COVERAGE OF CONFERENCE OF PARTIES (COP28) IN NEPALI DAILY NEWSPAPERS

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Submitted By:

Umang Acharya

Exam Roll No: 2821063

TU Regd. No.: 6-2-40-658-2017

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DECLARATION

I, Umang Acharya, hereby declare that the thesis titled "**Coverage of Conference of Parties (COP28) in Nepali Daily Newspapers**" is my original work and under the supervision of Dr. Shashi Nath Marasini. This thesis has not been published or submitted elsewhere for any degree or publication.

……

Umang Acharya

2025

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This is to certify that Ms. Umang Acharya has prepared the dissertation on "**Coverage of Conference of Parties (COP28) in Nepali Daily Newspapers**" under my supervision and guidance. I forward this dissertation for examination and approval as per regular procedure for the Master's Degree in Journalism and Mass Communication.

…….

Dr. Shashi Nath Marasini

Supervisor

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

A thesis titled "**Coverage of Conference of Parties (COP28) in Nepali Daily Newspapers**" prepared and submitted by Umang Acharya for partial fulfilment of the requirement of the Master's Degree of Arts in Humanities has been approved by the dissertation committee comprising of:

…….
Dr. Shashi Nath Marasini
Supervisor

……..
Dr. Kriti Bhuju
External Evaluator

……
Dr. Kundan Aryal
Head of the Department

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the coverage of COP28 by three prominent Nepali dailies—*The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal*—to understand how international climate conferences are framed and reported in Nepal's media landscape. COP28, held from November 30 to December 12, 2023, in Dubai, was a pivotal event for global climate discussions. The content analysis spans a 30-day period, from November 19 to December 18, 2023, covering 30 issues of the newspapers. The analysis assesses the extent of coverage, thematic framing of key issues such as climate finance, loss and damage, and Nepal's climate vulnerabilities.

The findings reveal significant variation in the coverage across newspapers, with gaps in consistency and depth of analysis. The study highlights the media's crucial role in shaping public perceptions of climate issues, emphasizing the need for more robust and in-depth reporting on international climate events to foster greater awareness and informed public debate. The framing of COP28 within the context of climate justice and Nepal's minimal contribution to global emissions positions the country as a proactive participant in global climate discussions. The study underscores the importance of enhancing media engagement to support national and international climate policies that address the unique challenges faced by vulnerable countries like Nepal.

Keywords: COP28, Nepali newspapers, climate change, climate justice, media framing.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	:	Agence France-Presse
AD	:	Anno Domini
AP	:	Associated Press
BCE	:	Before Common Era
B.S.	:	Bikram Sambat
CO_2	:	Carbon dioxide
CO_2e	:	Carbon dioxide equivalent
COP	:	Conference of the Parties
CEM-DAT:		International Disaster Database
GHG	:	Greenhouse Gas
GLOFs:		Glacial Lake Outburst Floods
HKH	:	Hindu Kush Himalaya
HR	:	Himalayan Region
ICIMOD:		International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
IPCC	:	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
INGO	:	International Non-Governmental Organization
JBR	:	Jung Bahadur Rana
LDCs	:	Least Developed Countries
MoE	:	Ministry of Environment
MOSTE:		Ministry of Science, Technology, and Environment
mt	:	metric tons
NASA	:	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NDCs	:	Nationally Determined Contributions
NGOs	:	Non-Government Organizations

ppb	:	parts per billion
PM	:	Prime Minister
ppm	:	parts per million
REDD	:	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
RSS	:	Rashtriya Samachar Samiti
SDGs	:	Sustainable Development Goals
THT	:	*The Himalayan Times*
TKP	:	*The Kathmandu Post*
TRN	:	*The Rising Nepal*
UAE	:	United Arab Emirates
UN	:	United Nations
UNFCCC:		United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

CHAPTER: I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of Newspapers

Newspapers have a long history, evolving over centuries into a key medium for sharing information. The origins of printing go back to China, where woodblock printing was used as early as the 9th century. In the 1440s, Johannes Gutenberg from Germany invented the movable-type printing press, revolutionizing mass printing. This innovation allowed for the production of books, pamphlets, and eventually newspapers, expanding the reach of news. Following Gutenberg's invention, William Caxton established the first printing press in England in 1476, further promoting the spread of printed materials.

The earliest form of newspaper journalism dates back to Ancient Rome with the *Acta Diurna*, a government bulletin published around 59 BCE. In 1605, the first printed newspaper, *Relation*, was published in Germany. The world's first daily newspaper, *The Einkommende Zeitungen*, began in 1650 in Leipzig, Germany. In the United Kingdom, *The London Gazette* was first published in 1665 as the country's earliest newspaper, while *The Daily Courant*, launched in 1702, became the first daily newspaper (DeFleur & Dennis, 2002).

In the United States, the first newspaper, *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*, was published in Boston in 1690 by Benjamin Harris, but it was shut down after just one issue. Later, *The Boston News-Letter* (1704) became the first regularly published newspaper in the U.S. The country's first daily newspaper was *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, launched in 1783. In India, *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, also known as *The Original Calcutta General Advertiser*, became the first newspaper in 1780 (Case, 2015).

The 19th century saw the rise of the penny press in the U.S., making newspapers affordable to the general public. Benjamin Day launched *The Sun* in 1833, increasing readership and shifting the focus toward sensational news. By the late 19th century, yellow journalism emerged, characterized by exaggerated and dramatic reporting. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst were prominent figures of this era, using sensational stories to attract readers and shape public opinion, particularly during the Spanish-American War. The term "yellow journalism" originated from a popular cartoon character, the "Yellow Kid," used by both Pulitzer's *New York World* and Hearst's *New York Journal* to boost circulation (DeFleur & Dennis, 2002).

Nepal's newspaper history is closely tied to the development of printing technology. The country's first printing press was introduced in 1851 (1908 B.S.) when Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana imported a manual press from England, known as the *Giddhe Press*. The first Nepali-language newspaper, *Gorkha Bharat Jeevan*, was published in the early 1940s B.S. in Varanasi, India, with Moti Ram Bhatta as its editor. However, it was more of a literary magazine than a regular newspaper. The first newspaper published in Nepal was *Sudhasagar* in 1955 BS, also a literary magazine. Its editor, Pandit Naradev Pandey, later became the founding editor of Nepal's first official newspaper, *Gorkhapatra* (B. Acharya & Luitel, 2017; Devkota, 2017).

Gorkhapatra was established in 1958 BS (1901 AD) by Dev Sumsher JBR, with its first edition published on May 6, 1901 (24 Baisakh 1958 BS). The first photograph printed in a Nepali newspaper appeared in *Gorkhapatra* on April 26, 1927 (13 Baisakh 1984 BS), featuring a 12-year-old girl, Suryamati Shrestha, weaving thread on a Chandra Kamdhenu spinning wheel. Over time, *Gorkhapatra* transitioned

from a weekly to a daily newspaper. It became bi-weekly on October 15, 1943 (29 Asoj 2000 BS), tri-weekly on December 23, 1946 (8 Poush 2003 BS), and finally a daily newspaper on February 18, 1961 (7 Falgun 2017 BS).

Nepal's first daily newspaper was *Aawaj*, launched on February 19, 1951 (Falgun 8, 2007 BS), with Siddhi Charan Shrestha as its editor. The first English daily in Nepal was *The Commoner*, published in 2012 BS (1956) under Gopal Das Shrestha's editorship (Khatiwada, 2023).

The restoration of multi-party democracy in 1990 marked a turning point for Nepali media. The 1990 Constitution of Nepal significantly improved press freedom, preventing newspaper closures, registration cancellations, and censorship. Following this political shift, Nepal's media landscape expanded rapidly. The first private daily newspaper, *Kantipur Daily*, was launched on February 18, 1993 (7 Falgun 2049 BS). Kamana News Publication was established in 2041 BS and later launched *Kamana*, a magazine focused on the film industry, on Mangshir 15 of the same year. In 1995, Kamana Publication introduced *Nepal Samachar Patra*, further diversifying Nepal's media sector. Other significant Nepali-language newspapers include *Annapurna Post*, *Naya Patrika*, and *Nagarik*.

In the realm of English-language newspapers, *The Kathmandu Post*, a sister publication of *Kantipur Daily*, has been influential in providing English news. Another widely read English daily is *The Himalayan Times*. The government also established *The Rising Nepal*, which began publication on December 16, 1965 (Poush 1, 2022 BS).

From ancient handwritten news bulletins in Rome to modern newspapers, the evolution of journalism has been driven by technological advancements and changing social needs. The invention of the printing press, the rise of affordable newspapers,

and the impact of yellow journalism all played significant roles in shaping the newspaper industry. In Nepal, newspapers have been instrumental in informing the public and shaping media discussions. Despite the growth of digital journalism, newspapers continue to be a vital source of information worldwide.

1.2 Overview of SDG 13: Climate Action

The United Nations member states endorsed the "2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" in 2015, establishing 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These objectives center on "people, planet, peace, prosperity, and partnership." Climate Change Action, or just Climate Action, is SDG 13 of the 17 goals. A major international effort to mitigate the effects of climate change is SDG 13. It highlights how urgently we must work together to address the environmental issues endangering the sustainability of our world. SDG 13 is based on the knowledge that ecosystems, economies, and human well-being are all seriously threatened by climate change. The goal includes several objectives designed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, increase resilience to climate-related risks, and raise funds for climate-related projects (United Nation, 2015, n.d.).

The 13th Sustainable Development Goal (SDG 13) centers on the pressing measures required to counteract climate change and its effects. It acknowledges that climate change is an international issue that has an impact on all nations and has dire ramifications for ecosystems, societies, and economies throughout the globe. SDG 13 seeks to increase each nation's ability to adapt and be resilient to risks associated with climate change and natural catastrophes. In order to attain low-carbon development pathways, it asks for the implementation of integrated climate policies and actions. The goal is to keep global warming to far below 2 degrees Celsius, ideally 1.5 degrees Celsius, relative to pre-industrial levels.

Adopted under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Paris Agreement is a crucial global accord that serves as the foundation for SDG 13. It lays forth legally-binding obligations for all nations to make significant efforts to mitigate climate change and adapt to its impacts, including increased assistance to help developing nations do so.

Promoting knowledge and instruction on early warning systems, adaptation, mitigation, and effect reduction of climate change is among the main goals of SDG 13. These goals place a strong emphasis on improving national and local planning and management of climate change as well as raising funds to promote climate action in underdeveloped nations.

1.3 Overview of Carbon Emission and Carbon Footprint

Carbon emissions encompass the release of carbon dioxide (CO_2) and other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, primarily due to anthropogenic activities such as the combustion of fossil fuels, deforestation, industrial processes, and agricultural practices. These emissions play a significant role in climate change, which poses serious threats to ecosystems, human health, and global weather patterns. The rising levels of atmospheric CO_2 are closely associated with increases in global temperatures, sea-level rise, and extreme weather events.

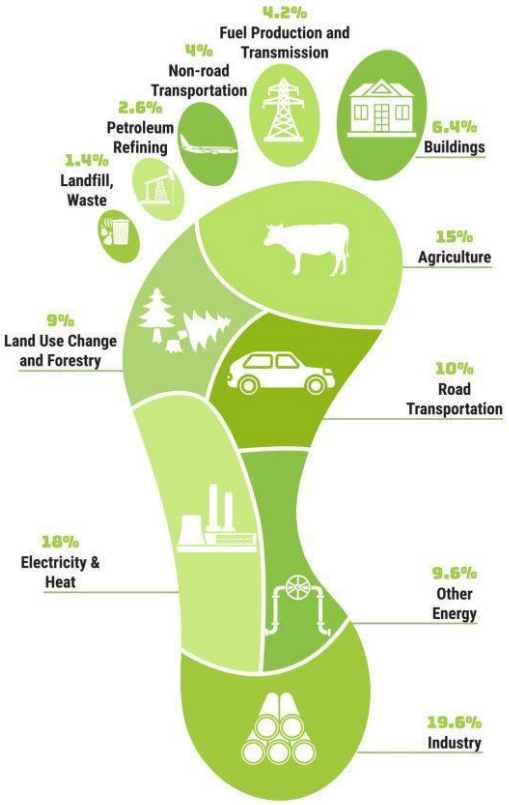
Recent data indicates that China is the largest emitter of carbon emissions, producing approximately 11,397 million metric tons (mt) annually, followed by the United States at 5,057 million mt, India at 2,820 million mt, and Russia at 1,652 million mt. In contrast, Nepal emits approximately 16 million mt per year, positioning it 95th globally (Andrew & Peters, 2023; Global Carbon Atlas, 2023). The substantial emissions from these countries contribute significantly to climate change,

exacerbating global temperature increases, sea-level rise, and extreme weather events, thereby threatening ecosystems and human health.

The carbon footprint quantifies the total greenhouse gas emissions attributed to individuals, organizations, events, or products, expressed in equivalent tons of CO_2 (CO_2e). It encompasses emissions from diverse sources, including transportation (such as cars, airplanes, and shipping), energy consumption (electricity and heating), and waste management (landfills and recycling). Understanding and measuring carbon footprints is essential for identifying potential areas for emissions reduction, enabling individuals and organizations to establish concrete sustainability targets.

Figure 1.1

Carbon footprint illustration



Source: iStock

The primary sources of greenhouse gas emissions can be categorized as follows: energy supply accounts for 34% of total emissions, while other industries—including fashion, food, and retail—contribute 24%. Agriculture, forestry, and land use constitute 22% of emissions, and transport accounts for between 15% and 20%. Buildings contribute approximately 5% (Manickam, 2023).

The principal gases responsible for climate change and global warming include carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O), and various fluorinated gases, such as hydrofluorocarbons (CFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), hydrochlorofluorocarbons (HCFCs), sulfur hexafluoride (SF_6), and nitrogen trifluoride (NF_3). The volume of greenhouse gas emissions by industry sector is notable, with energy (electricity and heating) contributing 15.83 billion tons, transport at 8.43 billion tons, manufacturing and construction at 6.3 billion tons, agriculture at 5.79 billion tons, food retail at 3.1 billion tons, fashion at 2.1 billion tons, and technology at 1.02 billion tons (Manickam, 2023).

Calculating carbon footprints is critically important, as it serves as a diagnostic tool to identify emission-intensive activities and provides a framework for making informed decisions regarding lifestyle changes and corporate practices. By recognizing their carbon contributions, individuals can adopt more sustainable habits, such as reducing energy consumption, utilizing public transportation, and minimizing waste.

Key strategies for reducing carbon emissions include enhancing energy efficiency through the adoption of energy-efficient appliances and practices, transitioning to renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, and hydroelectric power, and promoting sustainable transportation options including public transit, carpooling, cycling, and electric vehicles. Engaging in reforestation efforts is also

vital, as trees absorb CO_2, thus offsetting emissions. Furthermore, investing in carbon offset projects enables individuals and businesses to balance their emissions by supporting initiatives that reduce or capture greenhouse gases elsewhere.

Addressing carbon emissions and reducing carbon footprints is ultimately essential for combating climate change and ensuring a habitable planet for future generations. Through collective efforts at individual, organizational, and governmental levels, it is possible to work towards a more sustainable future, mitigate the adverse effects of global warming, and foster a healthier environment for all.

1.4 Overview of Hindu Kush Himalayan Region

The Hindu Kush Himalayan (HKH) region is one of the most significant mountain systems in the world, spanning over 3,500 kilometers across eight countries: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, China, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Myanmar. Covering an area of 4.2 million square kilometers, the HKH is not only home to some of the highest peaks on Earth but also provides critical resources to millions of people across Asia (ICIMOD, 2024). The region is often referred to as the "Third Pole" because of its vast reserves of glaciers and snow, which serve as a crucial water source for major river systems such as the Brahmaputra, Indus, Ganges, Yangtze, and Mekong. These rivers sustain agriculture, hydropower, and biodiversity, making the HKH an ecological and economic lifeline for nearly two billion people.

The HKH region is characterized by diverse climatic conditions, ranging from arid deserts to lush green valleys, and is home to an incredibly rich variety of flora and fauna. The region supports unique ecosystems and is a hotspot for biodiversity, hosting several endangered species such as the snow leopard, red panda, and Himalayan musk deer. The forests, rivers, and grasslands of the HKH play a

significant role in carbon sequestration and climate regulation, making them vital in global climate change mitigation efforts.

Table 1.1

The Mountain Ranges in HKH

S.N.	Range	Countries
1.	Ganhdise Shan	China
2.	Hengduan Shan	China and Myanmar
3.	Himalaya	Bhutan, China, India, Nepal, Pakistan
4.	Hindu Kush	Afghanistan, Pakistan
5.	Karakoram	China, India, Pakistan
6.	Kulun Shan	China
7.	Nyainqentanglha Shan	China
8.	Pamir	Afghanistan, Pakistan, China
9.	Qiantang Plateau	China
10.	Qilian Shan	China
11.	Tanggula	China
12.	Tien Shan	China, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan

Source: ICIMOD, 2024

The Himalayas are the most well-known, stretching across Nepal, India, Bhutan, China, and Pakistan. This range is home to the world's highest peaks, including Mount Everest (8,848 meters), which is called *Sagarmatha* in Nepal and *Chomolungma* in Tibet. Similarly, the Hindu Kush range, primarily in Afghanistan and Pakistan, holds great geopolitical and environmental importance. The Karakoram, famous for housing K2 (the second-highest peak), is shared by China, India, and

Pakistan. Other notable ranges, such as the Pamir and Tien Shan, extend into Central Asia, further emphasizing the interconnected nature of these high-altitude landscapes.

The HKH region is not just a collection of mountain ranges but a crucial water source for millions of people, with numerous glaciers feeding major river systems such as the Ganges, Indus, and Brahmaputra. The region is also a hotspot for biodiversity, supporting unique flora and fauna, including endangered species like the snow leopard and red panda. However, climate change, glacial melting, and increasing human activity pose significant environmental threats, making conservation efforts vital for the sustainability of these mountain ecosystems.

