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What Do Editorial Cartoons about the 21st United Nations Conference on Climate Change Have in Common?

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Introduction

French philosopher Henri Bergson (1900) defined humans as “animals that laugh.”¹ As people who live in a globalized world with an incredibly intensive circulation of information, we should also not forget that humor—especially in the form of satire—can become a weapon. Not only is it able to bestow pleasure and relief on us, but also cause confrontation. The first terrorist attack on satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* that took place in Paris in the beginning of 2015 was evidence of this. It restarted a discussion on whether such a form of expression should have restrictions. The message behind the movement “Je suis Charlie” that appeared right after the tragedy, perhaps, best could be expressed in the words by Noam Chomsky: “If we don't believe in freedom of expression for people we despise, we don't believe in it at all” (Bracken, 1994).²

In the end of November 2015, a few weeks after the second bloodshed, the capital of France, with substantially increased security, welcomed more than 38,000 people from all over the world in Le Bourget to talk about another threat for human security, way more complex than ISIS as it is omnipresent.

Another cartoon became a controversy. An artist called Bill Leak drew a poor Indian family chopping solar panels that were provided as aid by the UN. This image, which was published in the *Australian* newspaper, caused stark criticism and was called by many people racist.



¹ “Le rire. Essai sur la signification du comique” — p. 10.

² “Words are not deeds” — p. 124.

The story behind this: India—a developing country—has decided to raise its renewable energy capacity. And during the COP21 its Prime Minister Narendra Modi urged developed countries to provide fundings for the installation of solar technologies.

The butt of satire on the image above is clear. Many satirists, however, stick to the principle of making fun of the strong and powerful rather than weak and destitute. But as cartoonist Patricio Fernandez from *The Clinic* (Chile) puts it, one should not try to censor satirist as his role is not to please the public: “Satire is a sceptic. It’s a bad boy. Not sweet, and admirable, and loving, but the opposite. It sees the worst in human beings and relishes our weaknesses and frailties.”³ Satire reminds us that we are all mortal and helps to prevent the demonization of “villains,” as only regarded as equals—i.e. not immune from humorous interpretation of their role and significance—they can be understood and soberly criticized.

We decided to look at what Indian satirists as well as satirists from other countries that are among the key players in negotiations on climate change have turned into an object of derision and mockery. Our case study was based on the premise that antiheroes in climate change debate start obtaining their real embodiment.

³ #Je suis Charlie—are you? The Charlie Hebdo story seen through the eyes of cartoonists from around the world. 25 Jan 2015. Web: <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2015/01/suis-charlie-150124235116941.html>.

The COP21 as Expectations versus Reality

Despite being met by independent observers with moderate skepticism—as, traditionally, there are a great many disparities between what ought to be solutions and how they are applied, providing a solid foundation for humor—the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21) under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)⁴ was referred to as a story of hope⁵. “We are all like this,” said UN Messenger of Peace Leonardo DiCaprio, with his fingers crossed, to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.

This time every country involved in negotiations had homework to do before appearing in the inner sanctum of decision-making: to come up with its own Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC)—the mechanism through which the countries submit their commitments for the post-2020 period in mitigation, and voluntarily—in adaptation.

Not long before the conference, the Executive Secretary of the Framework, Christiana Figueres, reassured the media that the framework will succeed because there is no other choice, as “a decarbonized world is now irreversible, irrefutable.”⁶ She called it the “first time the world economy is transformed intentionally”⁷. Earlier, during the meeting in Doha in 2012, she acknowledged, nonetheless, that even though the emissions cuts obligations under the Phase II commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol were higher than in the Phase I, the gap between the actions of countries and science was ever increasing. From the beginning, the summit’s overarching goal—to encourage all the 196 Parties to achieve a general and binding agreement on the reduction of GHG to keep the temperature increase below 2°C—seemed too ambitious.

