a lot of potential for turning into a destructive discourse.

FRANCE 24 news article talks about climate justice as an imminent issue but directly targets China and India being the largest carbon emitters who are not willing to give up fossil fuels. The energy transition towards clean energy is definitely demanded of climate justice; however, ignoring the material circumstances of the Global South countries and labelling them as non-compliant is alarming while there is no mention of statistics of France and her carbon footprint. This hypocritical statement on one side talks about preserving the planet Earth, while on the other hand shirks responsibility that lies upon the Global North for emitting carbon for centuries. The article further states that decarbonization is the ultimate solution and all countries ‘must’ adapt to new and clean technologies. This suggestion is quite pertinent to climate justice discourse, but it ignores the incapacity of a majority of the Global South countries to introduce new technologies and keep up with them majorly due to lack of resources and different physical and geographical conditions. This is similar to the study conducted by Beer (2014) in which he identified that the Global North countries ignore the capacity of the Global South countries during policy-making, especially with regard to emissions and adapting to clean technology. This is what makes the discourse an ambivalent one as it is disregarding the capacity of half of the world and is biased in its approach.

4.4 Global South and Nature of Climate Justice Discourse

The discourse of Global South is predominantly considered a beneficial discourse with regard to climate justice as it started in Global South and is continuing to grow there; however, this statement requires validation from the analysis. Rio on Watch – a Brazilian newspaper, describes the findings of a report titled “Climate Change and the Public Perception in Brazil” that talk about climate-friendly actions of the Brazilian people and their desire to get “greener policies” implemented by the government. The article also talks about the huge figure of Brazilian people voting for candidates who include environmental considerations in their political agendas. The study conducted by Milanez and Fonseca (2012) on Brazilian newspaper articles from two cities of Brazil also stressed upon the need of climate justice discourse in newspapers so that Brazilians can get local and international attention and get their demands fulfilled by the Brazilian government. This highlights the importance and utility of beneficial

discourse for a country like Brazil as Rio on Watch article also stresses, “Brazilians on average are more vulnerable to the effects of global warming”. The article also reflects upon the changing behavioural patterns of Brazilian people as they are limiting excessive consumerism and “avoiding products” that are dangerous for the overall environment. This speaks volume about the presence of beneficial discourse on climate justice in Brazil.

Mexico today article emphasizes the extractive structures and institutions like, “colonialism, oppression, capitalism and market-oriented greenwash solutions” as the leading cause of climate crises. The article continues to mention the displacement of populations due to “droughts, floods, wildfires, crop failure” while these populations stay under-represented at conferences like ‘Leaders’ Summit on Climate’ and emphasizes that climate justice is inalienable from social justice. The article declares, “...the era of fossil fuels is over”. This assertion is similar to the tension expressed in the study conducted by Alarcon (2020) on Latin American environmental discourse named as *Buen Vivir* that stands for the discourse of economics and commodification for the state on one hand, while it represents the discourse of nature and sustainability for the Latin American people. The similar tensions of giving up fossil fuels and adapting to climate and nature friendly practices is resounded in the Mexico today article making it a beneficial discourse that sustains life and criticizes the institutions founded by the Global North especially colonial structures of oppression and exploitation.

Buenos Aires news article focuses on the idea of “debt swaps” for climate action as a “mitigation” measure in the face of unprecedented climate change and the financial losses faced by the low income countries. The article quotes the Argentinian President saying, “It is now or never; I have instructed my Cabinet to develop a national adaptation and mitigation plan”. The article represents a resonant discourse on the losses suffered by the poor countries and the need for reparations and compensation to be made by the developed nations responsible for causing the loss. This discourse can be fairly called as a beneficial discourse as it exposes the inequalities among the nations and demands climate justice. Similarly, the Tribune India article states the remarks of PM Modi that there is an unbreakable link between the health of planet and the health of people. He further added, “The road to fighting climate change is through climate justice” which highlights a beneficial life sustaining discourse that is essentially driven by justice at its core. The article also puts emphasis on the PM’s thoughts on the detrimental effect of environmental changes and disasters on the poor populations. Moreover, the article talked about “renewable energy” and “clean cooking fuel” besides mentioning a “greener

planet”. These terms are indicative of the beneficial discourse as it sincerely talks about the need and efforts being put to move towards a just and sustainable world.