Table 1.2

The Ten Highest Mountain Peaks in the HKH region

S.N.	Name	Height (m.)	Location	Lower Slopes
1.	Everest	8,848 (snow) 8,844 (rock)	Nepal	China/Nepal
2.	K2 (Mt. Godwin-Austen)	8,611	Pakistan	China/Pakistan
3.	Kangchenjunga (Kanchanjanghā)	8,586	Nepal/India	Nepal/India
4.	Lhotse	8,516	Nepal	China/Nepal
5.	Makalu	8,462	Nepal	China/Nepal
6.	Cho Oyu	8,201	Nepal	China/Nepal
7.	Dhaulagiri	8,167	Nepal	–
8.	Manaslu	8,156	Nepal	–
9.	Nanga Parbat	8,125	Pakistan	–
10.	Annapurna	8,091	Nepal	–

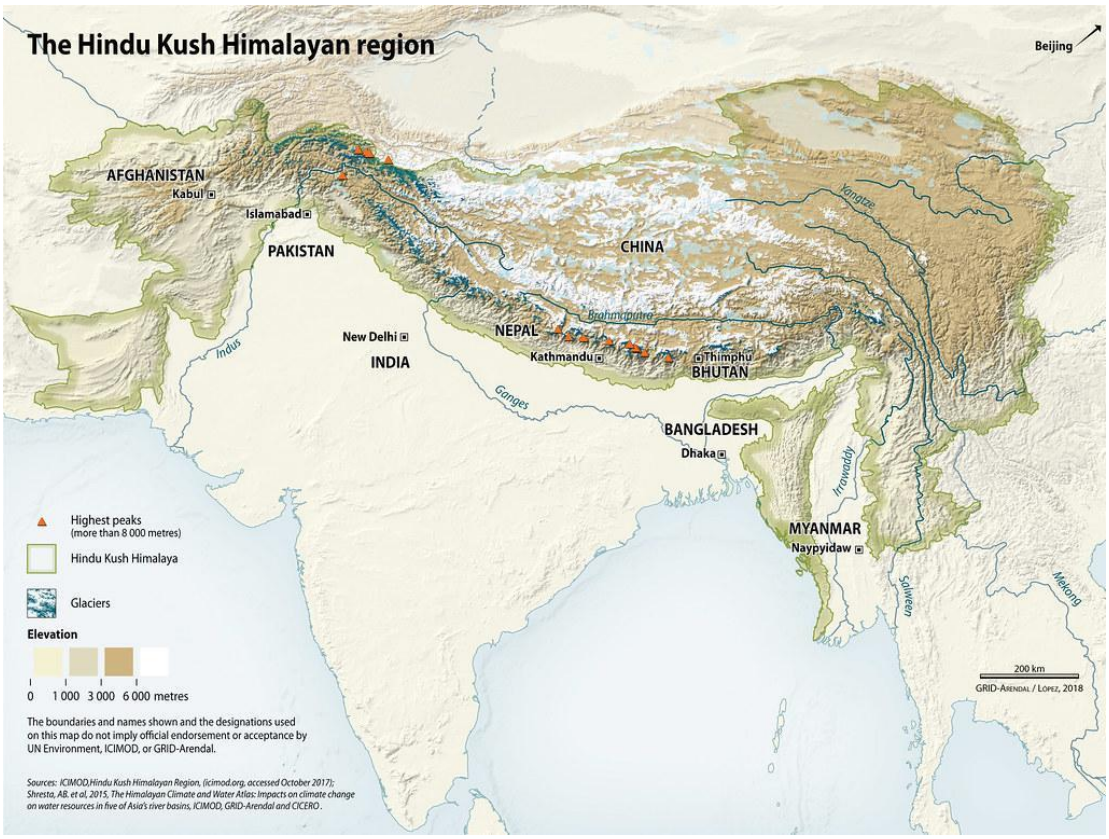
Source: ICIMOD, 2024

K2, or Mount Godwin-Austen, is the second tallest peak in the HKH region, standing at 8,611 meters in Pakistan, also bordering China. *Kangchenjunga* ranks third at 8,586 meters, straddling the border between Nepal and India. Lhotse, at 8,516 meters, and Makalu, at 8,462 meters, are both located in Nepal, with their lower slopes extending into China. Cho Oyu reaches 8,201 meters and lies along the Nepal-China border. Other significant peaks include Dhaulagiri at 8,167 meters, Manaslu at 8,156 meters, and Nanga Parbat at 8,125 meters, which are all found in Nepal and Pakistan. Annapurna is also located in Nepal which stands at 8,091 meters.

In Afghanistan, Nowshāk rises to 7,482 meters, making it the tallest mountain in the country. Gangkhar Puensum in Bhutan stands at 7,541 meters, while Tajingdong (Bijoy) in Bangladesh has a height of 1,280 meters. In China, Xixabangma measures 8,010 meters, contributing to the country's diverse mountain ranges. India's highest peak is Kangchenjunga, which rises to 8,586 meters. Sagarmatha in Nepal and K2 in Pakistan are the first and second highest peaks globally. Additionally, Myanmar's tallest mountain, Hkakabao Raz, stands at 5,881 meters.

Figure 1.2

The Hindu Kush Himalayan region



Note: The map showing Hindu Kush Himalayan region. GRID-Arendal, 2018

The HKH is rich in natural resources, biodiversity, and cultural heritage. The HKH region boasts ten major river basins that are Amu Darya, Brahmaputra (Yarlungtsanpo), Ganges, Indus, Irrawaddy, Yellow River (Huanghe), Mekong (Lancang), Salween (Nu), Tarim (Dayan), and Yangtse (Jinsha). These river basins collectively cover an area of nearly 9 million square kilometers (ICIMOD, 2021).

The rivers not only support the livelihoods of 240 million people living in the mountain and hill areas but also provide essential ecosystem services—such as water, food, and energy—to an additional 1.65 billion people downstream. In fact, the region's river basins indirectly sustain more than 3 billion people through food production. The HKH, together with the Tien Shan Mountains, forms the largest area

of permanent ice outside the Polar Regions, earning the nickname the "Third Pole" (Wester et al., 2019).

The HKH region's vast cryosphere, including glaciers, snow cover, and permafrost, plays a critical role in maintaining water supplies for both mountain and downstream communities. The winter snow cover spans between 951,000 and 1.39 million square kilometers, shrinking in the summer to between 388,000 and 481,000 square kilometers. The total glacier area covers around 87,340 square kilometers. These glaciers are essential water reservoirs, supplying rivers and regulating water flow for millions of people (ICIMOD, 2024). However, this fragile environment is highly vulnerable to climate change, with glaciers retreating at an alarming rate due to rising global temperatures.

Despite the vital services the HKH provides, it is a geologically unstable region, prone to natural disasters such as landslides and erosion, even in the absence of human interference. Human-induced changes, including climate change, economic development, migration, and infrastructure expansion, are accelerating the transformation of this region. These transformations are projected to have far-reaching impacts on the local and global communities. To preserve this crucial ecological asset, urgent action is needed at both national and international levels. Limiting global warming to 1.5˚C by 2100 is critical for safeguarding the future of the HKH.

From a policy perspective, ensuring food, water, energy, and livelihood security in the HKH will require collaborative efforts among scientists, policymakers, and local communities. Scenario-based planning can help develop strategies to address the multiple challenges facing the region, guiding governance decisions.

Additionally, tailored country-specific recommendations are crucial for implementing effective national policies that align with regional goals.

For centuries, the people of the HKH have preserved their cultural traditions and biodiversity through traditional knowledge. However, the accelerating pace of climate change presents new and unprecedented challenges. Regional cooperation, innovative solutions, improved data sharing, and heightened global awareness are essential to protect this vital global asset and ensure the long-term well-being of the people and ecosystems that depend on it (Wester et al., 2019).

1.5 Background of Conference of Parties (COP)

The Conference of the Parties (COP) is the highest decision-making authority within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC was signed at Rio Earth Summit in 1992. Berlin hosted the inaugural Conference of the Parties (COP) in 1995. Up to that point, the nations had started talks to fortify the international response to climate change. At COP3, the parties approved the Kyoto Protocol two years later, in 1997. Industrialized nations and economies in transition are legally required by the Kyoto Protocol to restrict and minimize their "greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in accordance with agreed individual targets" (UNFCCC, n.d.-a, n.d.-b). As of 2023, 198 Parties to the UNFCCC have signed up to the Framework Convention, including 197 nations and the European Union (COP28 UAE, n.d.).

The Convention's highest decision-making body is the COP. Every State that has ratified the Convention is a participant in the Conference of Parties (COP), where key decisions regarding institutional and administrative arrangements are made. Additionally, the COP oversees the implementation of the Convention and any other legal instruments adopted under its framework. Unless otherwise decided by the

Parties, the COP convenes annually. Berlin, Germany hosted the inaugural COP summit in March 1995. Unless a Party volunteers to host the meeting, the COP is held in Bonn, the secretariat's home. The location of the COP tends to alternate among the five official UN areas, which are Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Central and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Others, in the same way that the COP Presidency rotates among them.

Conference of the Parties, or COP for short, is a term frequently used to describe the international climate conference held under the auspices of the UNFCCC. The UNFCCC's major decision-making body is the COP. Officials from each of in each year, the UNFCCC COP presents a forum for new measure discussions and a review of Parties' advancement toward the global goal of limiting climate change, the "Parties," or nations that have committed to take part in and be bound by the UNFCCC.

COP convenes annually, bringing together representatives from nearly every country on Earth to discuss and negotiate global responses to climate change. COP meetings serve as pivotal moments for countries to assess progress, negotiate agreements, and set new targets for combating climate change. They often attract significant media attention and public interest due to their potential to shape international climate policy and action. The recent convention, COP28, was held in Dubai from November 30 to December 12, 2023. Dr. Sultan Ahmed Al Jaber served as president. He is the UAE's Minister of Industry and Advanced Technology, Head of the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, and Chairman of Masdar (Abu Dhabi Future Energy Company).

Government representatives (Parties) and non-party "observer" organizations—which include local communities, the commercial sector, financial

institutions, subnational authorities, and civil society organizations can attend the COP. In COP28, more than 103 countries participated. In general, a senior government person from the host nation serves as the COP President. The five regional groupings alternately choose the host and the presidency. Moreover, these regional organizations are represented on the UNFCCC Bureau, which provides guidance to the current COP President.

Generally, a senior government person from the host nation serves as the COP President. The five regional groupings alternately choose the host and the presidency. Within the UNFCCC, there are several more party coalitions, including those that represent small island nations, the European Union, and Arab nations. To settle on their bargaining stances and shared objectives, these organizations could get together.

COP28 mainly centered on four key pillars outlined in a specific action plan. These pillars include accelerating an organized, responsible, and fair energy transition, addressing climate finance, and prioritizing the needs of people and nature.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Despite the growing recognition of the gravity to address climate change, there remains a gap in understanding how the issue is framed and communicated in the media, particularly within the context of international climate conferences such as the Conference of the Parties (COP). This study seeks to address this gap by examining the framing of climate change action in Nepali newspaper coverage of COP28. Specifically, it aims to analyze the dominant themes, narratives, and discourses presented in Nepali newspapers regarding climate change policies, agreements, and initiatives discussed at COP28. By exploring the media's portrayal of climate change action in Nepal, this research endeavors to provide insights into the public discourse

surrounding climate change and its implications for policy-making, public awareness, and environmental advocacy in Nepal.

International leaders and other stakeholders meet at the Conference of Parties (COP), an important global event, to discuss and put climate change mitigation measures into action. One of the most important climate conferences, COP28, attracted interest from all across the world because of its potential to influence future climate action and policy. Even though COP28 received a great deal of coverage from the worldwide media, little is known about how this coverage was portrayed and focused in regional contexts, like Nepal.

There is an absence of detailed research on how Nepali newspapers reported on COP28, what aspects of the conference were emphasized, and how these narratives were constructed. Research has shown that public awareness and understanding of climate change issues are significantly influenced by media coverage (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014).

In Nepal, newspapers play a crucial role in disseminating information and framing climate-related issues for the public. The media plays an essential role for affecting how the public views and comprehends international gatherings such as COP28, particularly in Nepal, a nation extremely susceptible to the effects of climate change. The scope and character of the coverage in Nepali publications, however, are not adequately recorded or examined. There is a lack of knowledge on how these newspapers cover COP28, which parts of the conference they highlight, and how this coverage affects Nepal's public conversation about climate change.

Nepal is very susceptible to the negative consequences of climate change, including landslides, floods, and melting glaciers (Sudmeier-Rieux et al., 2012; Dhakal, 2015). Disasters of this nature significantly affect various aspects of people's

everyday lives, with one prominent example being their impact on agriculture (G. Malla, 2009). Agricultural productivity may decline due to damaged crops, soil erosion, or unfavorable weather conditions, leading to food insecurity and economic hardships.

For these reasons, it is very important how Nepali publications cover COP28. Coverage that highlights international climate discussions and how they affect Nepal might improve public awareness and encourage more informed public discourse on climate-related problems. On the other hand, incomplete or biased reporting may lead to a lack of understanding or erroneous public opinion, which may impede the success of national climate action.

Research examining the substance and scope of coverage of COP28 in Nepal's daily media is minimal. It is essential to comprehend the topics, storylines, and coverage in order to evaluate the degree to which these publications are able to convey worldwide climate events to the Nepali population. Public opinion and policy discussions can be shaped by how the media frames climate change and associated international talks, such as COP28 (Entman, 1993; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). It's critical to comprehend how Nepalese media cover these subjects in order to evaluate how they affect public opinion and aid in the creation of climate-related policies.

1.7 Research Questions

a) What was the extent of coverage of COP28 by Nepali newspapers?
b) Why were the most common themes or topics covered by Nepali dailies regarding COP28?
c) How diverse and credible were the sources quoted in the news coverage of COP28 by Nepali dailies?

1.8 Objectives of the Study

a) To study the coverage of COP28 by Nepali newspapers in terms of the number of articles, frequency, and prominence.
b) To explore the framing strategies employed by Nepali newspapers in portraying the key themes and narratives related to COP28.
c) To analyze the quotation of sources in the news coverage of COP28 by Nepali dailies, focusing on the diversity.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

It is important to recognize the various limitations that apply to this study. The scope of the research primarily focuses on the analysis of Nepali newspaper coverage of COP28, which potentially overlooks other media sources and perspectives. Additionally, only English-language newspapers were selected for analysis. This shall potentially exclude valuable insights from non-English newspapers. Also, the study was conducted within the constraints of an academic research timeframe. This has also caused limitation in the depth and breadth of the analysis. Time constraints further restricted the examination to a specific period, potentially overlooking changes or developments in media coverage over time.

Despite efforts to maintain objectivity, researcher bias may have influenced the interpretation of data and findings. Finally, logistical and resource constraints may have impacted the availability of certain databases or archives, potentially limiting the comprehensiveness of the analysis.

1.10 Significance of the Study

The results of this study have an important consequence for many different parties and academic disciplines. This study adds to our understanding of how the media frames climate change concerns, especially in the context of developing

nations, by looking at how Nepali newspapers covered COP28. The results of this study have the potential to impact policy development and execution by providing media practitioners, policymakers, and decision-makers with information about public views and narratives surrounding climate change.

The study shall also contribute to the body of knowledge on how climate change is portrayed in the media and offer insightful information for further investigation. In the end, being aware of how the media covered COP28 can help the general public learn more about the effects of climate change, mitigation strategies, and how international conferences influence how the world responds to this pressing issue.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

This study is watched through the lens of media framing theory to understand how newspapers in Nepal framed the COP28 agendas. The study of media framing theory looks at how news outlets portray news selectively, highlighting some parts of a story while downplaying or omitting others, to influence public opinion. According to this theoretical framework, a story's framing affects how viewers comprehend and interpret it. According to framing theory, news items are introduced with predetermined and limited contextualization by the media, which creates frames. Frames are employed as cognitive shortcuts to connect stories to the larger picture or as tools to improve understanding.

The term "framing" was first used by Robert Entman in his groundbreaking 1993 journal "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." According to Entman, media framing is choosing and emphasizing some parts of a story while downplaying others to influence how an audience perceives and interprets it. He

underlined how media outlets and journalists shape the narratives that shape public opinion and policy discussions (Entman, 1993).

Erving Goffman claimed in his 1974 book "Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience" that people make sense of complex information by interpreting the environment through cognitive frameworks, or "frames." According to Goffman (1974/1986), frames have an impact on how social reality is created and preserved in addition to shaping individual perceptions.

Understanding how information is spread and presented about climate change is greatly aided by the media's involvement in molding public debate on the subject, especially when it comes to major events like the Conference of Parties (COP28). To analyze the coverage of COP28 by Nepali daily newspapers, a strong theoretical basis is necessary to assess the choices, presentation, and significance of news items.

The agenda-setting hypothesis, first presented by McCombs and Shaw in 1972, asserts that the media has a major role in determining public perception of importance by selecting which subjects are covered and given attention. This theory may be used to determine which components of the conference were emphasized and how this affected public perception and understanding of climate change concerns. It is especially pertinent to the examination of COP28 coverage in Nepali newspapers.

According to McQuail (2010), the media's role in defining the agenda goes beyond merely choosing subjects; it also entails judging the relative significance of those issues, which in turn affects public opinion and governmental agendas. This hypothesis sheds light on how Nepali media influence national climate policy by setting the agenda for climate debate.

McQuail (2010) describes on the idea of framing, pointing out that the media employs frames to direct interpretation and comprehension, so instructing the

audience not just on what to think about but also on how to think about it. This paradigm is essential for determining if the coverage of climate change was centered on human interest tales, economic ramifications, conflict, or scientific viewpoints.

Goffman (1974) and Entman (1993) introduced the notion of framing theory, which looks at how news organizations portray stories to encourage certain interpretations. Frames are the exact methods in which information is structured and presented to the audience to emphasize certain ideas. Framing theory will be used to examine how Nepali media covered COP28, including how they portrayed the meeting, the topics covered, and the consequences for Nepal.

1.12 Definition of Key Terms

a) Carbon Emission: The release of carbon dioxide and other gases into the atmosphere, primarily from burning fossil fuels, contributing to global warming.

b) Carbon Footprint: The entire amount of greenhouse gas emissions, expressed in CO2 equivalents, that a person, business, or product is responsible for.

c) CO2 Equivalent (CO_2e): A metric that expresses the impact of various greenhouse gases in terms of the amount of CO_2 that would have the same warming effect.

d) Media Coverage: The reporting and dissemination of news and information by various media outlets, including TV, print, and online platforms. In the case of this research paper, the media coverage refers to what the selected newspapers report and publish about the COP28.

e) COP28: The 28th edition of the United Nations Climate Change Conference (Conference of the Parties), held in Dubai, UAE, from November 30 to December 12, 2023, where global leaders discussed climate policies and actions.