The previous milestone—COP15, or Copenhagen 2009—was an illustration of how negotiations should not be arranged: not only did it end with no real political statement, vague pledges on behalf of

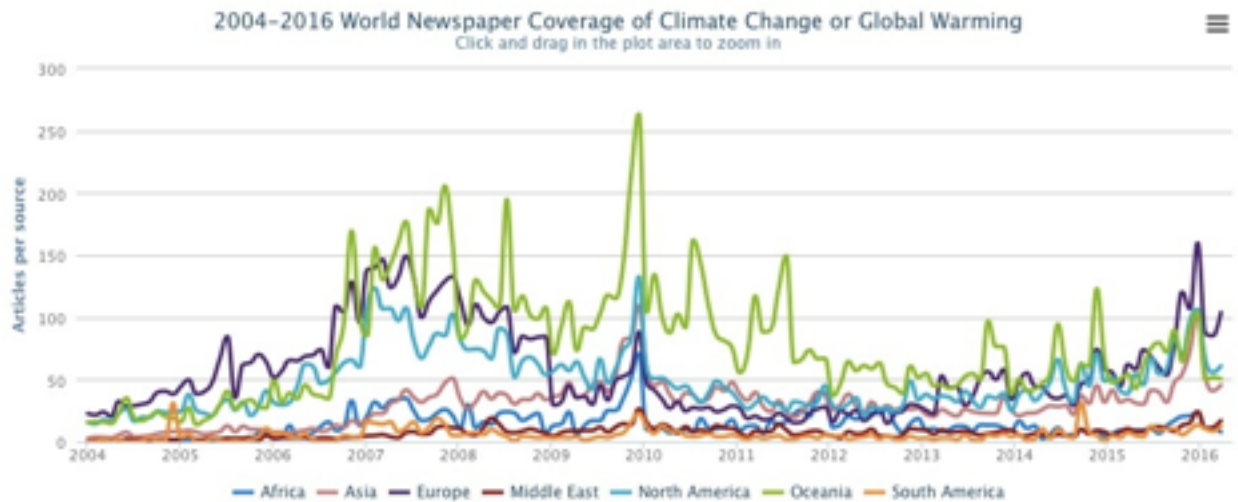
⁴ This international regime aims at “stabilization of greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations—carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, sulphur hexafluoride—in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” (*Article 2*) “for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities” (*Article 3*).

⁵ The Guardian. A story of hope: the Guardian launches phase II of its climate change campaign. 5 October 2015. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/oct/05/a-story-of-hope-the-guardian-launches-phase-two-of-its-climate-change-campaign>.

⁶ The Reuters. World has no choice but to decarbonize—UN climate chief. 26 May 2015. Web: <http://uk.reuters.com/article/climate-change-carbon-idUKL5N0YH3E320150526>.

⁷ UN Regional Information Centre for Western Europe. Figueres: First time the world economy is transformed intentionally. 3 February 2015. Web: <http://www.unric.org/en/latest-un-buzz/29623-figueres-first-time-the-world-economy-is-transformed-intentionally>.

countries who bear the main responsibility for speeding up global warming, but also a scandal over the US delegation that was caught spying. It turned from “Hopenhagen” to “Brokenhagen” (Eide, Kunelius, Kumpu, 2010).⁸ But even though it was a fiasco from the diplomatic perspective, the media coverage of the subject peaked the year after (the figure below tracks the period from 2004):⁹



The previous year gave birth to quite a number of precedents that foreshadow a paradigm shift, for which there is a need when “the first tradition is felt to have gone badly astray” (Kuhn, 1970);¹⁰ the world starts realizing—not only on secular but on levels of faith, values and beliefs—that the progress cannot occur by turning a blind eye to the state of natural resources.

In June 2015, Pope Francis warned the powers that be that they will answer to God if they don’t take care of environmental justice. In his encyclical—180-page intervention in the climate change debate—he introduces the term *ecological sin*, claiming that “the ecological crisis is essentially a spiritual problem,” thus “the Church must introduce in its teaching about sin, the sin against the environment,”¹¹ which is a revolutionary rethinking of Christianity’s Dominion thesis (Genesis 1: 26, 28: «And God blessed [Adam and Eve], and God said unto them, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the

⁸ “Global Climate, Local Journalism. A Transnational Study of How Media Make Sense of Climate Summit” — p. 21.