The Business Standard article is also replete with discourse raising concerns about injustice that is being done with the poor and vulnerable countries and the perpetrators are the developed countries who exploit their power and authority. The article reports massive human lives loss in Bangladesh due to climate change. It talks about raising awareness among the people and also criticizes the capitalist mind-set of the administration that is continuously building over the area of “conserved forests”. This concern for human lives and deforestation makes this discourse of climate justice life sustaining and beneficial and at the same time the criticism of the developed world makes it even more beneficial. Similarly, the Xinhua net article discusses sections of President Xi Jinping’s speech in which he specifically talked about ‘protection’ and ‘preservation’ of nature and environment. The President further stressed on ‘strictly’ shifting to green technologies and lessen dependence on “coal-fired power generation projects” and “coal consumption” which is reminiscent of a beneficial discourse for sustaining life and falls in the core ideas of climate justice. The Chinese President further added, “green mountains are gold mountains” while emphasizing the importance of protecting environment and sustaining ecosystems. The article also specifies the “green action initiatives” of China including, “green infrastructure, green energy, green transport and green finance” that have been launched to support the One Belt and Road partner countries as well.

Business Recorder – a Pakistani newspaper, discusses the details of a climate justice march which put several demands and urged the government to take climate action. The demands included curbing “air pollution” and availability of “renewable energy for communities” besides shunning the use of “fossil fuels”. These demands are a foundation of a clean and green environment that can sustain and grow life which makes this discourse extremely beneficial in nature. The article also discourages the use of “gas and oil based energy” as they are hazardous and expensive at the same time. The article also touched the issue of capitalist production and the dire need to transform the international system for the benefit of all instead of getting exploited from it.

Additionally, the East African news article puts emphasis on the importance of natural resources for the people living in Horn of Africa as a huge chunk of population depends on these natural resources for their livelihoods. Any damage to these resources directly causes damage to the human population. Moreover, there is a high risk of conflict at local or regional

level due to competition among the people for the resources. The article aims to seek peace building measures and foresees a peaceful region of the horn of Africa that is already challenged by the carnage of climate change related disasters. The discourse can be labelled as beneficial discourse as it intends to preserve both nature and human existence, in fact, it aims at the survival of well-balanced eco-systems. Similarly, Mongabay article raises concerns over the astounding gap between per capita emissions of the developed countries like the USA and that of countries like Madagascar. Despite the persistent gap, countries like the US have been reluctant to make efforts for “climate finance”. The article further indicates the issue of rising global warming becoming a threat for planet Earth, while the solutions lie in drastic change in “consumption and production patterns” of the Global North. The article also exposes the irony that international fora gets to make “major decisions” that have a direct impact on the overall environment and ecosystems within the local communities. Most of the time their problems are misjudged or misrepresented which highlights the sheer damage to the local African communities who do not get to tell their part of the story, who do not get a chance to explain their problems as grassroots level. This discourse is definitely beneficial as it stands against the oppressive international system where decisions are made behind the closed doors, where the affected populations are seldom invited and represented. The discourse provides voice to such populations whose problems and existence are being erased by the world leaders.

Africanews article promotes the discourse of climate justice by focusing on “financial justice” for the low income Global South countries for embracing climate change adaptation measures. The article hold the international community accountable for the losses and compensations for Africa. The article demands the amount of climate related reparations from the developed countries as Africa as a continent has been plundered and looted and exploited in many ways including the current wave of climate change induced disasters. The article further says, “It is time for Africa to be compensated”. This quote reflects the responsibility of the developed countries to take responsibility and compensate Africa for the good of planet. This resonates with the idea of “conflict discourse” of climate justice propounded by Audet (2013) in which he discusses the binary of Global North and South, and states that the Global North countries must consider their historical responsibility for climate change and make reparations accordingly. The news article further talks about preservation of forests and oceans in Africa that have been serving as “natural carbon sinks”. The very term natural carbon sinks denotes that the forests and oceans have the capacity to absorb a huge amount of carbon-dioxide and some other harmful gases which makes the environment clean. The discourse can be safely

marked as a beneficial discourse as it covers the ideas of adaptation and mitigation, and at the same time talks about saving the natural forests and oceans of Africa that serve as “carbon sinks”.

This Day (Nigeria) article mentions astounding projections of people at risk of exposure to “drought, floods, and extreme heat in Africa by 2030” as the numbers will reach up to 118 million people. The article stresses the need of climate justice discourse to be made a mainstream discourse where people are aware of the concept itself. The article mentions use of art and creativity in different parts of Africa to raise awareness. The blessing and curse of water has been discussed in the article and South African populations affected by “flooding” and “water shortages” have been identified. Increasing sea pollution and “shoreline disappearance” have been identified as other major issues plaguing the African people. These terms highlight the concern towards the nature, as well as, human existence which makes it a beneficial discourse. Voice of Africa (VOA) news article represents a gloomy picture of Somalia where “prolonged drought, floods and locust infestations” have disturbed the lives of Somali farmers and most of them have fled from their lands. This uncovers the sheer injustice being borne by the poor populations of Somalia. Ironically, Somalia only emits a negligible amount (0.003%) of greenhouse gases, but is one of the countries at high risk due to climate change. The article shifts focus of the national and international community towards the Somali people as the experts demand “assistance” in the form of “climate investment” and introduction of “climate smart technologies” as a country devastated by climate change cannot afford green transition on their own. The article indicates the willingness of the Somali government and people with regard to conserving environment and using “renewable energy”. These milestones can only be achieved if the international community assists a country like Somalia before the impacts and damages caused due to climate change might become irreversible. The discourse is especially beneficial for further propagation of the idea of climate justice.