CHAPTER: II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Climate Change and Impact

Climate change, a multidimensional and pervasive subject, has received significant attention from scholars, policymakers, and the general public in recent decades. Climate change, defined as long-term changes in temperature, precipitation patterns, and other atmospheric variables, is mostly caused by human activities such as the use of fossil fuels, deforestation, and industrial processes (IPCC, 2021). Climate change has far-reaching effects that emerge in a variety of environmental, economic, and social realms, needing a thorough understanding of its causes, consequences, and viable mitigation techniques.

The environmental impacts of climate change are profound and wide-ranging. Rising global temperatures have led to the melting of polar ice caps and glaciers, contributing to sea-level rise and the inundation of coastal areas. The latest data from NASA shows that the concentration of carbon dioxide in the Earth's atmosphere reached 426.90 ppm (parts per million), while the concentration of Methane gas has reached 1929 ppb (parts per billion). These measurements indicate that out of one million molecules of air, 426.90 are carbon dioxide and out of one billion molecules of air, 1929 is Methane (National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA], 2024).

Historically, pre-industrial CO_2 and Methane levels were about 280 ppm and 700 ppb respectively, so this increase is largely attributed to human activities like burning fossil fuels, deforestation, and industrial processes. Human activity has increased atmospheric CO2 by 50% since the 18th century, when industrialization began. This means that CO2 levels now are 150% higher than they were in 1750. This

human-induced rise is greater than the natural increase observed at the end of the last ice age 20,000 years ago (NASA, 2024).

According to Save the Children, at least 12,000 people died as a result of climate-related disasters (floods, wildfires, cyclones, storms, and landslides) worldwide in 2023. The number of deaths is 30% more than in 2022. Between 2022 and 2023, the International Disaster Database (EM-DAT) recorded a 60% increase in the number of deaths from landslides, a 278% increase in fatalities from wildfires, and a 340% increase in deaths from storms, owing in large part to the devastating death toll in Libya from the floods caused by Storm Daniel in September 2023 (Save The Children, 2023).

According to Kelley Toole, Global Head of Climate Change at Save the Children, the climate catastrophe disproportionately impacts those who have done the least to create it and cannot resist its devastating consequences, exacerbating inequality, poverty, and displacement. She goes on to say that hundreds of deaths caused by extreme weather are an indication of climate change's devastating impact on children, families, and communities. Climate disasters leave youngsters homeless, out of school, hungry, and afraid that floods, storms, and wildfires will kill their loved ones (Save The Children, 2023).

Wheeler and Von Braun (2013) emphasize that climate change poses significant threats to global food security, potentially interrupting progress toward eradicating hunger. Their research indicates that alterations in climate patterns can negatively affect crop productivity, thereby exacerbating food insecurity and complicating access to food resources. The implications of these findings are critical, as they suggest that agricultural systems must adapt to changing climatic conditions to maintain food availability.

The loss of biodiversity, as elucidated by Hooper et al. (2012), stands out as a major driver of ecosystem change, with climate change acting as a catalyst for this decline. Their synthesis of global data reveals that biodiversity loss can compromise ecosystem services which are vital for human well-being. Furthermore, Bernstein et al. (2017) note that climate change, coupled with biological invasions, threatens global biodiversity. Non-native species often respond favorably to shifting climatic conditions, particularly in aquatic ecosystems, which may lead to significant ecological imbalances.

The impact of climate change on extreme weather is profound, with Scheffers et al. (2016) documenting increased storm inundation levels, higher precipitation rates, and intensified tropical cyclones. These changes not only threaten human infrastructure but also pose risks to natural ecosystems and their resilience. Knutson et al. (2019) further detail the substantial differences in climate impacts between 1.5°C and 2°C of warming, highlighting that even a minimal increase in temperature can lead to significant changes in weather patterns, water availability, and agricultural yields.

Additionally, Schleussner et al. (2016) provide a policy-relevant perspective on the differential climate impacts for various warming limits, reinforcing the urgency of adhering to lower warming thresholds to mitigate severe climate effects.

The economic ramifications of climate change are underscored by Moore and Diaz (2015), who argue that temperature impacts on economic growth necessitate stringent mitigation policies. Their findings suggest that the economic costs of inaction may outweigh the investments required for climate change mitigation.

Moreover, Hepburn et al. (2020) reveal market responses to climate threats, indicating that homes exposed to sea level rise sell for approximately 7% less than

their unexposed counterparts. This price differential reflects growing concerns about the long-term viability of properties in the context of climate change.

While the interconnections between climate change, biodiversity loss, and food security are increasingly recognized, the specific mechanisms through which these factors interact require further exploration. Future research could focus on developing integrative models that examine these interactions and their implications for policy development.

Additionally, while studies have highlighted the economic impacts of climate change, there is a need for more localized assessments that consider regional variations in climate effects and economic responses. Understanding how different communities adapt to climate challenges could inform more effective mitigation strategies tailored to specific contexts. Future studies should investigate how vulnerable populations experience and respond to climate impacts, ensuring that adaptation strategies incorporate social dimensions to foster resilience.

2.2 Climate Change and Hindu Kush Himalaya Region

The Hindu Kush Himalaya (HKH) region, a critical ecological zone, is experiencing profound changes due to climate change. Recent studies indicate that the HKH region has warmed by more than 1.5 °C over the last three decades, a rate nearly double that of the remaining parts of Pakistan. This warming has been associated with an increased frequency of extreme weather events and rapid glacier melting (Bershaw et al., 2011). Projections suggest that the trend will continue, with significant warming and increased summer monsoon precipitation expected by the end of the 21st century (Krishnan et al., 2019). Such climatic shifts are likely to disrupt local ecosystems and agriculture, posing significant risks to livelihoods in the region.

The cryosphere in the Eastern Himalayas is undergoing accelerated thawing, leading to the formation of new lakes and an increased risk of glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs). These hazards pose severe threats to downstream communities and ecosystems (A. Aryal et al., 2013; Kulkarni et al., 2013). Enhanced monitoring and risk reduction measures are urgently needed to address these emerging threats.

A systematic review of human adaptation to climate change reveals that adaptation strategies vary widely across the HKH region. Local communities are engaging in diverse practices to cope with changing climatic conditions, which are often influenced by socioeconomic factors and governance structures (Berrang-Ford et al., 2021). However, there is a lack of comprehensive frameworks assessing the effectiveness of these adaptive measures, underscoring a need for targeted research.

The International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) claims that the effects of climate change are felt most acutely in Nepal's hydropower and agriculture industries as well. The agricultural sector is the main driver of the nation's economy, and variations in temperature and precipitation patterns have led to crop failures and lower yields. Nepal has undertaken a number of initiatives to mitigate the effects of climate change and adapt to them, with positive results. Notably, actions like building climate-robust infrastructure and encouraging sustainable lifestyles have made mountain communities more resilient to the effects of climate change (Chettri et al., 2023).

Despite the growing body of literature on climate change in the HKH region, several knowledge gaps persist. First, there is limited understanding of the long-term impacts of climate change on biodiversity and ecosystem services, particularly in less-studied areas of the region. Second, while community knowledge is recognized, there

is a need for research that systematically integrates local knowledge with scientific inquiry to enhance adaptive capacity.

Future research should focus on conducting longitudinal studies to monitor changes in biodiversity and ecosystem services over time, providing a clearer picture of climate change impacts. Frameworks should be developed that effectively combine local and scientific knowledge to inform adaptive strategies and policies. Implementing comprehensive risk management frameworks is also important to address the increasing threats of natural hazards, including GLOFs, in vulnerable communities.

2.3 Nepal's Agenda at COP28

Nepal, geographically situated between two of the world's largest carbon emitters, India and China, faces significant environmental challenges despite contributing minimally to global emissions. China ranks as the top emitter with 11,397 million metric tons (mt) of carbon gases annually, while India follows with 2,820 million mt (Global Carbon Atlas, 2023). Nepal, caught between these economic giants, suffers from severe climate impacts, despite being largely innocent of causing them. One of the most visible consequences is the rapid melting of snow in the mountains, leading to widespread environmental and societal issues.

D.R. Aryal (2023) discusses the profound impacts of climate change on less developed countries, particularly those located in the Himalayas and coastal regions. Highlighting the rapid melting of glaciers, he explains how this phenomenon has not only increased the size and number of glacial lakes but also escalated the risk of sudden glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs). Despite these significant risks, Aryal observes that Nepal lacks sufficient research and reliable disaster warning systems. Moreover, while Nepal contributes minimally to global carbon emissions, it

disproportionately suffers from the consequences of global warming, largely driven by fossil fuel use in developed nations. Aryal emphasizes the need for collective action at international forums like COP28, where countries such as Nepal can advocate for financial support and adaptation measures while holding developed nations accountable for their role in climate change (D.R. Aryal, 2023).

According to the Global Climate Risk Index, Nepal is ranked as the fourth most climate-vulnerable country in the world (MOSTE, 2013). Projections suggest that the country's average maximum annual temperature will rise by 0.04% to 0.06% each year, with a more pronounced increase in mountainous regions compared to the Terai and Siwalik areas. By 2050, Nepal is expected to see a temperature rise of 1.70°C from pre-2000 levels, and by 2100, the increase could reach 3.0°C. These shifts exacerbate the risk of climate-induced natural disasters, such as glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs), landslides, flash floods, and debris flows, especially in the vulnerable Himalayan region.

The impacts of climate change in Nepal are evident in its changing environment. The Himalayas are experiencing higher temperatures and increased humidity, as seen in receding snow lines and rising risks of droughts and floods. In the Terai region, cold waves are becoming more severe, while thunderstorms are becoming more frequent in the hills and mountains. The unpredictable water flows, caused by seasonal changes in snowmelt due to glacial retreat, threaten the environment, livelihoods, and food security (MoE, 2011). Between 2001 and 2010, climate-related disasters claimed nearly 4,000 lives and caused economic losses amounting to USD 5.34 billion. In 2023 alone, landslides and floods killed 393 people and resulted in an economic loss of 2.89 billion rupees (Malla, 2024).

At COP28, Prime Minister Dahal's participation was pivotal, as he raised the issue of Nepal's vulnerability to climate change despite its negligible contribution to global emissions. PM Dahal also made a significant commitment to preserving 45% of Nepal's forest cover by 2024, underscoring the nation's efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. This move aligns with Nepal's goal to benefit from the global carbon market mechanism established by Article 6 of the Paris Agreement.

In his address, PM Dahal brought forth the collective voice of Nepal's 30 million citizens, articulating the critical condition of the Himalayan region under the threat of climate change. He underscored the importance of the mountains, stating that they are "tortured by rising temperature" and called for immediate action to preserve them. He highlighted alarming findings from the latest IPCC report, noting, "We have already lost one-third of our glaciers and scientists have warned that we are going to lose another one-third by the end of this century" (Deshsanchar, 2023, 00:22). This stark warning serves as a call to action for the international community to recognize the significance of the Himalayas not only as a source of livelihood for billions but also as a foundational element of global biodiversity.

The PM also articulated the "unappalling injustice" that Nepal faces, having to bear the brunt of climate-induced disasters while contributing almost nothing to global emissions. He mentioned that Nepal is suffering disproportionately from the harmful effects of climate change, even though the country contributes almost nothing to global emissions. Due to the unfairness imposed on Nepal, its people are heavily impacted by climate-related disasters like landslides, floods, wildfires, and glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs). He emphasized that this grave injustice must end immediately (Deshsanchar, 2023, 1:31).

He underscored the need for developed nations to take responsibility, pointing out that their pledges and actions are not aligned and that they must urgently increase their ambitions and fulfill their commitments (Deshsanchar, 2023). His speech also addressed the necessity for enhanced climate finance and technological support for least-developed countries (LDCs) like Nepal. He insisted on a more predictable and equitable financial arrangement, stressing that “LDCs are more vulnerable to the impact of climate change and are in desperate need of financial and technological support” (Deshsanchar, 2023, 04:18). This highlights the critical need for a collaborative global approach to climate resilience, where Nepal seeks not only to mitigate its vulnerabilities but also to leverage its potential for clean energy through hydropower.

Furthermore, Dahal's unveiling of Nepal’s national adaptation plan and commitment to achieving net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2045, five years ahead of the global target, showcases Nepal's proactive stance. His emphasis on the necessity of a dialogue focusing specifically on mountains and climate change reflects an understanding of the unique challenges faced by mountainous nations. PM Dahal's address at COP28 not only serves as a poignant reminder of the challenges faced by Nepal but also positions the country as a critical player in the global climate dialogue. His call for solidarity and urgent action resonates deeply, advocating for justice and support for vulnerable populations facing the relentless impacts of climate change. Nepal's agenda at COP28 was clear: demand equitable resources, advocate for climate justice, and seek collaborative solutions that prioritize the well-being of its people and the planet.

Nepal's presence at the summit was further strengthened by its own pavilion, which facilitated discussions and idea exchanges on climate-related challenges. The

National Trust for Nature Conservation (NTNC) hosted a panel discussion titled "Building Blocks of Climate Ambition: People, Nature, and Action." The panel highlighted several important steps Nepal should consider to address climate change. These include bolstering resilience through nature-based solutions that promote biodiversity and human well-being, establishing a detailed monitoring and assessment system, securing funding for nature-based initiatives, and fostering collaboration among environmental groups (*The Himalayan Times*, 2023). Additionally, the "direct access modality" was emphasized as crucial for ensuring national ownership of climate programs.

2.4 Nepal and Climate Change Policy

Nepal, identified by its diverse geography and climate, faces significant challenges due to climate change. The impacts of climate change are particularly pronounced in the Himalayan region, affecting ecosystems, agriculture, and the livelihoods of vulnerable communities. This literature review synthesizes current research findings on Nepal's climate change policy, focusing on the socio-economic and environmental implications of climate adaptation strategies, the importance of inclusive policy-making, and the role of international factors in shaping national legislation.

Nepal has actively pursued climate change management strategies since its accession to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1994. Establishing the National Adaptation Program of Action (NAPA) in 2009 marked a significant step in identifying and implementing various adaptation projects to reduce the vulnerabilities of households and communities. These initiatives have notably enhanced adaptive capacities while mitigating climate-

related risks faced by the most susceptible populations (Ministry of Environment and Population, 2004).

In 2011, Nepal implemented a comprehensive Climate Change Policy, which has been pivotal in guiding national efforts towards both mitigation and adaptation. This policy framework is complemented by community-based initiatives, such as the community forest program, which has effectively contributed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions through local engagement. Additionally, agro forestry and private forest development initiatives have played a crucial role in carbon sequestration and enhancing resilience against climate impacts (Giri et al., 2023; Government of Nepal, 2011).

The National REDD Strategy, introduced to address emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, further underscores Nepal's commitment to climate change mitigation. The National Climate Change Policy of 2076 B.S. (2019) integrates both mitigation and adaptation strategies across various sectors, setting ambitious targets for greenhouse gas reductions while promoting renewable energy sources and enhancing energy efficiency (Government of Nepal, 2019).

In 2009, a council under the Prime Minister's leadership was established to ensure coordinated policy efforts in the climate change sector. This initiative was bolstered by the creation of the multi-stakeholder Climate Change Initiatives Coordination Committee to oversee related plans and programs. Furthermore, the Climate Change Management Division within the Ministry of Forests and Environment serves as a focal point for synchronizing national efforts regarding climate change.

Nepal has demonstrated a strong commitment to addressing climate change through the development of comprehensive legal frameworks and policies. Following

the Paris Agreement, the nation has prioritized low-carbon, climate-resilient development pathways. At COP26, Nepal made ambitious pledges, including: (i) achieving net-zero carbon emissions cumulatively from 2022-2045 and transitioning to carbon negativity thereafter; (ii) halting deforestation and increasing forest cover to 45% by 2030; and (iii) ensuring the protection of all vulnerable populations from the impacts of climate change by 2030. These commitments underscore Nepal's proactive stance in mitigating climate change and building resilience (Government of Nepal, 2022).

Nepal's active participation in global climate discussions was notably marked during COP 2023, where Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal hosted a high-level event titled “Call of the Mountain: Who Saves Us from the Climate Crisis?” This event featured a crucial address from UN Secretary-General António Guterres, who emphasized the disproportionate impact of climate change on vulnerable mountainous countries such as Nepal. Guterres highlighted alarming statistics regarding ice loss in Nepal over recent decades, linking these changes directly to global greenhouse gas emissions (Giri et al., 2023).

Nepal's approach to climate change policy reflects a multifaceted strategy that encompasses national commitments under international frameworks while addressing local vulnerabilities through community engagement and sustainable practices. As Nepal continues to navigate its development trajectory amidst pressing climate challenges, ongoing efforts will be crucial in achieving resilience and sustainability goals.

The socio-economic dynamics in rural Nepal significantly influence climate change policy and resource management. Research by Baland et al. (2010) highlights the relationship between poverty, firewood collection practices, and environmental

degradation. As households transition to modern occupations, their reliance on traditional energy sources like firewood diminishes, indicating potential pathways for reducing deforestation. This transition emphasizes the need for policies that not only address energy access but also promote sustainable practices in resource use.

Moreover, the findings from Piya et al. (2013) on the adaptation practices of Chepang households underscore the importance of understanding local contexts when formulating climate policies. The study reveals that socio-economic factors, including income levels and access to resources, play crucial roles in shaping adaptation strategies. This suggests a need for climate policies that are responsive to local realities and capable of enhancing adaptive capacities among marginalized groups.

The representation of vulnerable populations in climate policy development is critical for crafting effective climate change strategies in Nepal. Ojha et al. (2015) critique the technocratic nature of current climate adaptation policies, advocating for a more participatory approach that incorporates the voices of marginalized communities. The authors argue that inclusive policy-making not only addresses environmental concerns but also promotes social equity, ensuring that those most affected by climate change have a stake in the decision-making process.

Additionally, the study by Onta and Resurrección (2011) highlights the intersection between gender and caste in climate adaptation strategies. The findings suggest that adaptation measures may inadvertently exacerbate existing inequalities, emphasizing the necessity of gender-sensitive approaches in policy formulation. Recognizing these dynamics is crucial for developing comprehensive climate policies that empower vulnerable communities and promote equitable access to resources.