⁹ McAllister, L., Nacu-Schmidt, A., Andrews, K., Boykoff, M., Daly, M., Gifford, L., and Lueddecke, G. (2016) World Newspaper Coverage of Climate Change or Global Warming, 2004—2016. Center for Science and Technology Policy Research, Cooperative Institute for Research in Environmental Sciences, University of Colorado. Web: http://sciencepolicy.colorado.edu/media_coverage.

¹⁰ “The Structure of Scientific Revolution” — p. 98.

¹¹ America. History is made as Pope Francis’ encyclical is presented in Vatican. 18 June 2015. Web: <http://americamagazine.org/content/dispatches/history-made-pope-francis-encyclical-presented-vatican>.

air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.”»)) that is sometimes regarded as the primary historical cause of the contemporary ecological crisis (White, 1967).¹² It is an important and with-the-times message for at least more than two billion adherents of the Christian Church.

Religious institutions join environmental, educational, socio-political groups and non-governmental organizations in their attempts to boost the fossil fuel divestment movement, which already has hundreds of partners and allies.¹³ Propelled by 350.org, led by Bill McKibben, it is steadily gaining momentum. In 43 countries, more than 400 organizations, with a collective worth of 2.6 trillion USD, have made commitments to move their investments out of coal, oil, and gas companies.¹⁴ (According to the recent IPCC report, fossil fuel industrial processes comprise 65% of global emissions of carbon dioxide).¹⁵

The Guardian Media Group reported about its “hard-nosed business decision” to sell all of the fossil fuel assets in its 800-million GBP investment fund—the largest divestment so far.¹⁶

Some important steps in this direction have been made by the main emitters at the highest level. After banning the Keystone Pipeline Project, the US laid out a target to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the range of 26—28% below 2005 levels by 2025;¹⁷ in response to that China announced its intent to peak carbon dioxide emissions around 2030 and to double its share of zero-carbon energy to 20%.¹⁸

Notably, the city of Copenhagen, which bears the bitter memory of failed 2009 negotiations, promises to become the world’s first carbon neutral capital by 2025.¹⁹

France contributed a lot of resources to make the two-week negotiations in Paris as fruitful as possible in a way that would bring about advancements in their energy sector through enforcing restrictions towards the extraction and utilization of fossil fuels. If everyone agrees to contribute to

¹² “The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis” — pp. 1203—1207.

¹³ 350.org’s official website: <http://350.org>.

¹⁴ Global Power Shift official website: <http://globalpowershift.org>.

¹⁵ IPCC official website: <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3>.

¹⁶ The Guardian. Guardian Media Group to divest its £800m fund from fossil fuels. 1 April 2015. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/apr/01/guardian-media-group-to-divest-its-800m-fund-from-fossil-fuels>.

¹⁷ The New York Times. Senate fails to override Obama’s Keystone Pipeline veto. 4 March 2015. Web: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/05/us/senate-fails-to-override-obamas-keystone-pipeline-veto.html?_r=0.

¹⁸ The Guardian. China makes carbon pledge ahead of Paris climate change summit. 30 June 2015. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jun/30/china-carbon-emissions-2030-premier-li-keqiang-un-paris-climate-change-summit>.

¹⁹ The official website of Denmark: Copenhagen: <http://denmark.dk/en/green-living/copenhagen>.

emission cuts (the developing countries don't mind if the developed countries provide them with support), why does it turn out to be so complicated to make the agreement binding?

One of the major admonitions from environmental groups is that the power of multinational corporations that make their profits out of fossil fuels exceeds the power of governments, and thus is a main determinant in the process of transformation. Representatives of the industries insist that they contribute to the nations' prosperity by creating jobs and speeding up economic growth, which is a universally accepted indicator of countries' development (Bhutan, with its Global Gross National Happiness Index,²⁰ is one famous exception), albeit a statistic is not necessarily reflecting their citizens' well-being.