Kenya News article concerns itself with the issue of greenhouse gases like “methane” and “carbondioxide” that have caused significant damage to the ozone layer, hence resulting in global warming. The article adds that the manifestations of global warming include “rise in sea levels” and “melting glaciers”. These are some phenomena that pose a huge risk to the survival of planet Earth which makes this discourse highly beneficial. The article urges the international and regional actors to come forward and address this issue of vulnerability of African populations as climate crisis is also a social crisis. Moreover, as per Audet (2013), this discourse falls into the category of “vulnerability discourse” of climate justice which highlights

the areas and populations most vulnerable to climate change and calls for relevant stakeholders to act promptly. This makes the discourse quite beneficial as it speaks the language of climate justice and aims at achieving equality and equity in the face of climate change.

As the study has already explored the dimensions of climate justice discourse, as well as, examined the nature of climate justice discourse being produced in the Global North and Global South news media; it is important to take a closer look at the representation of climate justice discourse in the Pakistani newspapers as well. The following section will discuss the representation of climate justice discourse in Pakistani newspaper articles using the theoretical lenses of Erasure and Salience (Stibbe, 2015). The section aims to ascertain the standing of climate justice discourse reflected in mainstream Pakistani newspapers as Pakistan is among the top ten countries at highest risk in the face of climate change.

4.5 Erasure and Salience: Representation of Climate Justice Discourse in Pakistani Newspapers

The final objective of this study was to look at the representation of climate justice discourse in Pakistan (a Global South country) and a country that is highly vulnerable to climate change and its impacts. The analysis and findings drawn from this section have brought deep insights into the treatment of a topic like climate justice in the news media of a vulnerable country. Consequently, the study determined whether the climate justice and its core ideas are either being erased or are given enough salience and due representation that it deserves.

4.5.1 Erasure

DAWN news article talks about “globally growing extreme inequalities” among the countries of the world and demands climate action “but also climate justice”. In the very beginning, the article backgrounds the idea of climate justice that highlights erasure as it fails to elaborate the very concept of climate justice, instead it only gives a passing reference to the term. Moreover, major focus of the article lies on “just transition” from coal and fossil fuel to alternative sources of energy and livelihood. Ironically, these alternative sources are not clearly mentioned in the article as well. This also reflects erasure of other areas that fall into the domain of climate justice especially the social and biological domains, because the sole focus lies on the economic aspect of climate justice that is not entirely wrong, but a biased representation of the concept itself. The News article talks about the “historical CO₂ emissions” of “the US, Germany, UK, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Netherlands and 15 others” and highlights them as “former colonial powers of the world”. The article then discusses the ruthless subjugation

of “people across continents” where these colonizers destroyed almost everything without realizing that their actions are damaging the planet earth as well. This discourse is meant to highlight the atrocities of the former colonial nations; however, ironically it glorifies them as “powers of the world”. Moreover, it asserts that these powers have been ‘unintentionally’ destroying and damaging the planet Earth that masks the importance of the planet itself. This erasure is similar to the one identified by Chen et al., (2021) in a study on the erasure of nature in the discourse of oil production, where nature and environmental damage is discursively erased because of the commercial interests. Here, the importance of biodiversity, ecosystems, even the whole planet itself is being erased to justify the actions of the historical global empires. Additionally, the discourse totally erases the names of the continents and regions like Asia, Africa and Australia etc., that were largely colonized by these colonizers. There is complete masking of the identities of the people oppressed and exploited for ages, but those who have been plundering are the highlight of the text. Erasure techniques like suppression and backgrounding are very prominent here. They must be replaced by foregrounding those who have suffered at the hands of colonizers instead of just ‘massifying’ them.

The Express Tribune article talks about UN Secretary General’s call onto the “major emitters” to plan something better keeping in view the current scenario of “code red for humanity”. The use of massification in ‘major emitters’ as the action of emitting has been turned into a noun that makes the assertion sound less salient as it evades responsibility and fails to identify those actively involved in emitting hazardous gases. The discourse actively erases those who are responsible, as well as, those who are being affected.