Research demonstrates that Nepal's biodiversity and ecosystems are highly vulnerable to the significant impacts of climate change. U.B. Shrestha and Bawa

(2014) discuss the potential shifts in the distribution of the Chinese caterpillar fungus due to climate change, emphasizing the need for adaptive conservation strategies. Understanding these ecological changes is vital for informing broader environmental policies and protecting economically valuable species.

In a related study, A. Aryal et al. (2014) examine the interactions between climate change, human activities, and wildlife in the Trans-Himalayan region. Their findings underline the complexity of these relationships and the need for integrated approaches that consider both ecological and socio-economic factors in climate policy. This holistic perspective is essential for enhancing the resilience of ecosystems and communities to climate change.

The governance framework surrounding climate change in Nepal is influenced by both national and international factors. Sujakhu et al. (2019) assess the livelihood vulnerability of indigenous households, highlighting how climate change disproportionately affects marginalized groups. This underscores the importance of aligning national policies with international frameworks, such as the Paris Agreement, to ensure that adaptation strategies meet local needs and priorities.

Fankhauser et al. (2015) further explore the role of international factors in shaping national climate legislation. Their findings suggest that Nepal can benefit from observing global legislative trends and learning from the experiences of other countries. This knowledge-sharing can enhance Nepal's climate governance and facilitate the development of robust legal frameworks that support climate action.

The economic implications of climate change policy are also critical in the context of Nepal. Sharma et al. (2019) investigate the relationship between foreign aid, remittances, and CO_2 emissions, suggesting that while economic growth can contribute to reducing emissions, it is essential to regulate financial development to

mitigate environmental impacts. This highlights the need for policies that integrate economic growth strategies with environmental sustainability, ensuring that development efforts do not compromise climate goals. Moreover, Iqbal et al. (2021) discuss the potential of green finance in supporting Nepal's transition to renewable energy. The development of a green finance index can provide a framework for mobilizing financial resources for climate action, guiding policymakers in fostering sustainable practices that align with national climate objectives.

Despite the heap of research on Nepal's climate change policy, several knowledge gaps remain. For instance, there is a need for more comprehensive studies that evaluate the long-term effectiveness of current adaptation strategies and their impacts on vulnerable populations. Additionally, more research is required to understand the intersectionality of various social factors—such as caste, gender, and economic status—in shaping climate vulnerability and adaptation strategies.

Future research should also focus on the role of local governance in implementing climate policies, particularly in rural areas. Investigating how local institutions can enhance community resilience and adaptive capacities will be vital for developing effective climate strategies. Moreover, exploring the potential of innovative financing mechanisms, such as carbon markets and green bonds, could provide new avenues for supporting sustainable development in Nepal.

Nepal's climate change policy is a complex interplay of socio-economic dynamics, ecological considerations, and governance frameworks. As the country struggles with the multifaceted challenges created by climate change, it is crucial to adopt inclusive, participatory, and context-sensitive approaches to policy-making. By addressing existing knowledge gaps and leveraging international best practices, Nepal

can enhance its climate resilience and promote sustainable development for its vulnerable populations.

2.5 Climate Change and Diplomacy

Climate change has emerged as one of the most pressing global challenges, prompting nations to engage in a complex web of diplomatic efforts to mitigate its impacts and adapt to its consequences. The intersection of climate change and diplomacy encompasses a broad spectrum of strategies, frameworks, and stakeholder interactions aimed at fostering cooperation and achieving sustainable development goals.

One hundred and ninety-six Parties adopted The Paris Agreement at the 2015 UN Climate Change Conference (COP21). The agreement represents a significant milestone in international climate negotiations, marking a shift in the traditional dynamics of global diplomacy. Falkner (2016) characterizes the agreement as a political success that reflects a new logic in international climate politics, where states have moved towards more flexible and consensual approaches to climate action. The agreement's emphasis on nationally determined contributions (NDCs) allows countries to tailor their commitments to local circumstances, increasing participation and accountability.

However, Dimitrov (2016) argues that the negotiations leading to the Paris Agreement occurred largely behind closed doors, raising concerns about transparency and inclusiveness in the diplomatic process. Keohane and Victor (2016) further explore the complexities of international climate policy, identifying both cooperation and discord among nations. The authors contend that while some states strongly commit to climate action, others display reluctance, highlighting a fragmented diplomatic landscape. This dichotomy underscores the necessity for innovative

approaches to enhance collaboration and resolve conflicts within the climate diplomacy arena.

As climate change exacerbates social and environmental injustices, calls for climate justice have gained prominence in diplomatic discussions. Balogun et al. (2019) emphasize the importance of addressing these injustices, particularly in urban centers where climate impacts disproportionately affect marginalized communities. The integration of justice considerations into climate diplomacy is crucial for fostering equitable policies that not only mitigate climate change but also promote social equity.

Roberts and O'Donoghue (2013) highlight that the literature on equity and justice in climate mitigation has predominantly focused on North-South relations and inter-state equity. This narrow framing may overlook critical intra-state disparities and the experiences of vulnerable populations. Future research should expand the discourse around climate justice to include these dimensions, thus enriching the understanding of how diplomatic efforts can address systemic inequalities.

The concept of polycentric governance has emerged as a promising framework for addressing global climate challenges. Dorsch and Flachsland (2017) argue that a polycentric approach can enhance the effectiveness of climate governance by fostering collaboration among various actors, including states, local governments, and non-state entities. This decentralized model allows for diverse solutions tailored to specific contexts, potentially leading to more effective climate action.

Sabel and Victor (2015) highlight the integration of forests into the international climate regime as a potential 'win-win' solution that addresses both climate change and cross-sectoral challenges. This approach emphasizes the need for

cooperative governance structures that leverage synergies across sectors, enhancing the overall effectiveness of climate diplomacy.

Recent studies have also explored the emotional dimensions of climate change and their implications for public engagement in climate diplomacy. Ogunbode et al. (2022) examine the relationship between climate anxiety, well-being, and pro-environmental action across multiple countries. Their findings suggest that negative emotional responses to climate change can motivate individuals to engage in pro-environmental behaviors, highlighting the potential for emotional narratives to inform climate diplomacy strategies.

The Asia-Pacific region faces significant challenges in advancing climate action, particularly in meeting the aggressive targets needed to limit global warming to 1.5°C and achieve net-zero emissions by 2050. Studies show that the current efforts to amend Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) fall short of these goals (ESCAP et al., 2023). Factors such as inaccurate emissions data and slow implementation of emission-reduction policies hinder progress. Research highlights the importance of prioritizing energy supply to achieve net-zero pathways, noting the region's large untapped renewable energy potential, which could accelerate the transition to cleaner energy. Furthermore, addressing emissions from the transportation sector, which accounts for 23% of energy-related greenhouse gas emissions, is critical (Lah, 2015).

The region has made some progress in terms of climate action funding. Between 2016 and 2021, it received US$183.7 billion from bilateral donors and international development funding, along with US$329 billion from foreign direct investment between 2016 and 2023. These financial contributions indicate positive steps toward addressing climate challenges. However, countries like Nepal, which is

ranked as the fourth most climate-vulnerable country in the world, remain disproportionately affected by climate change despite contributing only 0.025% of global greenhouse gas emissions (MOSTE, 2013). Nepal has experienced significant climate-related losses, with nearly 4,000 fatalities between 2001 and 2010 and another 393 deaths in 2023 alone, resulting in substantial economic damages (U.B. Malla, 2024).

Nepal's involvement in international climate diplomacy began in 2009 with the "Kalapathar Declaration," adopted at the 15th Conference of the Parties (COP15) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Copenhagen. This declaration, signed after a cabinet meeting at Kalapathar near Mount Everest, served as a wake-up call to the global community, emphasizing the seriousness of climate change for countries like Nepal. Following the declaration, Nepal established the Climate Change Council and developed the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) in 2010 to address climate vulnerabilities.

Over the years, Nepal has continued to raise its climate agenda on the global stage. During COP28 in 2023, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal highlighted the unequal impacts of climate change on Nepal and called for increased international support to reduce climate risks, particularly through adaptation financing. The country’s concerns were also emphasized by Nepal's Minister of Forests and Environment, Mr. Birendra Prasad Mahato, who underscored the urgency of addressing the challenges faced by vulnerable nations like Nepal (RSS, 2023).

In addition to political advocacy, Nepal has been involved in broader regional and global climate discussions. The 2009 South Asian Regional Climate Change Conference, "From Kathmandu to Copenhagen," underscored the disproportionate effects of climate change on Nepal, a message that has since been echoed at various

international forums. More recently, at COP27 in 2022, the establishment of the Loss and Damage Fund, aimed at compensating vulnerable nations for climate-related losses, was a key outcome. This recognition of the heightened vulnerability of low-emitting countries like Nepal marked a significant milestone in global climate diplomacy (M. Shrestha, 2024).

The financial landscape for climate action in the Asia-Pacific region has evolved in recent years. According to data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), climate funding for the region increased significantly between 2016 and 2021, from US$24.2 billion to US$183.7 billion (OECD, 2023). This growth highlights a rising commitment to addressing climate change. However, the allocation of funds reveals a disparity, with 62% of financing directed toward mitigation efforts, raising concerns about the balance between adaptation and mitigation strategies (ESCAP et al., 2023).

In terms of financing mechanisms, loans accounted for the majority of climate finance, representing 82.8% of the total flows between 2016 and 2021, while grants constituted 15.6% (ESCAP et al., 2023). This heavy reliance on loans may pose challenges for the long-term sustainability of climate initiatives. Moreover, a substantial portion of the funding was concentrated in four key sectors: water supply and sanitation, energy, transport and storage, and agriculture, forestry, and fishing, which together received over 70% of the region's climate finance (ESCAP et al., 2023). These sectors play a critical role in building resilience and fostering international collaboration in the fight against climate change.

Despite the wealth of research on climate change and diplomacy, several knowledge gaps remain. First, the dynamics of intra-state equity and justice in climate action require further exploration to address the needs of vulnerable populations

effectively. Second, the role of emerging technologies and digitalization in facilitating climate adaptation and diplomacy warrants more attention, particularly in urban settings (Balogun et al., 2020). Lastly, more research is needed to understand how emotional responses to climate change can be harnessed to enhance public participation in diplomatic processes.

From a climate change and diplomacy perspective, Acharya (personal communication, September 20, 2024) emphasizes the urgent need for Nepal to strengthen its international engagement to secure the necessary financial and technical support to address the escalating climate crisis. He highlights the limitations of current global efforts, with emissions trajectories exceeding the 1.5°C target, posing significant risks for highly vulnerable countries like Nepal, despite their minimal contribution to global emissions.

Acharya underscores the importance of effective climate diplomacy for Nepal to navigate the complexities of international climate negotiations and secure favorable outcomes. This involves actively engaging in international forums, advocating for the specific needs and vulnerabilities of Nepal, and building strong coalitions with other developing countries. He emphasizes the need for Nepal to strategically leverage its position as a climate-vulnerable nation to mobilize international support for adaptation, mitigation, and loss and damage (D. Acharya, personal communication, September 20, 2024).

Furthermore, Acharya stresses the importance of integrating indigenous knowledge and community-led approaches into Nepal's climate diplomacy efforts. By showcasing successful examples of community-based adaptation and mitigation strategies, Nepal can demonstrate its commitment to sustainable and equitable climate action and build stronger partnerships with international actors. He emphasizes the

need for Nepal to effectively communicate its climate priorities and vulnerabilities to the international community and to build trust and confidence among key stakeholders.

Overall, Acharya's insights highlight the critical role of climate diplomacy in Nepal's efforts to address the climate crisis. By strengthening its international engagement, advocating for its specific needs, and effectively communicating its climate priorities, Nepal can enhance its resilience, secure necessary resources, and contribute meaningfully to global climate action.

2.6 Media Coverage of Climate Change

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions and understandings of climate change. As a primary source of information, media coverage influences not only awareness but also public concern, risk assessment, and behavioral intentions regarding climate issues. Boykoff (2011) points out that media representations of climate issues are crucial in bridging the gap between everyday experiences and scientific discussions. The public depends on media portrayals to help them understand the complexity involved in climate change.

These representations are powerful in framing climate issues and can significantly affect public engagement. However, the emotional anchoring that media often employs can enhance public engagement while diverting attention from understanding climate change as a long-term statistical phenomenon (Höijer, 2010). This duality raises questions about the effectiveness of emotional appeals in fostering a nuanced understanding of climate change.

Similarly, Carmichael and Brulle (2017) illustrate that media coverage of climate change is largely influenced by elite cues and economic conditions. Their analysis suggests that public concern about climate change is closely tied to how

elites "frame climate issues in media," reinforcing the idea that media does not operate in a vacuum but is subject to external pressures. This underscores the need for media literacy among the public "to critically evaluate the sources of information and the potential biases involved."

Furthermore, Kirilenko et al. (2014) highlight that differences in media coverage often align with political ideologies, suggesting that agenda setting and framing can lead to polarized public responses. This polarization is concerning, as it may hinder collective action toward addressing climate change.

McCright et al. (2015) note a significant disparity in media coverage, where climate change receives up to eight times more attention than biodiversity issues. This discrepancy, often tied to specific events, suggests a need for a more balanced representation of environmental issues in the media. Legagneux et al. (2018) further emphasize this point, indicating that while media coverage of climate change is prevalent, it often overshadows critical biodiversity concerns that are equally important for ecosystem health.

The landscape of climate journalism is evolving, characterized by fewer specialist reporters and a shift in sources of information (Arlt et al., 2011). This decline may impact the quality of climate reporting, leading to a superficial treatment of complex climate issues. Furthermore, the phenomenon of "false balance" in journalism, as described by Bohensky and Leitch (2013), can distort public perceptions of scientific consensus on climate change, presenting an inaccurate picture of the debate and undermining informed public discourse.

Journalists' conflicting conceptualizations of climate issues also pose additional challenges. Otto-Banaszak et al. (2010) indicate that differing mental models among journalists can affect the quality and impact of climate reporting. This

inconsistency not only affects the accuracy of information disseminated but also complicates the public's understanding of climate change and its implications.

The rise of social media has transformed the landscape of climate communication. Moore et al. (2019) argue that social media platforms enable public sharing of opinions on climate change, thus potentially influencing political mechanisms and enhancing public awareness. However, the effectiveness of this communication is contingent upon the public's ability to discern credible information amidst the vast array of content available online.

Feldman et al. (2012) conducted a content analysis of climate change coverage on Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC, revealing that Fox News takes a more dismissive tone toward climate change than CNN and MSNBC. This indicates that different media outlets may present varying perspectives on climate change, which can influence public perception.

Höijer (2010) presents a qualitative analysis of media coverage of climate change in Swedish media, revealing the attachment of verbal and visual representations to emotions such as fear, hope, guilt, compassion, and nostalgia. This highlights the emotional anchoring and objectification in media reporting on climate change, indicating the potential impact of such emotional framing on public perception.

Similarly, Ojala et al. (2021) emphasize the role of news media in shaping how people understand climate change and the actions they are willing to support. They highlight the influence of media frames on public understanding and actions related to climate change. In another research, DiFrancesco and Young (2011) found that Canadian national print media predominantly portrays climate change through a specific lens, often prioritizing certain narratives over others. This inconsistency in

narration can lead to confusion among the public regarding the reality of climate change and the effectiveness of proposed solutions.

Media narratives also intersect with political discourses. Brüggemann and Engesser (2017) argue that interpretive journalism moves beyond the traditional "false balance" approach, thereby influencing how climate change is portrayed and understood by the public. This approach sheds light on the role of journalists in framing narratives that may align more closely with scientific consensus or political agendas.

In addition, Bolsen and Shapiro (2018) highlight the practical ramifications of news learning, indicating that "the cognitive mediation model of news learning" has important practical implications for effective communication about climate change. Researches also show that liberal newspapers published more articles and thematic frames about climate change compared to conservative newspapers, indicating potential differences in the framing of climate issues across media outlets (Zhao et al, 2011).

Research indicates that news from the mass media teaches the public a great deal about science (Wilson, 1995). In what are typically considered to be "developed nations," daily newspapers and television are the main sources of information. According to Working Group II of the IPCC, adaptation refers to adjustments within natural or human systems in response to current or anticipated climatic stimuli or their impacts, aiming to enhance beneficial outcomes or reduce adverse effects (McCarthy et al., 2001).

2.7 Media Framing of International Climate Summits

Communication research often views Climate Change Conferences (COPs) as valuable opportunities to examine media coverage of climate change issues. However,

Wolling and Arlt (2017) identify two significant shortcomings in this approach. Firstly, concentrating exclusively on the conferences can lead to a skewed representation, as the political nature of these meetings may result in an overemphasis on the influence of political actors and policy-related frames.

Secondly, the political dimensions of the conferences are not always adequately addressed (Wolling & Arlt, 2017). Much of the existing research tends to focus on climate change coverage about the events themselves, overlooking the critical political discussions that occur during the summits. This gap highlights the need for a more nuanced understanding of how political dynamics shape media narratives surrounding climate change at COPs.

In their study, Wozniak et al. (2016) examined the alignment of perceptions regarding powerful visuals among different actors, including NGO representatives and journalists, and the relationship between these perceptions and the visual framing in media coverage of Climate Change Conferences (COPs). They discovered notable commonalities in understanding visual communication between NGO representatives and journalists, indicating that both groups often collaborate in creating news visuals during these conferences (Adolphsen & Lück, 2012). However, the researchers noted a lack of significant similarities in visual frame conceptions between journalists and government delegation spokespeople.

Additionally, the research from Adolphsen and Lück (2012) revealed that NGOs were more successful than government delegations in having their visual framing concepts reflected in print media coverage globally. This finding suggests that COPs provide valuable opportunities for civil society actors, who are often marginalized in mainstream media narratives on public policy, to influence the visual framing of climate change discussions. This underscores the potential for NGOs to

enhance their visibility and impact through effective visual communication strategies at such significant international events.

Dirikx and Gelders (2010) studied the framing of climate change during the Conferences of the Parties in Dutch and French newspapers. They found that the media's framing of climate change is "critical in shaping public understanding of the issue." This highlights the importance of media framing in influencing public awareness.