Five of the largest European civil society organizations—Aitec, Attac France, Corporate Europe Observatory, Observatoire des multinationales and Transnational Institute—provide evidence in support of the criticism that the conference in Paris became a meeting point for numerous lobbyists of big industries, which are among the main polluters, and some of them were even among the official sponsors of the COP21.²¹

As the “sinking island countries”, most threatened by the sea level rise, whose communities constitute some 5% of the global population,²² persevered with their appeal to the developed countries for applying stricter measures, by the end of negotiations the framework established a new goal: to set the limit of 2°C even lower—to 1.5°C, since 2°C temperature rise can have disastrous impacts on the livelihoods of these small nations. However, all the INDCs in total, lead to a best case scenario of 3°C temperature increase.

It might seem that this kind of effort to come up with effective and optimal solutions that would satisfy all the negotiators through hours of talks and trade-offs is as desperate and deceptive as Achilles's efforts to outrun the tortoise. But even though the measures didn't go far enough, the final agreement is a crucial message to business, investors and communities that fossil fuels will soon become a ‘mauvais ton.’ While the Kyoto Protocol obliged a number of rich countries to cut their marginal emissions, the recently signed deal applies to all the Parties. Albeit there will be no legal obligation for countries to cut

²⁰ Gross National Happiness' official website: <http://www.grossnationalhappiness.com>.

²¹ Lobby Planet Paris. A guide to corporate COP21. Info on key climate criminals; Maps of lobbying hotspots; Section on COP21 sponsors. Published by Aitec, Attac France, Corporate Europe Observatory, Observatoire des multinationales, Transnational Institute. November 2015. Web: <http://corporateeurope.org/cop21>.

²² The Alliance of Small Island States' official website: <http://aosis.org>.

emissions, the agreement includes a five-yearly global stocktake and a review of mechanisms to evaluate each country’s contributions.

When judging the success of the new deal, economist Lord Stern named it the beginning of acceleration “along the path towards low-carbon economic growth.”²³ As Alain Guillemoles, economic observer for French national newspaper *La Croix*, pointed out during the COP21, there are quite a few of companies that are switching to innovations associated with renewable energy. “Companies like Schneider Electric, Engine, Bolloré are doing this not because they want to make the world better,” he says, “but simply because climate change is a market for them.”

French President François Hollande has called the document “a major leap of mankind.” From now on the countries take responsibility for reducing emissions and raising each year by 2020 100 billion USD to support poor countries in their attempt to adapt their economies to new conditions. Also, they established a new goal of reaching zero net emissions by the end of this century.

“Can we live within this doughnut? (*see image on the left*)” asks decision-makers Kate Raworth (2012), an economist focusing on food security issues. By this quirky metaphor she brings together in a circle 11 dimensions of the social foundation in concert with nine planetary boundaries set up by the Stockholm Resilience Centre (the ceiling for at least three of them—climate change, nitrogen use, biodiversity loss—has already been crossed) (Rockström and al., 2009).²⁴ Economic growth, she claims, should be regarded with respect to ecological limits, while social and environmental stresses should cease to be accounted and labeled as economic externalities.²⁵



²³ The Guardian. World Bank president celebrates “game changer” Paris talks. 13 December 2015. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2015/dec/13/world-bank-president-celebrates-game-changer-paris-talks>.

²⁴ “Planetary Boundaries: Exploring the Safe Operating Space for Humanity. *Ecology and Society*” — pp. 8—9.

²⁵ “A Safe and Just Space for Humanity. *Oxfam Discussion Paper*” — p. 8.