4.5.2 Low salience

The second DAWN news article focuses upon the ex- Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan’s speech in which he tried to bring attention of the international community towards the countries “vulnerable” to climate change. The article highlights that the “rich countries” are responsible for providing funds as compensation to the likes of countries like Pakistan so that they “can fight climate change”. Here, the passivation and backgrounding is quite visible that is making the assertion sound less salient. Bringing the countries to the foreground who will hold rich countries responsible for making reparations will add more salience to the construction. The article also gives importance to the subject of “ecosystem restoration” and talks about global fight to restore ecosystem. This use of hypernym of ‘ecosystem’ is a weaker form of salience, which can be further strengthened by using more specific terms or hyponyms. The News article on climate justice throws light upon the Glasgow Summit (2021) and

discusses the ways in which “the world’s wealthiest nations” should compensate the “poor nations” for the damage they have caused so far, especially the rise in global temperatures. The article further adds that the question of taking responsibility and ensuring climate justice needs urgent treatment instead of rich nations conducting “useless conferences” for the sake of showing it off and feeling better about themselves. The discourse brings salience to the central idea of climate justice; however, the salience is low as many generalizations and homogenisations have been used instead of individualisations or naming. In order to bring more concreteness to the discourse, naming is required so that those responsible must be named and identified; likewise, those affected must be highlighted.

Express Tribune news article on, “The politics of climate change” begins with low salience over the subject of climate justice as it makes excessive use of nominalisation and transitivity that masks the nations responsible for carrying out the actions necessary as suggested by the IPCC. The article says that the report of IPCC is, “calling for action to cut down on methane emissions besides reducing carbon dioxide inventories drastically”. However, who is supposed to cut down methane and carbon emissions is not mentioned and not even specified as the article begins. This on one hand shows concern for cutting down on dangerous greenhouse gases to protect the planet earth, but on the other hand, masks the identities of those who have caused most of the damage and must take the responsibility to compensate for the damage and prevent further damage. This interplay of transitivity with agency clearly shows that this salience technique can hold the polluters responsible and accountable for their actions. Hence, low salience can be observed as the article begins which sounds similar to the study conducted by Farooq (2021) in which he observed the “deletion of human agent in the environmental discourse”. His study also highlights the manner in which the onus of responsibility from the human beings has been shifted, in fact, erased. Despite the fact that the article addresses the issue, it actively erases the agents responsible that makes this climate justice discourse low in salience.

4.5.3 High salience

The DAWN news article refers to the damage climate change has caused to “The poor everywhere in the Global South — and not just the coal miners”. The specification or naming here specially refers to the poor people of the ‘Global South’ and further specifies that it is not just those who belong to the ‘coal industry’ but people from other professions are being harmed by the menace of climate change as it is taking a huge toll on them which gives enough salience to the subject of climate change and those affected by it. The article further emphasizes upon

the idea of Pakistan moving towards a “just transition” in terms of economy, under the broader area of climate justice and questions the steps being taken and the areas being focused for this cause. The article makes use of salience techniques like foregrounding and individualisation to raise questions about the initiative of producing “electric vehicles” for middle class people, instead of going for utilizing such technologies for “rickshaw drivers” and other “commercial transporters”. The purpose behind this question is the realization that the poorest factions must be kept in mind while charting out any climate change related initiatives so that they are not further oppressed in any way. This idea sends a strong message to the international community as well that they must consider the low income countries while making decisions behind the closed doors. It also implies that the Global South is not just a part of the problem, but must be made a part of the solution too.

The second DAWN news article progresses with fairly higher salience as it talks about the steps taken by Pakistan in an active, rather than a passive manner. The article states, “Pakistan has pledged to shift to producing 60pc clean energy by 2030”. It further highlights the role of people in “planting trees” and “cleaning rivers” to put a check on pollution. The article gives due space to the terms like “jungles and forests” that were destroyed due to irresponsible human behaviour and consumerist mind-set. The word ‘jungle’ evokes a tangible image of a lush green jungle for a common Pakistani as Urdu language also transliterates this term as ‘jungle’. Besides that, the article mentions the current situation in Lahore city as, “Lahore was once the city of gardens. Now pollution levels have surpassed danger levels”. Salience techniques of foregrounding and concreteness have been used in the above mentioned examples that makes the discourse more user friendly and easier to understand, especially for a common Pakistani.

The Frontier Post article quotes Harriet Lamb’s remarks on the significant role played by the youth in addressing the problem of “climate injustice” that has been talked about for ages. The article uses activation as a salience technique in, “young activists are giving it new momentum” to show the agency that the young activists have to address the problem of climate justice and to further expedite the climate justice movement. Additionally, the article talks about addressing “historic injustices over emissions, including the carbon footprint of the wealthy, whose lifestyles have contributed most to global warming ”. The use of salience technique like transitivity is important here as it directly links the ‘carbon footprint’ to the ‘wealthy’ as both of these terms are the ‘heads’ of their respective phrases and garner more attention from the readers, hence identifying the problem of climate justice and those

responsible for it, there and then. The article uses vivid imagery as a technique of salience to bring attention to the subject of climate justice as it talks about the “starkest inequalities” among the countries where poorest ones are “at the frontline of climate chaos”. The article further refers to terms like “floods and ruined crops”. Both of these instances evoke vivid imagery and enhance concreteness, leaving behind abstractions present in the discourse. The poor countries depicted in the frontline appear as if they are getting ready for a battle in a battle ground. Besides, the words like floods and ruined crops brings to mind very clear images of the detriments of climate change.