Another study from Vanhala and Hestbaek (2016) highlighted that the 2013 adoption of the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage, as part of the UNFCCC, has puzzled observers. It indicates that the complex nature of climate change was discussed at the conference. It demonstrates how a single, comprehensive master frame developed from two opposing framings—one centered on "risk and insurance", the other on "liability and compensation." This vaguer wording made parties interpret the policy in ways that brought differences among them. Disparities also existed in how the concept of "loss and damage" was incorporated into global climate policy (Vanhala & Hestbaek, 2016).

The media's framing of international climate summits is crucial in shaping public perceptions and policy discussions regarding climate change. While existing research provides valuable insights into the dynamics of media narratives, further exploration is necessary to address knowledge gaps and understand the broader implications of media framing in the context of global climate politics. By expanding the scope of research, scholars can contribute to more informed public discourse and effective climate action.

CHAPTER: III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Research design refers to the structure, strategy, and framework that guides a researcher in collecting and analyzing data to address research questions effectively. It is the blueprint for conducting research and determining how data will be collected, measured, and analyzed. Kerlinger (1986) defined research design as "the plan, structure, and technique" of inquiry developed with the intention of addressing research questions and managing variation. It essentially serves as the foundation of the study, ensuring that the research is systematic, consistent, and aligned with its objectives. For this study, a mixed-methods approach was adopted, integrating both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine how *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal* framed the Conference of Parties (COP28) 2023.

3.2 Sampling

Sampling is the process of selecting a subset of individuals or elements from a larger population to conclude the entire population. Bryman (2016) defines sampling as the "selection of a subset of the population to make inferences about the entire population." In research, sampling ensures that data collection is both feasible and representative of the research objectives. The sample for this research were selected purposively.

The purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where the researcher selects participants or data sources based on specific criteria or characteristics relevant to the research. Patton (2002) explains that purposive sampling allows the researcher to "select information-rich cases for in-depth study."

For this study, purposive sampling has been used to select the three newspapers—*The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal*—based on their prominent status in Nepali journalism and their wide readership, especially concerning environmental and international reporting. The experts approached for the interview were also selected based on purposive sampling.

3.3 Data Collection Method

Data collection refers to the process of gathering information to address research questions, and it can be primary or secondary, qualitative or quantitative. According to Kothari (2004), data collection is "a systematic method of collecting and measuring information from a variety of sources." In this study, both primary and secondary data were collected.

Primary data are the information gathered directly from sources, such as interviews, surveys, or observations. Primary data is also called first-hand information. For this research, qualitative expert interviews with journalists and media experts will serve as the primary data collection method. These interviews will provide insights into the framing techniques and strategies used by newspapers to cover COP28. The COP28 was held in Dubai from November 30 to December 12, 2023. So, for this research, newspaper articles from *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal* published from November 19 to December 18, 2023 were also the primary data. These articles were subjected to a content analysis to identify dominant themes and narratives.

Secondary data refers to information that has been collected by others and is readily available, such as reports, publications, and online resources (Creswell, 2014). Previously completed research, documents, and books act as the secondary data for

this research. Two data collection methods, content analysis, and expert interview, are used in this research.

3.3.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research technique used to systematically analyze textual, visual, or auditory material by identifying patterns, themes, and categories. Wimmer and Dominick (2011) define content analysis as "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner." For this study, content analysis involved thematic coding and frequency analysis of newspaper articles. This helped identify the key frames, keywords, and themes used in reporting on COP28.

3.3.2 Expert Interview

An expert interview, a type of Key Informant Interview (KII), is a qualitative research method where individuals with specialized knowledge or expertise in a particular field are interviewed to gain deep insights into specific topics or phenomena (Bryman, 2016). In the context of research, experts are selected for their ability to provide informed perspectives that can help explain complex issues or offer informed analysis of the subject matter (Patton, 2002). This method allowed the researcher to explore the opinions, experiences, and understandings of key stakeholders, which may not be available through other forms of data collection, thereby enriching the research findings. The experts interviewed were editor/journalist, climate experts, economists, and scholars. Their expertise and experience added depth to the analysis, especially when discussing detailed or complicated topics, like how the media frames climate conferences such as COP28.

3.4 Data Analysis Method

Data analysis refers to the process of examining, transforming, and summarizing data to discover useful information and draw conclusions. According to Punch (2013), data analysis involves “the techniques and processes used to reduce, organize, and give meaning to data.” In this study, two methods of data analysis were employed which are thematic coding and frequency analysis. Thematic coding is a qualitative technique that will be used to categorize newspaper content into themes, helping to uncover dominant frames and narratives. On the other hand, frequency analysis, a quantitative technique, will be applied to count the occurrence of tones, photographs, quotations of sources, themes, or frames in newspaper articles. The data were presented in tables and the researchers used statistical tools to interpret and analysis the data.

3.5 Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration in research refers to the guidelines and principles that ensure the rights, dignity, and well-being of research participants are protected. Creswell (2014) notes that ethical considerations involve “ensuring the protection of participants and maintaining the integrity of the research process.” This study stuck to ethical standards by ensuring informed consent from interviewees, maintaining confidentiality, and accurately representing their views without bias or manipulation. Ethical approval was sought from the relevant institutions, and all participants were made aware of their rights to withdraw from the study at any point. Additionally, the analysis of newspaper articles also respected copyright and intellectual property laws.

CHAPTER: IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Outcome of Quantitative Content Analysis

Table 4.1

Coverage of COP28 in TKP, THT, and TRN

S.N.	Newspapers	Total Studied Issues	Issues that covered COP28	Issues that did not covered COP28
1.	TKP	30 (100%)	13 (43.33%)	17 (56.66%)
2.	THT	30 (100%)	16 (53.33%)	14 (46.66%)
3.	TRN	30 (100%)	15 (50%)	15 (50%)
	Total	90 (100%)	44 (48.88%)	46 (51.11%)

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The table presents data on the coverage of COP28 across three major Nepali newspapers: *The Kathmandu Post* (TKP), *The Himalayan Times* (THT), and *The Rising Nepal* (TRN). Out of 30 issues studied for each newspaper, TKP covered COP28 in 43.33% of its issues (13 out of 30), leaving 56.66% without coverage. THT and TRN demonstrated a higher coverage rate, with both newspapers addressing COP28 in 53.33% of their issues (16 and 15 issues, respectively), and 46.66%, 50% and 50% of their issues lacking coverage.

Overall, out of 90 issues studied across the three newspapers, 48.88% (44 issues) included COP28 coverage, while 51.11% (46 issues) did not. This data highlights that the majority of issues in these newspapers engaged with COP28, reflecting a significant focus on the event in Nepali media.

Table 4.2

Breakdown of the News Items by the Size

S. N	Column Size	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	One Column	6	5	5	16
2.	Two Column	8	2	5	15
3.	Three Column	6	5	6	17
4.	Four Column	9	5	13	27
5.	Five Colum	2	1	5	8
6.	Six Column	5	6	0	11
7.	Seven Column	0	1	0	1
	Total	36	25	34	95

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

One-column news items were relatively balanced across the newspapers. A total of 16 one-column articles were recorded, with THT contributing the highest number at 6, while both TKP and TRN published 5 each. This suggests a uniform distribution of smaller news items across the newspapers, with no significant variation in their editorial approach toward brief coverage.

Two-column articles showed a stronger preference in THT, which published 8 such items. In comparison, TRN and TKP had fewer two-column news items, with 4 and 2 respectively, resulting in a total of 14 across all publications. This demonstrates that THT dedicated more space to moderately-sized articles in its COP28 coverage, whereas the other two newspapers seemed to focus on either smaller or larger items.

Three-column articles were more evenly distributed across all three newspapers. A total of 17 articles appeared in this format, with TRN and THT each contributing 6, while TKP published 5. This consistency in medium-sized news items

across publications highlights a balanced editorial approach in presenting more in-depth coverage of COP28.

Four-column articles made up the largest category, with 27 in total. TRN led in this regard, publishing 12 such items, followed by THT with 9, and TKP with 5. This significant number of four-column articles indicates that the newspapers prioritized moderately lengthy coverage for COP28, particularly in TRN, which appears to have allocated more space to COP28-related content compared to the others.

In terms of larger articles, five-column news items were less common, with 8 in total. TRN contributed the most with 5, while THT and TKP published only 2 and 1 respectively. This indicates that larger, more in-depth articles were more prevalent in TRN. Six-column news items followed a similar pattern, though TKP led with 6 items, while THT published 5, and TRN had none. Only one seven-column article was found, published by TKP, reflecting that very large articles were a rare occurrence across all newspapers.

In summary, four-column articles were the most frequent, especially in TRN. Meanwhile, smaller one-column articles were evenly distributed, and THT showed a preference for two-column items. Larger articles were relatively scarce, with TKP standing out for its six-column and seven-column coverage. Overall, the newspapers demonstrated a varied but balanced editorial approach to covering COP28, with a significant portion of the content falling in the medium-sized (three- to four-column) range.

Table 4.3

Breakdown of the News Items by Category

S. N	News Category	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	Hard News	22	16	26	63
2.	Editorial	0	1	2	2
3.	Opinion	2	2	1	6
4.	Stand Alone Photograph	12	6	5	23
	Total	36	25	34	95

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The analysis of news items by category showed significant differences in the Coverage of *The Rising Nepal*, *The Kathmandu Post* and *The Himalayan Times*. Total 95 news items were covered in the Coverage of the Conference of the parties with 63 items, hard news is the largest category. TRN contributed the most with 26, followed by THT with 22, and TKP with 16. The second-largest component consists of stand-alone photos, which appear 23 times across the publications. With 12 photos, THT tops this category; TKP and TRN provide 6 and 5, respectively. Though they are less in number, opinion articles make up six entries overall, split evenly across the three media. There are only two submissions for editorials one from *The Kathmandu Post* and one from TRN so they are hardly represented.

It's intriguing to note that none of the articles fall under the analysis category, indicating a lack of thorough, in-depth reporting from all three sources. This breakdown indicates that there is less emphasis on opinion, editorial, and analytical material and more on immediate, factual reporting (hard news) and visual content.

Table 4.4

Breakdown of the News Items by Contributor

S. N.	Byline	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	In-house Reporter	6	4	15	25
2.	AP	1	4	9	14
3.	AFP	14	10	4	28
4.	Reuters	0	4	0	4
5.	RSS	13	0	4	18
6.	Columnist	2	1	3	6
	Total	36	25	34	95

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

With a total of 95 news items, the data shows the distribution of news items by contributor among three publications: *The Himalayan Times*, *The Kathmandu Post*, and *The Rising Nepal*. With 28 pieces, AFP (Agency France-Presse) is the most frequent contributor. With 14 news items, THT is the category leader, followed by TKP with 10 and TRN with 4. Next, with a total of 25 items contributed, are in-house reporters. With twelve in-house reports, TRN has the most, followed by THT with six and TKP with four.

The Associated Press (AP) comes in second with 14 bylines, with TRN leading the way once more with 9, TKP with 4, and THT with just 1. TKP is Reuters' only valid, with four bylines. There are a total of 18 bylines on RSS (*Rastriya Samachar Samiti*), a local news service; the bulk come from THT (13), the remainder from TRN (4), and none from TKP. Finally, six bylines are contributed by additional columnists, distributed fairly evenly among the three journals.

With 36 bylines, THT has the most, followed by TRN (33) and TKP (25). This indicates that THT relies more on outside sources, including AFP and RSS, whilst TRN has more in-house reporting.

Table 4.5

Breakdown of Quotation by Source Type

S. N.	Sources in Quotation	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	International Leader/Politician	20	7	22	49
2.	International Diplomat	5	3	2	10
3.	INGO Representatives	5	1	1	7
4.	Think Tank and Researchers	8	2	1	11
5.	Delegates	3	2	2	7
6.	Government Officials	6	5	7	18
7.	National Leader/Politician	4	6	8	18
8.	Industry Expert	8	-	-	8
9.	Other	1	1	1	3
	Total	60	26	44	131

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The distribution of cited sources among the three publications THT (*The Himalayan Times*), TKP (*The Kathmandu Post*), and TRN (*The Rising Nepal*) is illustrated in the data given. Quotations were made to 131 sources in all, divided into several categories such specialists, politicians, and diplomats. The majority of the quotes 49 total are from politicians and world leaders; 20 come from THT, 7 from TKP, and 22 from TRN. With eighteen quotes, government authorities are also often referenced, especially by TRN. With TKP and TRN having more evenly distributed representation, national leaders and politicians trail closely behind with 17 quotations.

In THT, think tank researchers and industry specialists received more references eleven and eight, respectively. A smaller fraction is contributed by diplomats, INGO representatives, and delegates, totaling 10, 7, and 7 quotations, respectively. These jobs are often acknowledged in all three sources, but to differing degrees. The final category, "Other," had three anonymous sources, one from each publication.

The data indicates a moderate level of source diversity in the coverage of climate change issues. Notably, the sources quoted in this coverage generally represent authoritative voices in the climate change conversation.While international leaders and government officials are frequently cited, the discourse also includes insights from international diplomats, representatives of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), think tanks, researchers, and industry experts. However, the prominence of political figures suggests a potential bias toward official narratives, which may limit the breadth of perspectives presented.

International leaders, diplomats, and government officials are credible due to their positions and access to vital policy information. Likewise, INGO representatives, researchers, and think tanks contribute valuable expertise and research findings. Nonetheless, the limited representation of certain groups—particularly local communities directly affected by climate change and civil society organizations—raises concerns about the exclusion of diverse perspectives and lived experiences.

The choice of sources significantly shapes how Nepal's climate challenges and global climate diplomacy are portrayed in Nepali newspapers. The focus on international leaders and politicians often leads to an emphasis on global negotiations, international agreements, and commitments from major powers. This framing

highlights the importance of international cooperation but may inadvertently downplay the specific challenges faced by Nepal.

The inclusion of government officials reinforces the official narrative surrounding climate change in Nepal. It showcases the government's efforts in mitigation and adaptation while underscoring its role in international climate negotiations. This can create a narrative that positions the government as proactive and committed to addressing climate issues.

Table 4.6

Breakdown of the News Items by Placement

S. N.	Tone	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	Front	13	4	11	28
2.	Other Inner	21	17	20	59
3.	Op-Ed	2	4	3	8
4.	Total	36	25	34	95

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The data presented in the table delineates the distribution of news items among three newspapers: *The Himalayan Times*, *The Kathmandu Post*, and *The Rising Nepal*. It classifies the news items into three categories: Front page, Op-Ed page, and other Inner pages. THT leads on the front pages with 13 items, followed by TRN with 11, and TKP with 4, totaling 28 news items.

The inner pages contain the majority of news items, with THT at 21, TRN at 20, and TKP at 17, totaling 59. In the Op-Ed section, THT has 2 items, while TKP and TRN have 4 and 3 items respectively, making up 8 in total. In total, THT published 36 items, TKP 25, and TRN 33, resulting in a grand total of 94 news items across all sections and newspapers. This data illustrates how each newspaper allots

space to different sections for the placement of the news items.

Table 4.7

Breakdown of the News Items by Tone

S. N.	Tone	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	Positive	17	14	24	55
2.	Negative	9	5	5	19
3.	Neutral	3	2	1	6
4.	Mixed	7	4	4	15
	Total	36	25	34	95

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

The analysis of the news item by tone shows the differences in coverage by *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal*. *The Rising Nepal* covered highest positives news relating to the Conference of the Parties (COP28). *The Rising Nepal* covered 24 positives news items, *The Himalayan Times* covered 17 positive news, and *The Kathmandu Post* covered 14 positive news. For the negative news *The Himalayan Times* covered 9 items, whereas, *The Katmandu Post* and *The Rising Nepal* covered 5-5 negative news.

The combinations of the neutral news items were highly covered by *The Himalayan Times* (3) while *The Rising Nepal* covered 1 and *The Kathmandu Post* covered 2 neutral news items. And for the Mixed news *The Himalayan Times* covered 7 news and *The Kathmandu Post* and *The Rising Nepal* covered 4-4 mixed news.

Table 4.8

Breakdown of the Photographs by Main Subject

S. N.	Main Subject	THT	TKP	TRN	Total
1.	National Leader	2	2	5	9
2.	International Leaders/Delegates	1	3	8	11
3.	Fossil Fuels	-	1	-	1
4.	Industries and Carbon Emissions	-	2	2	4
5.	Nature and Environment	9	5	5	19
6.	Activist	-	1	2	3
7.	Other (Natural Disaster/pollution)	1	1	1	3
	Total	13	15	23	51

Source: Content Analysis, 2024

This data outlines the main subjects covered across three publications THT (*The Himalayan Times*), TKP (*The Kathmandu Post*), and TRN (*The Rising Nepal*) with a total of 51 articles categorized by subject. With 19 articles, nature and the environment are the most often discussed topic. With nine articles, THT tops this area; TKP and TRN each provide five. With a total of 11 articles, international leaders and delegates are another hot topic.

With 9 publications on the subject, TRN demonstrates a greater focus than TKP with 3 and THT with 1. Eight articles include national leaders; TRN leads again with four pieces, followed by THT and TKP with two apiece. Four articles two from TKP and one from TRN cover industries and carbon emissions; by contrast, just one item from TKP discusses fossil fuels. Activists have also received less coverage; of the three pieces, two are from TRN and one is from TKP. There are three articles in the "Other" category, one from each newspaper, covering subjects including pollution

and natural disasters. With 22 articles overall, TRN leads in coverage, followed by TKP with 15, and THT with 13. While THT places more of an emphasis on environmental concerns, TRN places more of an emphasis on national leadership and international issues.

4.2 Analysis of Narratives

The narratives and frames found in the news items of TKP, TRN, and THT newspapers were also studied. This analysis aims to uncover how these narratives shape public understanding and perceptions of the COP28 event. By examining the language, tone, and framing techniques employed in the coverage, we can identify underlying themes and biases that influence discourse around climate change and global policy responses. Additionally, this section will explore how different narratives may prioritize certain viewpoints or stakeholders, ultimately affecting the urgency and direction of public engagement with climate issues.