The Express Tribune article titled ‘Climate Justice – An oxymoron’ talks about the majority of global poor population being disproportionately affected by the minority of rich people globally. The article uses concrete and vivid image of a “financial ladder” and discusses the impacts of climate change on people of different classes where the poor are obviously at a higher risk, because of the prodigal lifestyle of rich people that is damaging the environment. The article further brings attention to the identities of the global rich by using individualisation or naming as a salience strategy to put the onus of responsibility on them. It talks about “the United States and Western Europe have been responsible for about 70% of the global carbon emissions until 1980”. Here, the direct mention of the countries responsible for historic carbon emissions are targeted along with the facts and figures that are hard to contest. The article also addresses the problem of China – a Global South country becoming a major emitter surpassing the Global North countries even the USA. The article utilizes figures to correct this assertion as it states, “China emits 7.0 tons per capita and the US emits more than twice as much — 16.2 tons per capita”. Using vivid language and description, the discourse of climate justice proves to be that of high salience giving due representation to the Global South countries and ensuring that they are not misrepresented in any way. The article also delves upon the misery of the poor and vulnerable populations in Africa, “South Asia and South-East Asia” facing droughts and typhoons. The juxtaposition of these two potentially opposite phenomena ensures salience given to the Global South countries that are at the receiving end for different types of climate change related disasters. The concrete terms of drought and typhoon instead of generic terms like ‘disasters’ bring higher salience to the discourse. The article further uses the jargon of ‘neo-classical economies’ to criticize the consumer culture of bigger industries across the globe, especially the fishing industry. The article foregrounds the “poor fishermen” community being short on the availability of fish to make their living as the big guns have “pretty much emptied the oceans”. The article further highlights that the “marine life” is crucial in producing

the oxygen inhaled by humans while the humans themselves are jeopardizing the marine life as well as their own life.

The second Express Tribune article opens with erasure and low salience but as the article progresses, it highlights issues central to the climate justice debate in an apt manner. The article identifies the countries currently included in highest emitters' list including the US, the European Union and surprisingly adds China and India as well. This inclusion puts responsibility on the developed world, as well as, provides a healthy criticism of the global South nations to check their emissions as well. The article further clarifies certain confusions on production and consumption culture, as many products produced and assembled in China are consumed by the US which makes the blame on China being the biggest emitter in today's world seem quite weak. The article uses clear and concise language supported with facts and figures, which indicates high salience. The article also delves upon the 'North-South divide' and exposes the manner in which "the West has cleverly tried to portray climate change as a rising Asia problem". The salience technique of using certain vocabulary like 'clever' and 'portray' highlight the hypocrisy of the West as a whole to avoid and shirk responsibility with reference to climate change and misrepresent it as a problem of a continent like 'Asia'. The article here asserts and exposes the way West is trying to erase the whole concept of climate justice which demands them to take responsibility and pay reparations and ecological debt that they owe to the poor nations. The article brutally exposes the deceptive ways of the western nations unloading the "problem onto the third world developing countries". The article ends with giving high salience to the unfair treatment of the poor countries and provides due criticism to the developed world. This provision of voice to the third world countries is similar to a study conducted by Fouad (2019) in which he analysed the news articles on swine flu and investigated salience patterns to give voice to the animals getting oppressive treatment from the government/authority, which is a similar case in the context of developing and low income countries dead set against the developed countries in the climate justice debate.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Findings

The data analysis provides some significant insights into the subject matter of the study. Some important findings that have been drawn from the analysis are listed below. The findings drawn from first research question are:

1. Overlapping in dimensions of climate justice discourse of both Global North and Global South shows wider understanding of the climate justice discourse and reflect its importance for rich, developed, as well as, low income developing countries.
2. Most of the climate justice discourse produced in the Global North also includes the discussion and representation of the Global South.
3. There are a few novel dimensions of climate justice discourse as the Global North focuses more on race, gender and migration related issues arising out of climate injustice, while the Global South talks more about politics, awareness of climate justice, use of art for bringing about social change, loss of livelihood etc.

The findings drawn from the second research question include:

1. Global North represents a discourse that is both, beneficial and ambivalent in nature. It recognizes the injustice and exploitation of the poor countries, yet at the same time places the blame on those countries for burning more fossil fuel and not adopting and adapting climate friendly practices.
2. The ambivalent discourse of the Global North can be potentially destructive to the Global South if not countered effectively as it helps the Global North in evading the responsibility and takes away agency from the Global South.
3. The discourse of Global South is essentially beneficial in nature as it highlights all the core principles of climate justice and is life sustaining as well.

The notable findings from the third research question are:

1. The representation of the climate justice discourse in the Pakistani newspaper media shows erasure of some highly significant areas of climate justice, the erasure techniques identified are suppression, backgrounding and massification.
2. Moreover, the climate justice discourse also shows low salience while highlighting issues pertaining to the climate justice debate as generalizations, homogenisations and hypernym have been identified in the discourse.
3. Lastly, high salience has also been observed in some parts of the discourse being produced in Pakistan where salience techniques of foregrounding, individualisation and naming have been used. These techniques must be appreciated and propagated further given the urgency of the matter.

5.2 Discussion and Reflections on Research Questions

This section deals with detailed discussion of the findings pertaining to specific research questions of the study.

5.2.1 Reflections on first research question

With reference to the first research question, there has been substantial overlapping in the dimensions of climate justice discourse of both Global North and Global South which shows wider understanding of the climate justice discourse. This reflects its importance for rich, developed, as well as, low income developing countries. Both streams of discourses criticise the capitalist and imperialist practices of the Global North and their long lasting impacts on the third world countries across the globe. Besides that, discourses from both sides criticise the idea of power and contest the abuse of power by powerful states in international arena that is contributing to rise in injustice, especially climate injustice. Similarly, under the ambit of Sociologics, the pinning questions of inequality and poverty remained as the common themes and areas in the climate justice discourse of both Global North and Global South. However, there were marked differences when it came to social concerns related to Climate justice in Global North and Global South's discourse. Likewise, the discourse pertaining to the Biological dimension discusses natural and climate induced disasters at length in both streams of discourses. Moreover, crop failure leading to loss of livelihood has also been discussed which is an issue that plagues both the Global North and South countries.

Secondly, most of the climate justice discourse produced in the Global North also includes the discussion and representation of the Global South which is a welcome move. The

Global South has always held its grievances towards Global North for not acknowledging them in the overall discourse of climate change and justice. However, the study highlights that enough consideration is being given to the Global South countries and their problems are being given voice in the north too. Thirdly, there are a few novel dimensions of climate justice discourse in both the Global North and Global South which show the difference in priorities of the respective regions. With specific reference to Sociological domain Global North talks about migration, race and gender which are the pressing issues as the reality of climate change is unfolding with time. The people from the underdeveloped and least developed countries moving to the developed world creates fault lines on gender and ethnic and basis in the social fabric of the Global North societies. However, the discourse of global South is predominantly focused on the awareness component regarding climate change and climate justice. In addition to that, the discourse from the developing world stresses upon the need for art and social change regarding climate justice. This entails that the awareness and change of social behaviours regarding issue of climate and climate justice is prioritised in the Global South.

5.2.2 Reflections on second research question

With reference to the second research question about the nature of the climate justice discourse, the analysis indicates that the discourse produced in the Global North is both beneficial and ambivalent in nature. The beneficial discourse towards the poor countries acknowledges the fact that “pollution and poverty are bed fellows” and the manner in which the poor nations have been suffering from the menace of climate change. The ambivalent discourse presents the propensity of becoming a destructive discourse towards the poor and developing countries, which must be checked and countered in time. The ambivalent discourse explicitly labels and reinforces the stereotypes associated with race and body color. The articles published in the Global North refer to ‘black people’ or ‘people of color’ time and again, which is a way to reinforce the stereotype of skin color with darker toned people as lesser human beings in contrast to the fair or white colored people. Moreover, in many instances the discourse tries to put the blame on some Global South countries while shying away from discussing the role of the developed world in bringing about climate change.

Another major finding of the second research question is that the ambivalent discourse of the Global North can be potentially destructive to the Global South if not countered effectively. The instances of ambivalence found in the data analysis section of discourse clearly hints at the damage such discourse can cause to the developing countries by depriving them the chance of being heard and helped. Instead, the ambivalence can put blame on the

developing world by focusing on the ‘doing nothing’ part rather than looking at the countries responsible for climate change and also ignoring the current capacity and problems of the developing countries. This ambivalence can lead to a destructive discourse declaring developing countries as part of the problem rather than being part of the solution, and the agency of voicing their genuine concerns may be taken away from such countries too.

Another inter-related finding of the second research question is that the discourse of Global South is essentially beneficial in nature as it highlights all the core principles of climate justice and is life sustaining as well. The discourse talks about a solution oriented approach majorly and stresses the importance of making the developing countries part of the solution. The discourse of Global South rightly points at the fact that the developing countries have been subjected to injustice and exploitation from the industrial global North. The discourse of global South revolves around ideas of climate change adaptation and mitigation and manifest the willingness of the developing world towards adopting climate and environment friendly practices and technologies. In this regard, the Global South puts forward the idea of debt swap in order to get a breathing space given their economic conditions while continuing to fight for the cause of climate change. This will benefit the global world too as they already owe a huge debt to the developing world in the form of destruction they have brought about on the planet through unchecked industrialization.