4.2.1 *The Himalayan Times*

The media coverage of COP28 by *The Himalayan Times* can be analyzed using Media Framing Theory to understand how narratives and frames were used to shape the public's perception of climate change. A significant frame employed is the economic consequences frame, highlighting the financial burden climate change places on developing nations. The article "Climate change already reducing global economy says report" published on November 29, 2023, focuses on the disproportionate economic losses faced by low-income countries, such as Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, which lost significant portions of their GDP. The report emphasizes the "uneven distribution of impacts", portraying the financial disparity in how climate change affects different regions.

Another prominent frame is the "technology as a solution" frame, seen in the coverage of carbon capture technology. The article "UAE to pump CO2 into rock as carbon capture debate rages" published on November 30, 2023, discusses how carbon capture and storage (CCS) is being promoted as a potential remedy to climate change by oil producers like ADNOC. The piece balances optimism with skepticism, reflecting a "contested solution" narrative where CCS is viewed as insufficient. This shows how technological advancements are presented as necessary but incomplete solutions to the climate crisis.

The "leadership and global responsibility" frame is also prevalent in the coverage, particularly in the article published on December 2, 2023, titled "Top world leaders talk 'climate chaos' and war." Here, world leaders express concern over the "pain of an overheating planet", and the absence of key figures like Joe Biden and Xi Jinping introduces a "failure of leadership" narrative. This frame highlights the critical role of global powers in addressing climate change but also points out the gaps in responsibility when key leaders are missing from such crucial discussions.

The "climate justice" frame is especially evident in the speech by Nepal's Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal at COP28. In the article "PM Dahal seeks climate justice for Nepal" published on December 3, 2023, Dahal emphasizes that Nepal is one of the countries "suffering the worst" despite having a negligible role in greenhouse gas emissions. His speech reinforces the idea of "climate injustice", where the countries least responsible for climate change faces its harshest impacts, demanding reparations and support from the global community.

The "environmental crisis" frame is a recurring theme, especially in the article "Spotlight on mountain agenda at COP-28" published on December 5, 2023, highlighting the rapid melting of glaciers in the Himalayas. The "melting glacier"

narrative underscores the immediate threat climate change poses to natural ecosystems, particularly in mountainous regions like Nepal. This frame focuses on the dire consequences for biodiversity, water supply, and livelihoods, portraying climate change as a crisis that demands urgent action.

Lastly, the conflict frame emerges strongly in the debates over fossil fuel phase-outs. In "UN slams COP28 'posturing' as fossil fuel debate sizzles at climate talks" published on December 7, 2023, the disagreements between developed and developing countries over the future of fossil fuels reflect a "battle lines are drawn" narrative. This frame highlights the political struggle between nations with competing interests, particularly around the timing and scope of phasing out fossil fuel production. *The Himalayan Times* employs several framing techniques to shape public discourse around COP28. Through the use of economic, technological, justice, environmental, leadership, and conflict frames, the newspaper conveys the complexity of global climate negotiations and the urgent need for both equitable solutions and collective action.

4.2.2 *The Kathmandu Post*

The Kathmandu Post (TKP) has provided a comprehensive overview of the COP28 climate negotiations, capturing the evolving discourse and varied perspectives surrounding the global climate conference. By analyzing the language and narrative techniques used, we can gain insights into the framing of climate issues and the effectiveness of the newspaper in conveying the complexities of the negotiations.

One of the central themes in TKP's coverage of COP28 is the debate over the phase-out of fossil fuels. The newspaper highlights the contentious nature of this issue, illustrating the divide between different stakeholders. The initial reports, dated December 11, 2023, describe a deadlock on fossil fuel phase-out and adaptation

language, reflecting the high stakes and intense negotiations at the conference. The narrative underscores the challenges faced by negotiators in reaching a consensus, noting the critical nature of achieving decisive language on fossil fuel reduction.

On December 12, 2023, TKP reported on the criticisms of the draft text, which many perceived as insufficiently ambitious regarding the phase-out of fossil fuels. The narrative portrays the draft text as a compromise that fell short of a complete phase-out, reflecting the views of activists and critics who argue that the agreement does not go far enough. By highlighting the dissenting voices and the perceived shortcomings of the draft, TKP conveys a sense of disappointment and urgency among climate advocates.

However, the report on December 14, 2023, presents a more nuanced perspective. TKP describes the agreement as a historic step, marking the first time that countries have pledged to transition away from fossil fuels. Despite acknowledging the shortcomings of the deal, the narrative emphasizes the significance of this commitment as a milestone in climate negotiations. By framing the agreement as a crucial, albeit imperfect, development, TKP captures the complexity of the negotiations and the balance between progress and compromise.

TKP's coverage also addresses the issue of climate adaptation, which has been a major point of contention at COP28. The newspaper highlights the challenges in negotiating a global framework for adaptation, reflecting the difficulty in reaching a consensus on how to enhance resilience to climate impacts. Reports from December 11, 2023, note the deadlock on adaptation goals and the need for specific, measurable targets. The narrative presents adaptation as a critical component of the climate response, underscoring the importance of finding effective solutions to protect vulnerable communities.

The coverage also includes commentary on the funding commitments for adaptation and loss and damage. TKP reports on the pledges made by various countries, highlighting both the positive steps taken and the gaps that remain. By focusing on the financial aspects of adaptation, TKP illustrates the complexities of mobilizing resources and the challenges faced by developing countries in accessing climate finance.

Another key narrative in TKP's coverage is the issue of climate finance and climate justice. The newspaper reports on the financial pledges made at COP28, including the $700 million committed to the loss and damage fund. TKP's narrative emphasizes the need for increased financial support to address climate impacts and support adaptation efforts. By highlighting the funding commitments and the gaps in adaptation finance, TKP underscores the importance of equitable financial support for climate action.

The narrative also touches on the broader issue of climate justice, reflecting the concerns of activists and vulnerable nations about the fairness of the financial arrangements. TKP reports on the criticisms of the deal's provisions for transitioning away from fossil fuels, noting the concerns about loopholes and the need for a just transition for affected communities. This coverage reflects the broader discourse on climate justice and the need to ensure that climate action does not disproportionately burden vulnerable populations.

The Kathmandu Post provides a multifaceted narrative on the COP28 climate negotiations, capturing the complexities and nuances of the discussions. Through its coverage, the newspaper highlights the key issues of fossil fuel phase-out, adaptation strategies, and financial commitments, presenting a balanced view of the progress made and the challenges that remain.

The Kathmandu Post frequently employs the Conflict Frame to underscore the contentious nature of COP28 negotiations. For instance, they highlight the "impasse" and "struggling to bridge the gap" between parties, emphasizing the disagreements over fossil fuel phase-out strategies. This framing technique brings attention to the ongoing conflicts and obstacles that characterize the climate discussions, painting a picture of significant tension and difficulty.

The attribution of responsibility frame is evident when the Post discusses criticisms of the agreement. They note, "Fail to hold major polluters accountable," which shifts blame onto key actors responsible for climate issues. By focusing on the perceived inadequacy of the draft text and its inability to address major polluters effectively, the narrative underscores the responsibility of these actors for the current state of climate change.

The human-interest frame was utilized to connect climate issues with personal experiences. The Post reports on how "vulnerable regions face severe climate impacts," emphasizing the direct, human consequences of the negotiations. This approach personalizes the impact of climate change, aiming to evoke empathy and highlight the real-life struggles of those most affected by the ongoing climate challenges.

Similarly, TKP also utilized the progress frame to convey positive developments despite ongoing criticisms. For example, the Post describes the agreement as a "historic step" and "significant progress" in climate action. This framing technique focuses on the achievements of COP28, portraying the agreement as a notable advancement in global climate commitments, even amid existing challenges and debates. TKP also utilizes the economic frame to address the financial aspects of the climate negotiations. They emphasize the "new financial commitments"

such as the "loss and damage fund," which underscores the economic implications of COP28. By focusing on funding and economic support measures, this frame highlights the financial mechanisms put in place to address the impacts of climate change on vulnerable nations.

Another frame used in the TKP was "climate justice" to discuss issues of fairness and equity. TKP highlights concern about the agreement's failure to "ensure a just transition" and the call for "more equitable measures." This framing technique focuses on the need for fairness in climate action, stressing that vulnerable communities should be adequately supported in the shift away from fossil fuels.

The solution frame is also used to emphasize the positive aspects and proposed solutions within the COP28 agreement. The Post highlights "new measures for enhancing adaptation" and "increased funding for infrastructure," showcasing proactive steps taken to address climate change. This framing technique underscores the constructive elements of the agreement and its potential to improve resilience and support adaptation efforts in developing countries.

4.2.3 *The Rising Nepal*

The news coverage from *The Rising Nepal* reveals significant narratives beyond climate change, touching upon themes of international cooperation, economic growth, and Nepal’s evolving global role. In the news from November 29, 2023, the focus on the Nepal-Dubai Business Forum highlights how Nepal is seeking to expand its economic relations with the Middle East. The event, attended by Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, emphasized opportunities for "economic cooperation between Nepal and Middle East." The narrative centered on the promotion of Nepali agricultural products and energy projects, with hopes of attracting investment in these

sectors. The FNCCI expressed optimism that the forum would result in expanded labor markets and investment opportunities in energy and tourism.

On November 30, 2023, there was a news about Prime Minister Dahal leaving out for Dubai to attend COP28, and the article emphasized the importance of his role at this global event. The narrative in this piece portrayed Dahal as a leader committed to advocating for Nepal on the global stage, with a particular focus on addressing the impact of climate change on Nepal. The frame of "raising Nepal's voice on climate justice" was underscored by his planned participation in high-level sessions and bilateral meetings. His leadership was framed as critical to securing financial and technical support for Nepal's climate mitigation efforts.

News published on December 1, 2023, expanded on the themes of Nepal's climate advocacy at COP28. Dahal reiterated Nepal's commitment to advocating for compensation for climate damage, framing the country's participation as a "rightful claim for climate compensation." This narrative reinforced Nepal's position as a country that has contributed minimally to global emissions but has suffered disproportionately from the effects of climate change. The emphasis was on securing both financial and technical assistance, highlighting Nepal's growing assertiveness in global climate negotiations.

The December 2, 2023, news focused on Dahal's call for immediate action to protect Nepal's mountains, which were framed as being "tortured by rising temperatures." This narrative stressed the urgency of climate action to preserve the Himalayan ecosystem, positioning Nepal as a key player in the global climate dialogue. The article emphasized the importance of the mountains not only for Nepal but also for the billions of people living downstream who rely on the Himalayan water

sources. The message was clear: protecting the mountains is essential for global biodiversity and human survival.

Another news published on December 3, 2023, was about the Prime Minister's speech at COP28 further deepened the narrative of climate justice, emphasizing that "Nepal bears disproportionate climate crisis impact." He underscored the injustice that countries like Nepal face, contributing near-zero emissions but enduring severe climate-induced disasters such as landslides, floods, and droughts. The call for global climate finance and compensation for loss and damage was a key aspect of his speech, reflecting Nepal's strategic positioning as a leader in advocating for vulnerable nations.

The December 4, 2023, news focused on the vulnerabilities faced by Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the face of climate change. Prime Minister Dahal, speaking as the chair of the LDCs, reiterated that "LDCs bear the brunt of climate change" despite contributing nearly zero emissions. He stressed the importance of establishing robust early warning systems and securing financial and technological support from developed countries. This narrative emphasized Nepal's role as a leader among LDCs, advocating for stronger international cooperation to address climate challenges faced by vulnerable nations.

Further emphasizing Nepal's proactive approach, the December 2, 2023, news on Dahal's address to UAE investors showcased the country's efforts to attract foreign direct investment. The Prime Minister stressed that Nepal had undertaken significant "policy reforms for foreign investments" and urged the UAE business community to explore opportunities in energy, tourism, agro-processing, and ICT sectors. This narrative positioned Nepal as a country open to business, with a focus on economic growth through foreign partnerships.

The editorial from December 4, 2023, succinctly captured the overarching narrative of Nepal's role at COP28, stating that the country has "demanded climate justice" for the disproportionate damage it faces from climate-induced disasters. The frame of "mountains as foundations of human civilization" was powerfully evoked to argue for immediate global action to protect vulnerable mountain ecosystems. The editorial urged developed countries to fulfill their financial commitments and scale up resources to aid nations like Nepal in their efforts to mitigate the impacts of climate change.

The coverage of COP28 from TRN has several recurring frames that shows Nepal as a key advocate for "climate justice," a nation emphasizing "economic cooperation and foreign investment," and a country pushing the global community to recognize the critical importance of preserving its mountain ecosystems. The framing of Nepal’s participation in global events like COP28 reveals a confident and assertive stance, demanding both climate action and financial commitments from wealthier nations while highlighting the country’s vulnerability and its potential as an investment destination.

4.3 Analysis of Expert Interview

Dhurba Acharya, a Lecturer at Saptagandaki Multiple Campus, Bharatpur, Chitwan, provided a critical assessment of the Nepali media's approach to covering climate change. He pointed out that media reports are often focused on specific events, such as international climate conferences, rather than engaging in in-depth analysis of the broader scientific and policy aspects of climate change. Acharya emphasized the importance of investigative journalism and urged Nepali media outlets to collaborate more with climate scientists and policy experts to enhance the

quality and depth of climate reporting (D. Acharya, personal communication, September 20, 2024).

Acharya (personal communication, September 20, 2024) further elaborated on the significance of the key discussions at COP28, particularly those centered on climate finance, global mitigation strategies, and the transition to renewable energy. He stressed that these issues hold great importance for Nepal, as the country remains highly vulnerable to climate change. According to Acharya, one of the most critical takeaways from COP28 for Nepal is the necessity of strengthening international cooperation to secure both financial and technical support. Decisions made at the conference, such as the establishment of the Loss and Damage Fund and global initiatives to expand renewable energy infrastructure, present Nepal with valuable opportunities to address climate-induced disasters and work toward a sustainable future.

In addition to financial support, Acharya underscored the need for Nepal to embrace technological advancements to enhance its climate resilience. He pointed out that discussions at COP28 regarding the use of artificial intelligence and satellite data could be highly beneficial for Nepal, particularly in areas like disaster prediction and water resource management. Given Nepal's susceptibility to landslides, floods, and glacial lake outbursts, integrating these modern technologies into its climate strategies could lead to more effective disaster preparedness and response measures.

Moreover, Acharya highlighted governance challenges that Nepal must address to ensure the effective utilization of climate funds. Despite receiving significant financial aid in the past, inefficient management and bureaucratic hurdles have often prevented the successful implementation of long-term climate solutions. He stressed the urgency of improving transparency and accountability in climate

governance so that financial resources are used effectively to build climate resilience at both national and local levels.

Another crucial aspect Acharya discussed was the role of local communities and indigenous knowledge in climate adaptation. He noted that COP28 placed a strong emphasis on nature-based solutions and community-led climate initiatives, which align well with Nepal's environmental and social context. Traditional knowledge systems, particularly in rural and mountainous areas, can provide valuable insights into sustainable land and water management. Acharya recommended that Nepal actively integrate these indigenous practices into national climate strategies to ensure more effective and context-specific adaptation measures.

Rabi Raj Subedi, also a Lecturer at Saptagandaki Multiple Campus, echoed similar sentiments regarding the importance of COP28 outcomes for Nepal's climate agenda. He emphasized that key decisions, such as the establishment of the Global Climate Finance Framework and the Loss and Damage Fund, offer Nepal crucial opportunities to secure funding for climate adaptation and mitigation projects. These financial mechanisms can play a vital role in helping Nepal address the adverse impacts of climate change, particularly in vulnerable communities (R.R. Subedi, personal communication, September 15, 2024).

Subedi (personal communication, September 15, 2024) pointed out that Nepal must adopt a strategic approach to accessing these financial resources. He stressed the importance of strengthening Nepal's Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) to clearly define climate priorities and align them with international funding frameworks. Additionally, he suggested that Nepal enhance collaboration between the public and private sectors to create a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to climate finance. Prioritizing climate

justice and vulnerability-based resource allocation is essential to ensuring that climate funds reach the most affected communities.

Subedi also highlighted the significance of international initiatives such as the Coalition for High Ambition Multilevel Partnerships (CHAMP) for Climate Action and the Climate Resilient Recovery Plan (CRRP) Declaration. These frameworks offer Nepal opportunities to strengthen its climate resilience through localized, community-driven initiatives. Given Nepal's diverse geography and the varying impacts of climate change across different regions, it is crucial to implement policies that cater to specific regional needs while maintaining alignment with global climate goals.

Furthermore, Subedi discussed the extensive media coverage that COP28 received both internationally and in Nepal. He noted that major developments, such as the launch of CHAMP and the Green Climate Fund’s commitment to increasing financial support for developing countries, were widely reported. A key media focus during COP28 was the global stocktake process, which highlighted the urgent need for countries to enhance their climate commitments. Subedi emphasized that Nepali media must go beyond event-based reporting and critically analyze how international decisions influence national policies. Another major theme in COP28 media coverage was the transition from fossil fuels to sustainable energy sources such as wind, solar, and hydrogen. Subedi stressed that Nepal should closely follow global energy trends and explore ways to integrate renewable energy solutions into its development plans (R.R. Subedi, personal communication, September 15, 2024).

In conclusion, both Acharya and Subedi highlighted key opportunities and challenges for Nepal emerging from COP28. While Nepal has significant potential to benefit from international climate finance and technological advancements, there is an

urgent need to improve governance mechanisms, engage local communities, and integrate indigenous knowledge into climate policies. The media also has a vital role to play in ensuring informed public discourse on climate issues. By enhancing investigative reporting and fostering collaboration with experts, Nepali journalists can contribute to more meaningful and impactful climate coverage in the future.

CHAPTER: V

FINDINGS, SUMMARY, AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Findings

A thorough analysis was conducted on the reporting of COP28 in three prominent Nepali newspapers - *The Kathmandu Post* (TKP), *The Himalayan Times* (THT), and *The Rising Nepal* (TRN). The assessment encompassed several elements including the proportion of issues that addressed COP28, the categorization of news items based on size and type, the attribution of articles, cited sources, headline positioning, and overall tone. The findings indicate that although a majority of issues (48.88%) featured coverage of COP28, a significant portion (51.11%) did not. The newspapers showcased a diverse yet equitable editorial approach, with a preference for medium-sized articles and serious news reporting. Furthermore, the analysis uncovered disparities in the resourcing and presentation of the coverage across the three publications.