5.2.3 Reflections on third research question

The third research question dealt with the representation of the climate justice discourse in the Pakistani newspaper media. The analysis shows erasure of some highly significant areas of climate justice. The erasure techniques of backgrounding, masking, massification and suppression have been used extensively in the newspaper articles which has led to the erasure of significant areas of climate justice discourse. Hence, resulting in a discourse that is not effective given the risk Pakistan as a country faces in the face of climate change. Terms like ‘major emitters’ and ‘powers of the world’ absolves the countries of taking responsibility at individual level besides aggrandizing them by using big words for the countries responsible for bringing about climate change. Another closely related concept to erasure has also been observed in the analysis known as ‘low salience’. The climate justice discourse in Pakistani newspaper shows low salience while highlighting issues pertaining to the climate justice debate. The recurrent use of passivation and backgrounding reflects low salience that can eventually lead to erasure. Likewise, the use of hypernym and homogenisations, instead of naming also reflects the manner in which the discourse is low in salience that is definitely not

a good sign for a country like Pakistan. Transitivity has also been observed to a greater degree in the climate justice discourse in Pakistani newspaper that is one of the leading causes of low salience with respect to climate justice discourse as the focus lies on unimportant things as heads of the sentences.

Lastly on the brighter side, high salience has also been observed in some parts of the discourse being produced in Pakistan that must be appreciated and propagated further given the urgency of the matter. The use of naming adds to the concreteness of the ideas as they are pinned down to the specific words and names. Climate justice discourse makes frequent use of active voice rather than passive constructions which brings the subject of greater importance to the forefront. This foregrounding of Pakistan and her efforts to combat climate change besides acknowledging the advocacy efforts of the country at different international forums creates high salience.

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be said that climate justice is an issue that needs to be given due attention owing to its massive impact on people across the globe. It is a discourse that is emancipating and uplifting for the under-developed and developing world known as 'The Third World' countries. Despite the deficiencies, the study shows that the discourse is aptly discussed in both Global North and South newspaper articles. However, some differences within climate justice discourse were observed as Global North focused on some areas, while Global South paid attention to others. Despite some overlap in the subject matter of climate justice discourse, the differences are persistent that show divergent priorities of the Global North and Global South. While both sides talk about capitalism, imperialism, and power and the ensuing injustice these ideologies have resulted in; the social issues discussed in discourses of both sides are a little different as the global South focuses more on awareness, hunger and poverty, climate security, art and social change; whereas, Global North talks about social issues like race and ethnicity, class and inequality, migration, age and gender. On the flip side, in terms of issues pertaining to nature, the two discourses converge as both discuss ecosystems, natural/climate-induced disasters, global warming, damage to food sources (crops, plants), etc. This push and pull between the discourses of the Global North and South on climate justice hint at the move towards a Global East, a place where both the Global South and Global North may reconcile.

Additionally, the study answers the speculations about the representation of the Global South in the discourse of the Global North with special reference to climate change and climate

justice. The study highlights that the discourse produced by the Global North is essentially beneficial in nature to the Global South. The discourse acknowledges the historic injustice and exploitation of the Global South at the hands of the developed world. However, some observations of ambivalence in the projection of Global South's image were made in the discourse of the developed countries which has the potential to turn into a destructive discourse. This trend and projection must be stopped in order to prevent further injustice to the Global South. The ambivalent discourse needs to be converted into beneficial discourse. Besides that, the study highlights that the Global South has been largely represented in a positive light as evidenced by the beneficial discourse, some grey areas need to be corrected for better collaboration of both sides on the issue of climate change. Likewise, the last part of the study is essentially related to the climate justice discourse produced in Pakistani newspapers. The study shows that erasure is predominant in parts of newspaper articles produced in Pakistan where techniques like masking, suppression, massification, and backgrounding are employed thereby shifting and removing the responsibility of bringing about climate change from the developed world and prior colonial powers. Low salience has also been observed in parts where climate justice is given attention, but the techniques like transitivity, nominalization, and use of hypernym make it low in salience. In a similar manner, parts of Pakistani newspaper discourse manifest high salience patterns by making use of foregrounding and individualizations. Vivid imagery and lesser abstractions add to the salience of the discourse. Moreover, the use of transitivity patterns highlights the idea of climate justice in a proper manner as well. Pakistani newspaper media needs to focus on salience patterns and the erasure techniques need to be recognized so that the discourse becomes user-friendly. It is the need of the hour for a country like Pakistan.

5.4 Recommendations

Future research in a similar category can explore climate justice discourse and its awareness via surveys and questionnaires. Moreover, the researchers interested in exploring climate justice may look at different sources of data that can give deeper insights into the prevalence and awareness of climate justice discourse worldwide and in Pakistan too. A major source can be electronic media, documentaries on climate justice, climate change, and social media platforms. Similarly, the researchers can look into the depiction of climate justice via multimodal analysis of the images and placards related to climate justice.

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ANNEXURE I: SAMPLE FOR THE STUDY

Sr. No	Region	Newspaper	Article Title	Link
1.	America			
	North America	USA Today	People of color face disproportionate harm from climate change, EPA says	https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2021/09/02/epa-people-color-face-disproportionate-harm-climate-change/5700723001/
		National Observer	When will climate justice be served?	https://www.nationalobserver.com/2021/11/05/opinion/when-will-climate-justice-be-served
		CNN	Politicians are failing to deliver climate justice. Lawyers and scientists could do it in court	https://edition.cnn.com/2021/11/25/world/climate-court-litigation-uk-government-cmd-intl/index.html
	Latin America	Rio on Watch	Brazilians Are More Concerned With Climate Change than US or Ireland, Across Political and Socioeconomic Categories, Report Finds	https://rioonwatch.org/?p=69791
		Mexico Today	Mexican environmentalist, 19, reprimands world leaders for climate inaction	https://mexiconewsdaily.com/news/mexican-environmentalist-reprimands-world-leaders-on-climate/
		Buenos Aires Times	President reiterates ‘debt swaps for climate action’ call before global leaders	https://www.batimes.com.ar/news/argentina/president-reiterates-debt-swaps-for-climate-action-call-before-global-leaders.phtml
2.	Asia			
		The Tribune (India)	Road to fighting climate change is through climate justice: PM Modi	https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/chandigarh/road-to-fighting-climate-change-is-through-climate-justice-pm-modi-210533
		The Asahi Shimbun	Young climate activists call emissions target insufficient	https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14381181
		The Business Standard	Bangladesh needs to keep fighting till climate justice is ensured: Experts	https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/environment/climate-change/bangladesh-needs-keep-fighting-till-climate-justice-ensured

Sr. No	Region	Newspaper	Article Title	Link
.		Xinhua Net	Xi calls for "unprecedented ambition, action" to build community of life	http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-04/23/c_139899628.htm
		Business Recorder	Civil society activists take out 'Climate Justice March'	https://www.brecorder.com/news/40132148
		The Korea Herald	[#WeFACE] S. Korea's new 'climate law' should put 'justice' at its core: activist	http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20210330001144
3.	Africa	The East African	There will be no lasting peace in the region without climate security	https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/oped/comment/there-will-be-no-lasting-peace-in-the-region-without-climate-security-3218164
		Mongabay	Climate change means hunger in our communities, African women leaders at COP26	https://news.mongabay.com/2021/11/climate-change-means-hunger-in-our-communities-african-women-leaders-at-cop26/
		Africanews	African leaders push for more justice at COP26	https://www.africanews.com/2021/11/03/african-leaders-push-for-more-justice-at-cop26/
		This Day (Nigeria)	Pan-African Climate Justice Movement Launched Ahead of COP 27	https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/08/02/pan-african-climate-justice-movement-launched-ahead-of-cop-27/
		Voice of Africa	Climate Change Threatens Livelihoods in Somalia	https://www.voanews.com/a/climate-change-threatens-livelihoods-in-somalia/6306346.html
		Kenya News Agency	Voices For Just Climate Action Launched	https://www.kenyanews.go.ke/voices-for-just-climate-action-initiative-launched/
4.	Europe	British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)	The world's fight for 'climate justice'	https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20211103-the-countries-calling-for-climate-justice
		Guardian	There's a simple way to unite everyone behind climate justice – and it's within our power	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/jun/24/rich-nations-climate-debt-

Sr. No	Region	Newspaper	Article Title	Link
.				cancelling-debts-emissions-global-debt-swap-campaign
		Moscow Times	Russia's Climate Epiphany May Be Greenwashing	https://www.themoscowtimes.com/climate
		DW – Made for minds	Climate justice: Do pledges ignore unequal emissions?	https://www.dw.com/en/define-climate-justice-inequality-carbon-emissions/a-57423758
		France 24	Climate change 2021: There's no turning back now	https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20211130-climate-change-2021-there-s-no-turning-back-now
		DAILY SABAH	The call for climate change justice	https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/the-call-for-climate-change-justice
5.	Pakistan	DAWN	PM calls on developed world to support countries vulnerable to climate change	https://www.dawn.com/news/1627686
			Road to climate justice	https://www.dawn.com/news/1574301
		The Frontier Post	Young activists are breathing new life into the long-running debate over climate justice	https://thefrontierpost.com/young-activists-are-breathing-new-life-into-the-long-running-debate-over-climate-justice/
		The News	Climate justice	https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/913980-climate-justice
		The Express Tribune	The politics of climate change	https://tribune.com.pk/story/2316749/the-politics-of-climate-change
			Climate justice — an oxymoron	https://tribune.com.pk/story/2281204/climate-justice-an-oxymoron