The newspapers displayed diverse yet well-balanced editorial styles, emphasizing medium-length articles. Four-column pieces were the most common, particularly in TRN, while smaller one-column articles were evenly spread across the publications. THT exhibited a greater inclination for two-column articles, suggesting a greater emphasis on moderately-sized coverage of COP28. The largest portion of news categories was composed of hard news, with TRN making the most contributions, followed by THT and TKP. Stand-alone photographs were also a significant feature in the newspapers, with THT being the top publisher in this category.

The publications used different sources for their coverage. THT primarily used external sources such as AFP and RSS, whereas TRN emphasized internal reporting.

Most of the quotes came from international leaders and politicians, followed by government officials and national leaders. There was variation in the placement of headlines, with THT featuring the most front-page coverage, while the majority of headlines in all three newspapers were found on the inner pages. The majority of the coverage had a positive tone, with THT and TRN featuring the most positive headlines. Examining the narratives in each newspaper shows different framing strategies.

Among different frames, THT had used an economic impact frame, emphasizing the unequal financial impact of climate change on developing countries. TKP, however, highlighted the controversial nature of the COP28 negotiations, especially regarding the phasing out of fossil fuels, using a conflict frame. Additionally, the Post assigned responsibility to major polluters and used a human-interest frame to link climate issues with personal experiences. The reporting on COP28 in the three Nepali newspapers demonstrated a variety of editorial styles, information sources, and presentation tactics, illustrating the intricate and multifaceted aspects of the international climate discussions.

The Kathmandu Post presented the COP28 negotiations through a conflict frame, emphasizing the disagreements, especially regarding the fossil fuel phase-out. In addition, the newspaper used an attribution of responsibility frame to assign fault to major polluters and a human-interest frame to link climate issues with individual experiences. *The Himalayan Times* took an economic consequences approach, highlighting the unequal financial impact of climate change on countries such as Nepal that are still developing. The newspaper concentrated on the financial hardships experienced by lower-income nations and the necessity for developed countries to provide climate justice and financial assistance.

On the flip side, *The Rising Nepal* presented Nepal's involvement in COP28 as a crucial supporter of "climate justice," a state prioritizing "economic collaboration and international investment," and a nation urging the international community to acknowledge the vital significance of conserving its mountain ecosystems. The significance of international collaboration and financial assistance for Nepal to tackle its susceptibility to climate-related disasters is further underscored in the expert interviews.

Dhurba Acharya, an Environmental Science lecturer, highlighted the necessity for Nepal to utilize technology and innovation, including AI and satellite data, to enhance disaster prediction and water resource management. He also emphasized the significance of enhancing governance systems and implementing climate-friendly policies to ensure the efficient utilization of climate finance. The analysis of the coverage of COP28 in Nepali newspapers and the expert interviews collectively demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and opportunities confronting Nepal in the realm of global climate negotiations and initiatives.

Rabi Raj Subedi, another lecturer in Environmental Science at Saptagandaki Multiple Campus, highlighted the significance of the COP28 summit for addressing Nepal's climate challenges. He emphasized the Coalition for High Ambition Multilevel Partnerships (CHAMP) for Climate Action, which promotes cooperation between national and subnational governments to improve the creation and execution of Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). Subedi discussed the Green Climate Fund's commitment to supporting developing nations like Nepal and COP28’s focus on transitioning from fossil fuels to sustainable energy sources. He stressed the importance of Nepal revising its NDCs and securing climate finance through the Global Climate Finance Framework and the Loss and Damage Fund to mitigate

climate impacts. Subedi also underlined the need for Nepal to enhance its National Adaptation Plans (NAPs), foster public-private collaborations, prioritize climate justice, and integrate indigenous knowledge into climate strategies. He concluded that COP28 presents both opportunities and challenges for Nepal, calling for a comprehensive approach to resilience and adaptation.

5.2 Summary

The research delved into the reporting of COP28 (the 28th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) in three prominent Nepali daily newspapers: *The Kathmandu Post* (TKP), *The Himalayan Times* (THT), and *The Rising Nepal* (TRN). The objective of the study was to comprehend how these newspapers covered the significant issues and outcomes of COP28, a critical global event addressing climate change.

The analysis indicates that the newspapers gave substantial attention to COP28, with 48.88% of the issues examined featuring coverage of the event. Nevertheless, there were disparities in the extent and type of coverage across the three publications. THT and TRN had a higher proportion of COP28 coverage, with 53.33% and 50% of their issues addressing the event, respectively, compared to TKP's 43.33%.

The study showed a balanced editorial approach in terms of the size and placement of news items. Four-column articles were the most common, especially in TRN, indicating a focus on moderately in-depth coverage. Smaller one-column articles were evenly spread across the newspapers, while THT displayed a preference for two-column items. Larger articles, such as six-column and seven-column pieces, were less common, with TKP standing out for its more extensive coverage in these

formats. The analysis of news categories indicated that hard news was the primary type of coverage, constituting 63 out of the total 94 news items.

TRN contributed the hard news articles, followed by THT and TKP. The newspapers also featured a significant number of standalone photographs, with THT leading in this category. The study discovered that most of the news headlines had a positive tone, with TRN being the leader in this aspect. There were fewer negative and neutral headlines, and THT had the highest number of negative coverages. The paper offers important perspectives on the way Nepali media organizations covered the significant global event of COP28.

The coverage of climate change in Nepal features a mix of authoritative sources, primarily international leaders and government officials. Politicians and world leaders accounted for the largest share of quotations, with 49 out of the total 131 citations—20 from THT, 7 from TKP, and 22 from TRN. Government authorities were frequently referenced, especially by TRN, with 18 quotes. National leaders and politicians also featured prominently, with 17 quotes, more evenly spread between TKP and TRN. THT referenced think tank researchers and industry specialists more frequently, with 11 and 8 quotes, respectively. Diplomats, INGO representatives, and delegates were cited less, with 10, 7, and 7 quotes overall. The "Other" category included three anonymous sources, one from each publication.

The lack of representation from local communities and civil society organizations risks overlooking the experiences and needs of those most affected. This can also result in a biased understanding of Nepal's climate reality. The narratives presented may not fully capture the experiences of those most vulnerable to climate change—such as farmers, indigenous groups, and marginalized populations.

This gap between official discourse and the actual needs of affected communities could hinder effective climate action and policy-making.

It emphasizes the variations in their editorial strategies and the level of attention given to the topic of climate change in the national conversation. The findings can inform future media strategies and policy discussions around climate change and international climate negotiations.

5.3 Conclusion

The analysis of the coverage of COP28 in three Nepali dailies (*The Kathmandu Post*, *The Himalayan Times*, and *The Rising Nepal*) provides several key insights into how the event was portrayed and its implications for Nepal. First, the extent of coverage varied across newspapers, with significant attention given to COP28-related topics but also notable gaps in consistency. This unevenness in coverage highlights the need for greater media engagement with global climate conferences to keep the public informed and foster more widespread awareness of the country's role in international climate action.

The analysis of climate change coverage in Nepal reveals a reliance on authoritative sources, predominantly international leaders and government officials. While this lends credibility to the discourse, it also highlights a significant gap: the underrepresentation of local communities and civil society organizations. This omission risks neglecting the voices and experiences of those most vulnerable to climate change, such as farmers and marginalized populations. To create a more comprehensive understanding of climate challenges, it is essential to include diverse perspectives in the conversation.

The framing of key themes and narratives in the coverage of COP28 reflected the complex dynamics of international climate negotiations. Nepali newspapers

highlighted Nepal's vulnerability, the demand for climate justice, and the need for financial and technical support from developed countries. The key issues also included climate finance, fossil fuel debates, and renewable energy commitments. The implementation of the "loss and damage" fund was a major highlight, offering hope to vulnerable nations like Nepal. The framing of these themes underlines the critical role of the media in amplifying Nepal's voice on the global stage, particularly in advocating for fairer climate policies that address the disproportionate impact on least developed countries like Nepal.

The coverage of COP28 in Nepali newspapers sheds light on the growing recognition of climate change as a pressing issue, while also underscoring the importance of enhancing media engagement in global environmental matters. Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, this study has contributed to a deeper understanding of how media coverage can shape both public opinion and policy responses to global climate challenges. By framing the key themes of climate finance, loss and damage, and Nepal's unique climate vulnerabilities, newspapers not only inform the public but also contribute to the broader national dialogue on environmental sustainability and resilience.

Nepali dailies also highlighted Nepal's participation, including Prime Minister Dahal's speech and the emphasis on Nepal's mountain agenda. The coverage aimed to connect global climate diplomacy with the realities faced by vulnerable nations, including Nepal. The media also discussed Nepal's ambitious goals, like achieving net-zero emissions by 2045, while addressing financial and technological constraints.

The study also reveals a need for more diverse and in-depth reporting on climate issues in Nepali media. While coverage of COP28 was evident, the depth of analysis and engagement with the broader implications of the conference—

particularly for Nepal's long-term climate strategy—was somewhat limited. This highlights an opportunity for Nepali newspapers to not only report on key international climate events but to delve deeper into their local and national significance. By doing so, media can play a pivotal role in educating the public and policymakers on the urgent need for sustainable climate actions tailored to Nepal's unique vulnerabilities, such as glacial melting, floods, and landslides.

Additionally, the role of media framing in shaping public perceptions of climate change cannot be understated. The newspapers often framed COP28 within the context of climate justice, Nepal's minimal contributions to global emissions, and the need for developed nations to fulfill their financial commitments to vulnerable countries. This framing aligns with global discourses on equity and responsibility but also positions Nepal as a proactive participant in the international climate dialogue.

Nepali dailies extensively covered the unique climate challenges faced by the country, particularly the melting of Himalayan glaciers. These glaciers, critical for water security and livelihoods downstream, were described as being severely threatened by rising temperatures. Reports emphasized that Nepal has already lost one-third of its glaciers, with projections indicating further losses by the century's end. The coverage reinforced the importance of the Himalayas as a global heritage and an ecosystem critical for biodiversity, linking Nepal's challenges to global climate concerns.

Nepali dailies covered these themes because they resonate deeply with the country's climate realities and policy priorities. As a highly vulnerable nation to climate change, Nepal has a vested interest in advocating for climate justice, financial aid, and technical support from developed countries. The prominence of issues like climate finance, fossil fuel debates, and renewable energy commitments reflects

Nepal’s urgent need for sustainable solutions. Additionally, the implementation of the "loss and damage" fund was highlighted as a crucial step toward addressing climate-induced economic and environmental challenges. By framing these narratives, the media played a vital role in amplifying Nepal’s concerns on the global stage, pushing for equitable climate policies that acknowledge the disproportionate impact on least developed countries.

In conclusion, improving the breadth and depth of climate coverage in Nepali newspapers could significantly enhance public understanding, encourage informed discourse, and ultimately lead to more robust national and international climate policies that reflect the needs and challenges of vulnerable countries like Nepal. Comprehensive and consistent media coverage of future COP events will not only foster greater accountability among policymakers but also inspire greater public involvement, encouraging the development of a more climate-aware society. The media's continued focus on Nepal's climate agenda is essential for driving both domestic and global efforts toward climate justice and sustainable development.

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APPENDIX A: List of Past and Upcoming Conference of Parties

S.N.	Conference Name	Date	Location
1.	1995 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP01	28 March – 7 April 1995	Berlin, Germany
2.	1996 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP02	8 – 19 July 1996	Geneva, Switzerland
3.	1997 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP03	1 – 10 December 1997	Kyoto, Japan
4.	1998 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP04	2 – 13 November 1998	Buenos Aires, Argentina
5.	1999 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP05	25 October – 5 November 1999	Bonn, Germany
6.	2000 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP06	13 – 24 November 2000	The Hague, Netherlands
7.	2001 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP07	29 October – 10 November 2001	Marrakech, Morocco
8.	2002 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP08	23 October – 1 November 2002	New Delhi, India
9.	2003 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP09	1 – 12 December 2003	Milan, Italy
10.	2004 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP10	6 – 17 December 2004	Buenos Aires, Argentina
11.	2005 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP11	28 November – 9 December 2005	Montreal, Canada
12.	2006 United Nations Climate	6 – 17 November	Nairobi, Kenya

	Change Conference – COP12	2006	
13.	2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP13	3 – 17 December 2007	Bali, Indonesia
14.	2008 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP14	1 – 12 December 2008	Poznan, Poland
15.	2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP15	7 – 18 December 2009	Copenhagen, Denmark
16.	2010 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP16	28 November – 10 December 2010	Cancún, Mexico
17.	2011 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP17	28 November – 9 December 2011	Durban, South Africa
18.	2012 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP18	26 November – 7 December 2012	Doha, Qatar
19.	2013 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP19	11 November – 23 November 2013	Warsaw, Poland
20.	2014 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP20	1 – 12 December 2014	Lima, Peru
21.	2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP21	30 November – 12 December 2015	Paris, France
22.	2016 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP22	7 – 18 November 2016	Marrakech, Morocco
23.	2017 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP23	6 – 17 November 2017	Bonn, Germany
24.	2018 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP24	3 – 14 December 2018	Katowice, Poland

25.	2019 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP25	2 – 13 December 2019	Madrid, Spain
26.	2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP26	31 October – 12 November 2021	Glasgow, Scotland
27.	2022 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP27	6 – 18 November, 2022	Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt
28.	2023 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP28	30 November – 12 December 2023	Dubai, United Arab Emirates
29.	2024 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP29	11 – 22 November 2024	Baku, Azerbaijan
30.	2025 United Nations Climate Change Conference – COP30 (Scheduled)	November 2025	Belém, Brazil

APPENDIX B: News Items Published in *The Rising Nepal*

S. N.	Date	Headline	Placement
1.	2023 November 29	Nepal-Dubai Business Forum to be held in UAE	Inner
2.	2023 November 30	PM PAYS COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT	Front
3.	2023 November 30	PM leaves for UAE to attend COP28	Front
4.	2023 November 30	A view of Kalimati Bazar on the bank of Bheri River as seen from Nalgad Dalu in Jajarkot district.	Inner
5.	2023 December 1	NEPAL SHARING CLIMATE ISSUES WITH THE WORLD, SAYS PM	Front
6.	2023 December 1	Nations urged to take 'great leaps' at UN climate meeting	Inner
7.	2023 December 2	PM urges UAE business community to invest in Nepal	Front
8.	2023 December 2	Climate, Gaza crises in spotlight at COP28 With 80,000 attendees, it is the largest climate meet ever	Inner
9.	2023 December 2	Why hold UN climate talks 28 times? Do they even matter?	Inner
10.	2023 December 2	COP28 Meet an Opportunity for Nepal: PM	Front

11.	2023 December 2	Stand Alone Photograph (Panchkunda Tal, lake, frizes as seen in the picture.)	Inner
12.	2023 December 3	Address to Dubai COP28 summit PM Prachanda voices for climate justice	Inner
13.	2023 December 3	Priorities preservation of Himalaya	Inner
14.	2023 December 3	Rich countries urged to step up climate action at UN summit	Inner
15.	2023 December 3	People gather at Poon Hill to observe Saturday's sunrise.	Inner
16.	2023 December 4	LDCs bearing the brunt of climate change: PM	Front
17.	2023 December 4	PM returns home	Front
18.	2023 December 4	Call for Climate Justice (Editorial)	Op-Ed
19.	2023 December 4	Over 110 nations pledge to triple renewable energy capacity by 2030	Inner
20.	2023 December 4	Tourists observing the mountain in Ghodepani.	Inner
21.	2023 December 6	COP28 fossil fuel battle hardens despite new warning on warming	Inner
22.	2023 December 7	WB, ADB join hands for Nepal's	Inner

		hydropower development	
23.	2023 December 7	Climate talks of first week end with progress on some front	Inner
24.	2023 December 8	Climate talks shift into high gear	Inner
25.	2023 December 9	Climate talks intensify in final week of summit	Inner
26.	2023 December 10	Digital Payments Boost Climate Resilience (Opinion)	Op-Ed
27.	2023 December 11	The EU wants to put a tax on emissions from imports, it's irked some other nations at COP28	Inner
28.	2023 December 12	Guterres urges agreement to phase out fossil fuels	Inner
29.	2023 December 12	PM Prachanda slams ‘plot’ to mislead people	Inner
30.	2023 December 12	Save the mountains (Editorial)	Op-Ed
31.	2023 December 13	World peace more crucial than ever before, says PM	Front
32.	2023 December 13	Big promises made at UN climate talks	Inner
33.	2023 December 14	COP28 nations adopt first-ever climate deal on fossil fuels	Inner
34.	2023 December 14	Stand Alone Photograph (Snow clapped view of Jufal area of Thuli Bheri…)	Inner

APPENDIX C: News Items Published in *The Kathmandu Post*

S. N	Date	Headline	Placement
1.	2023 November 30	Prime Minister Dahal leaves for UAE to attend COP28	Inner
2.	2023 November 30	UAE to pump CO2 into rock as carbon capture debate rages	Inner
3.	2023 November 30	Stand Alone Photograph (This picture taken last week shows…)	Inner
4.	2023 December 1	Passengers protest Nepal Airlines' hasty departure	Inner
5.	2023 December 2	Five reasons why COP28, the UN climate talks, are worth your attention	Inner
6.	2023 December 2	Over 130 nations agree to include food, agriculture in climate plan	Inner
7.	2023 December 3	Nepal's mountains are crying out for help and COP28 must respond, says UN chief Guterres	Front
8.	2023 December 3	Nations rally behind renewables at COP28 climate talks	Inner
9.	2023 December 4	Lula says Brazil will join OPEC+ but push cutting fossil	Inner

		fuels	
10.	2023 December 4	Global aid visions and local realities (Opinion)	Op-Ed
11.	2023 December 4	Stand Alone Photograph (From 1985 to 2014, economic losses resulting…)	Inner
12.	2023 December 5	How climate change is making the world sick	Front
13.	2023 December 5	Stand Alone Photograph (The weather system is moving towards east…)	Inner
14.	2023 December 5	Stand Alone Photograph (Smoke rises following an Israeli bombardment…)	Inner
15.	2023 December 5	Disillusioned in Dubai (Opinion)	Op-Ed
16.	2023 December 6	Use the spotlight (Editorial)	Op-Ed
17.	2023 December 7	'The Plea of Mountain' screened during Cop28	Inner
18.	2023 December 7	UN slams COP28 'posturing' as fossil fuel debate sizzles	Inner
19.	2023 December 7	Stand Alone Photograph (A changeable hawk-eagle, a fish hunter, drinks water…)	Front
20.	2023 December 8	Global south's debt and climate	Op-Ed

		ambition	
21.	2023 December 10	COP28 clashes over fossil fuel phase-out after OPEC pushback	Inner
22.	2023 December 11	Will COP28 negotiations get the world to where it needs to be?	Inner
23.	2023 December 11	Stand Alone Photograph (A panoramic view of the Birendranagar…)	Inner
24.	2023 December 12	Critics pan draft text at UN climate talks as watered down	Inner

APPENDIX D: News Items Published in *The Himalayan Times*

S. N.	Date	Headline	Placement
1.	November 29, 2023	Climate Change already reducing global economy, says report	Inner
2.	November 30, 2023	UAE to Pump CO2 into rock as carbon capture debate rages	Front
3.	December 1, 2023	Afghanistan govt slams lack of invite to COP 28	Inner
4.	December 2, 2023	Top world leaders talk ‘climate chaos’ and war	Inner
5.	December 2, 2023	PM Dahal urges UAE investors to boost investment in Nepal	Inner
6.	December 2, 2023	Lava erupting from snow-covered Mount Etna Volcano, Sicily	Front
7.	December 3, 2023	PM Dahal seeks climate justice for Nepal	Inner
8.	December 3, 2023	Calls for more nuclear, less ‘destructive’ methane at COP:28	Inner
9.	December 3, 2023	US joins other nations in swearing off coal power to clean the climate	Inner
10.	December 3, 2023	To Greenwash or do the right	Inner

		thing? Corporate dilemas at COP 28	
11.	December 3, 2023	Tourists Observing the sunrise over the mountain from pun Hill in Annapurna Rural Municipality	Front
12.	December 4, 2023	COP 28 was effective result-oriented, says PM	Inner
13.	December 4, 2023	At COP 28, AI Gore takes aim at host UAE's emissions	Inner
14.	December 4, 2023	A view of Ganesh Himal from a mustard in Kitsora of Ichhakamana rural Municipality in Chitwan	Front
15.	December 5, 2023	Spotlight on mountain agenda at Cop- 28	Inner
16.	December 5, 2023	PM Prachanda's participation in COP 28	Op-Ed
17.	December 5, 2023	What used to be a hill of solid black rock has turned white after being covered with snow in Lalpatan of Sisne Rural Municipality	Front
18.	December 5, 2023	A View of snow-covered hotel area in Manang, on Monday	Inner

19.	December 6, 2023	Time to act against climate change	Op-Ed
20.	December 6, 2023	A view of Annapurna bae camp area in Annnapurna Rural Municipality of myagdi.	Front
21.	December 6, 2023	A view of the roots truss installed on the foot trail to Pathivara for the convenience of the devotees in taplejung	Inner
22.	December 7, 2023	Un slams COP 28 ‘posturing’ as fossil fuel debate sizzles at climate talks	Front
23.	December 7, 2023	Climate Finance	Inner
24.	December 7, 2023	Yaks resting on a field covered with snow in Bhakra of Ngisyang Rural Municipality of Manang	Front
25.	December 7, 2023	A view of mount Dhaulagiri	Inner
26.	December 8, 2023	Nepal’s commitment highlighted at Dubai COP 28	Inner
27.	December 8 2023	A view of Upper Manang covered with snow, on thursday	Front
28.	December 9, 2023	UN climate talks chief pushed for rapid deal	Front
29.	December 9, 2023	A view of endangered houses in	Front

		the settlement of Danaque of Naso rural Municipality of Manang due to flood in the Marsyandi River	
30.	December 10, 2023	COP 28 Fruitful: Minister Mahato	Inner
31.	December 11, 2023	Pressure grows for COP 28 climate deal	Front
32.	December 11, 2023	Failure not an option	Inner
33.	December 12, 2023	COP 28 draft deal	Inner
34.	December 13, 2023	Fight on fossil Fuels as Dubai Summit goes into overtime	Inner
35.	December 14, 2023	Dubai deal ‘beginning of the end’ for fossil fuels	Inner
36.	December 14, 2023	A view of the snow-covered hills and settlements of Jufal, the administrative centre of Thulibheri Municipality in Dolpa	Front

APPENDIX E: Code Book for Content Analysis

News Item Id:

Newspaper:

a) *The Himalayan Times*
b) *The Kathmandu Post*
c) The Rinsing Nepal

Language: All English

Date Published On: …

Type of News Item:

a) Hard News
b) Opinion
c) Editorial
d) Stand Alone Photography

Placement of News Item:

a) Front Page
b) Op-Ed Page
c) Other Inner Page

Photo Accompanied:

a) Yes
b) No

Column Size: … (Numerical value)

Contributor of the News Item:

a) In-house Reporter
b) AP
c) AFP
d) Reuters
e) RSS
f) Columnist

Tone in News Items:

a) Positive
b) Negative
c) Neutral
d) Mixed

Sources Quoted:

a) International Leader/Politician
b) International Diplomat
c) INGO Representatives
d) Think Tank and Researchers
e) Delegates
f) Government Officials
g) National Leader/Politician
h) Industry Expert
i) Other

Main Subject in Photographs:

a) National Leader
b) International Leaders/Delegates
c) Fossil Fuels
d) Industries and Carbon Emissions
e) Nature and Environment
f) Activist
g) Other (Natural Disaster/pollution)

For Qualitative Content analysis:

Themes:

Frames:

Narratives:

APPENDIX F: List of Experts Interviewed

S.N.	Name	Expertise/Affiliation	Date of Interview
1.	Dhurba Acharya	Lecturer (Environment Science), Saptagandaki Multiple Campus, Bharatpur, Chitwan	2024 September 20
2.	Rabi Raj Subedi	Lecturer (Environment Science), Saptagandaki Multiple Campus, Bharatpur, Chitwan	2024 September 15

APPENDIX G: News Published in *The Rising Nepal* on December 4, 2023

Sunday, December 3, 2023
Mangsir 17, 2080 | Nepal Sambat 1144 | Kachhalaga Khasthi
NATION'S 1ST ENGLISH BROADSHEET
risingnepaldaily.com
Vol. LVIII, No. 344 | Pages 8 | Rs. 5 | National Edition

THE RISING NEPAL
ALL BE HAPPY, ALL BE WELL

Address to Dubai COP 28 summit

PM Prachanda voices for climate justice

BY A STAFF REPORTER
Kathmandu, Dec. 2

Nepal is bearing a direct, disproportionate, and damaging effect of climate change despite near-zero contribution to global emissions, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda said at the 28th Conference of Parties on Climate Change (COP 28) being held in Dubai of the United Arab Emirates on Saturday.

He is leading the Nepali delegation to the global summit on climate change.

"Due to an appalling injustice inflicted on us, our people are severely affected by climate-induced disasters such as landslides, floods, wildfires, glacier lake outbursts, drought, etc.," he said. "This is an utter injustice. This must stop now."

Stating that the Himalayas are the foundations of human civilizations, ecosystems, and biodiversity, PM Prachanda maintained that they are providing global services to the people and the planet and are the source of livelihood for billions of people downstream.

"Our message is clear: mountains are tortured by rising temperature. Save them first!" he said.

According to PM Prachanda, he is deeply concerned about the findings of the recent IPCC report, which states that climate-induced disasters are breaking records in the Himalayas. Nepal has already lost one third of our glaciers, and scientists have warned that we are going to lose another one-third by the end of this century.

» SEE PAGE 6

PHOTO: PM'S SECRETARIAT

Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' addressing the UN Conference on Climate Change - COP 28 in Dubai, UAE on Saturday.

Prioritise preservation of Himalayas

BY A STAFF REPORTER
Kathmandu, Dec. 3

Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' has emphasised the need to prioritise the preservation of the Himalayas as a crucial step in protecting humanity and civilisation.

Speaking at the opening session of the High Level Roundtable during the 28th meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), referred to as COP28, held in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, he emphasized that the escalating ramifications of climate change in mountains and the cryosphere are portions to both humankind and ecosystems.

According to the latest report by the IPCC, human-induced global warming has triggered unprecedented climate chaos.

Prime Minister Prachanda said, "This report clearly highlighted that the mortality rate in regions less vulnerable to cyclones, floods, and droughts is fifteen times that of areas with a high degree of vulnerability to these climate-induced calamities. This is simply unacceptable."

"We have assembled here amidst multiple challenges and commitments to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius. While mountains matter for identity and dignity, ecological and environmental integrity, and humanity, Nepal, as the host of the world's highest peak, Mount Everest, is facing the climate crisis more urgently than others" he said.

Yes, it is true that at present, climate change impacts irrespective of color, castes, and social wellbeing of the people, and also the economic condition of the countries, it affects disproportionately, Prime Minister Prachanda added.

"Prime Minister Prachanda appreciated and thanked the United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres for his recent visit to Nepal, where he collected first-hand information on the impacts of climate change from local communities facing the climate crisis. Additionally, he expressed his appeal to all international communities as the Prime Minister of Nepal, saying, 'Save our mountains to save ourselves.'

"I strongly recommend the necessity of initiating a Dialogue on Mountain and Climate change to realize the hardships of the mountainous communities, find possible solutions, and bring them out of trouble," he said.

"We world leaders must walk together in safeguarding a sustainable future for mountains, mountain ecosystems and mountain people.

» SEE PAGE 6

APPENDIX H: An Editorial Published in *The Rising Nepal* on December 4, 2023

risingnepaldaily.com

4 | 2023 December 4
2080 B.S. Mangsir 18 Monday

EDITORIAL

Call For Climate Justice

Nepal has successfully drawn the attention of the global community to the worst impact of climate change on its iconic Himalayas and demanded justice for the loss and damage it caused to the country. Addressing the 28th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP28) in Dubai, UAE on Saturday, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda said Nepal was bearing a direct, disproportionate and damaging effect of climate change despite near zero contribution to global emissions. "Due to an appalling injustice inflicted on us, our people are severely affected by climate-induced disasters such as landslides, flash floods, wildfires, glacial lake outbursts, drought, etc."

The COP 23 offers a promising opportunity to Nepal to highlight the negative consequences of climate change and efforts made to mitigate them. As Prime Minister Prachanda began to speak, he set the tone with a clear message: 'mountains are tortured by rising temperatures.' Then, he moved on to highlight the importance of mountains for the survival and wellbeing of human beings. "Mountain is the foundation of human civilisation, ecosystem and biodiversity, so it must be protected." These powerful remarks have indeed struck a responsive chord with the attending audiences comprising of the heads of governments of states, think tanks, policy makers, climate scientists, business community and civil society members.

It is well-known that Nepal's snow-capped mountains have become the casualties of temperature rise and climate change on a large scale. An inter-governmental panel on climate change (IPCC) report has disclosed that a record number of climate induced disasters are taking place in the Himalayan region. It has stated that one-third of glaciers have melted and warned that another one-third is feared to be lost by the end of this century. The loss of Himalayas means a serious threat to the livelihoods to millions of people living in the downstream areas. So this is a warning bell not just for Nepal but also the entire Hindu Kush Himalayan region and the mountains all over the world.

As a least-developed country, Nepal has little or no role in producing the greenhouse emissions. Instead, it has played significant role in fighting the global warming with focus on greenery and clean energy. The country has set nationally determined construction and climate action as per the Paris Accord to meet its commitment to achieve net zero emission by 2045, which is five years earlier than global ambition. It has also become a global model in the growth and preservation of forests, which cover 45 per cent land. Although its focus is on the optimum use of hydropower for clean energy, it is facing financial and technical constraints to implement the climate action.

Against this backdrop, Nepal has demanded doubling the climate finance pledge of 100 billion dollars by 2025 while simplifying operationalisation of the loss and damage fund. As the LDCs are the worst-hit by the climate impacts, they should be in the first priority in getting more predictable, adequate, and equitable resources and technologies to fight the climate change. While speaking at a high level talks on the mountains organsied by himself on the sidelines of COP 28, PM Prachanda called for the implementation of the Paris Agreement that seeks to limit the earth's temperature to 1.5 degrees Celsius. United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres also addressed the programme and said that he had witnessed the impacts of climate change in the Himalayas and there was already a delay in tackling this crisis. Now it is up to the developed nations to fulfill their commitments to implement climate action. Now all nations should act in solidarity to overcome the climate crisis that has put the planet in peril.

APPENDIX I: An Opinion Published in *The Kathmandu Post* on December 5, 2023

Disillusioned in Dubai

With big polluters just paying lip service at COP28, those from less polluting countries are greatly disappointed.

ACHYUT WAGLE

The two-day jamboree of the World Climate Action Summit of the world leaders as part of the 28th annual meeting of the 'conference of parties' (COP28) under the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) came to a close on December 2 in Dubai. However, the 'negotiations' may continue at least till December 12 in multiple dimensions among reportedly 100,000 participants from 185 countries gathered in the emerging global town of the United Arab Emirates. COP28 is, in fact, a follow-up to COP26, which made countries agree to keep the global average temperature rise in this century as close as possible to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. It is said to be a binding agreement.

According to the United Nations, COP28 was expected to provide a reality check—a culmination of a process called 'Global Stocktake' for the countries and other stakeholders to see where they are in meeting the goals of the Paris Agreement and where they are not. Although leaders and delegations from several countries, including Nepal, used the climate summit as an occasion to embark on a foreign junket, presidents of the world's two largest polluting nations, the United States and the People's Republic of China, Joe Biden and Xi Jinping, respectively, chose to remain absent. Data suggests that China and the US contributed 53 percent and 18 percent of emissions of carbon dioxide gas during the last three decades. Their absence, therefore, is a damper to the entire effort.

No takers of foul cry

Foul cries and begging bowl diplomacy of the poor and vulnerable countries are often heard abundantly in such forums. Addressing the COP28 event, Nepal Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal tried to sound passionate. "Mountains are tortured by rising temperatures. Save them first," he said. His concerns were echoed by the United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres: "Nepal's mountains are crying out for help, and COP28 must respond...I am calling for developed countries to clarify the delivery of the $100 billion and to produce a clear plan to double adaptation finance to $40 billion a year by 2025—as a first step to devoting half of climate finance to adaptation." There were similar calls from poor, vulnerable and sinking small island nations.

Unfortunately, there are no serious takers of these concerns. The UN itself is increasingly becoming a toothless organisation unable to mend the global governance disorder not only in climate crisis but also in many other areas. During the Covid-19 pandemic, it could do little to ensure vaccine justice except staring at how the rich countries monopolised the supply until their populations were fully vaccinated before making them available to poorer courtiers. The UN's peace-making role is now a travesty at the height of the global arms race and supply chain disruptions exacerbated after the Russia-Ukraine war in particular. The global trade regime is at the mercy of the US-China trade war, and the debates over trade fairness have failed even to tangentially help improve the scope of trade competitiveness of small, developing and voiceless nations.

Coming back to climate, gatherings like COP have essentially become periodic rituals. They can neither change the over-exploitative and unsustainable behaviour of the powerful, developed nations and their citizens nor are they ready to judiciously compensate the least developed and developing countries. For instance, China's electricity mix is the following: Sixty-five percent from fossil fuel, 31 percent from renewables, and the rest from nuclear and other projects; for the US, a similar mix is 44, 41 and 15 percent, respectively. In India's case, fossil fuel accounts for 77 percent of the total electricity generation, while 20 percent comes from renewable sources and 3 percent from other sources.

The extent of direct use of fossil fuel as energy for transportation, industrial and household consumption is fairly comparable. China is the largest consumer of coal, the most pollutant source among the fossil fuels. Similarly, China, India, Japan, the US and Russia are the five largest producers (in that order) of iron and steel. This has multiple ramifications—from climate impact due to excavation and mining, nature of energy used in smelting furnaces, and their use in physical infrastructure development.

The disillusionment

There have been incremental but not really transformative efforts by the developed large economies in replacing the fossil fuel. Their citizens are unwilling to sacrifice their luxuries by reducing the per-family ownership of private vehicles, refrigerators or air conditioner, non-renewable waste, or by cutting down on air travel or economise the cargo shipment through sea routes.

Despite this, the richer countries are actually designing their strategies to prevaricate their commitment to behaviour change of their government and the citizens. And, the debate on climate sustainability is perhaps deliberately lopsided to focus it on only carbon emissions and temperature rise. The devastation of natural ecosystems by mining, deforestation and irrational consumption has failed to become the mainstream debate on climate change. Even when renewable energy and non-emitting battery-operated cars are presented as the panacea to the crisis, the extent of mining and smelting of steel, nickel, uranium and lithium are grossly overlooked.

This is largely because the agenda and the narrative of global debate on these murkier issues are set by the developed world, which is keen on protecting its vested interests. The so-called third world is just joining the bandwagon and stretching its arms for alms where even the promises to support are far dwarfer than both the damage and the demand. Actual disbursements have always been a tiny fraction of the commitments made.

The disillusionment of the underdeveloped world on summits like the COP emanates from the fact that their dreams of development are likely to be thwarted forever. Materials such as steel and cement for infrastructure and urban development are unlikely to be adequately supplied without using fossil fuel, where a large and consistent amount of energy supply is needed. These economies are unlikely to be adequately compensated for lesser greenhouse gas emissions. Worst of all, the vulnerable group of countries may raise some voices, but there no means and guardians to enforce justice in their favour. COP28 is another episode in the disappointment and disillusionment of the poor and their hapless governments.

APPENDIX J: Stand Alone Photograph published in *The Rising Nepal* on December 2, 2023

PHOTO: THAKUR PRASAD ACHARYA/TRN

Panchkunda Tal, lake, frizes as seen in the picture.

APPENDIX K: A Stand-Alone Photograph Published in *The Kathmandu Post* on December 4, 2023

POST FILEPHOTO

From 1985 to 2014, economic losses resulting from disasters in the Hindu Kush Himalayas region totalled $45 billion.

APPENDIX L: A Stand-Alone Photograph Published in *The Himalayan Times* on December 9 2023

RSS

A view of endangered houses in the settlement of Danaque of Naso Rural Municipality of Manang due to flood in the Marsyangdi River, on Friday.

APPENDIX M: Photographs of Snowless Gaurishankar (Above) and Machhapuchhre (Below) Mountains