Ideals, promoted by the aforementioned framework, which are at the core of every COP, are cosmopolitan, as they encourage every one of us to consider our own welfare in context: what is the cost of our comfort in relation to the well-being of people in other parts of the globe? These ideals encourage us to acknowledge the connections between our activities and their consequences and take responsibility for our choices. Climate change is a chance and incentive to enhance environmental justice. So can what we witnessed during the COPs be regarded as the path towards “the end of history,” characterized by universalization of Western liberal democracies, where an ultimate goal of man is “to be recognized as a human being, that is, as being with a certain worth of dignity” (Fukuyama, 1992)?²⁶ When armed with this “contagious optimism,” it is necessary to not neglect and underestimate the scale and the horror of human suffering (Derrida, 1994).²⁷ Since these ideals are in constant tension with what is known as the paradox of globalization: states that are supposed to accept global governance are more preoccupied with their own performance; their measure of progress remains largely national and local (Karns, 2010).²⁸ A *golden billion* of the world’s population—that is, developed countries—exploit the lion’s share of all the richest deposits of planetary resources; developed countries consider undeveloped nations a raw material appendage area for dumping their toxic waste and as a factory of cheap labor (Kara-Murza, 2000).²⁹ As Naomi Klein (2000) eloquently explained, this is not financial self-interest that is a novelty—business, she wrote, is nothing new—but the outreach and scope of mega-corporations that represent it and, what is more, media empires at their disposal: “The media moguls [such as as Rupert Murdoch, Michael Eisner, Martin Scorsese and Chris Patten] claimed that their cultural products would carry the torch of freedom to authoritarian regimes... [B]ut it seems that it may be the torch of authoritarianism that is being carried by those most determined to go global.”³⁰

The meta-narrative of the debate is still in the process of formation. *The New Yorker’s* writer, Jonathan Franzen, described climate change as a relatively palatable political culprit: “Climate change is everyone’s fault—in other words, no one’s. We can all feel good about deploring it.”³¹ In the next chapter we will try to examine this statement by looking at climate change as a media phenomenon and see what exactly makes it seem a wicked problem.

²⁶ “The End of History and the Last Man” — p. 20.

²⁷ “Specters of Marx: State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International” — p. 124.

²⁸ “International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance” — pp. 23, 27—28, 50.

²⁹ “Mind Manipulations” — p. 239.

³⁰ “No Logo” — p. 185.

³¹ *The New Yorker*. Carbon capture. 6 April 2015. Web: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/04/06/carbon-capture>.

Visualizing the Invisible

The Earth has already experienced changes of climate: in the last two millennia, it has been through the Medieval Warm Period (ca. 950—1250) and the Little Ice Age (ca. 1300—1850) (Mann et al., 2009; Matthews & Briffa, 2005).³² During the thaw, the Norse had established their settlements in Greenland, but since their life started becoming more severe they perished, leaving the island for Inuits who somehow managed to pull through (Arnold, 2010).³³ Unlike previous changes of climate, with their dramatic twists and turns, generally regarded as natural fluctuations of temperature, climate change is directly or indirectly attributed to human activity (Diamond, 2006).³⁴ Catalyzed by expansive economic growth, the current change of climate—accompanied by rising seas, depletion of freshwater, desertification, and more frequent and disruptive natural catastrophes—gives a prod to humanity to develop new strategies and tactics in order to adopt, survive, and then update the agenda.

As public opinion is significantly shaped by the media—both by addressing different aspects of the issue, analyzing and discussing them as well as paying limited attention or no attention at all—climate change should be thoroughly considered as a media phenomenon. To come up with some sort of collective public discourse—*climate gestalt* (Boykoff et al., 2015),³⁵ it is important to note discourses that extend to wider realms and those that are not present (Derrida, 1978).³⁶ The “selectiveness” of the media is often a reflection of their owners’ beliefs, tastes and preferences: while some messages produced by climate science experts are well-articulated, others are omitted, left obscure, or simply silenced. But even benevolent efforts to disseminate the information as much as possible can be barely helpful in terms of raising public awareness, as people understand it according to their existing world-views and attitudes rather than change them because the information inclines them to do so (Whitmarsh, 2011).³⁷

As a media phenomenon, climate change is of a very peculiar type. It is a long-lasting—in terms of human life—and complex process. And since it does not sound as something personal, to make it

³² “Global Signatures and Dynamical Origins of the Little Ice Age and Medieval Climate Anomaly” — pp. 1256—1260; “The ‘Little Ice Age’: re-evaluation of an evolving concept” — pp. 17—36.

³³ “Cold Did in the Norse” — p. 9.

³⁴ “Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed” — p. 22.

³⁵ “Communicating in the Anthropocene. The Cultural Politics of Climate Change News Coverage around the World” — pp. 221—228.

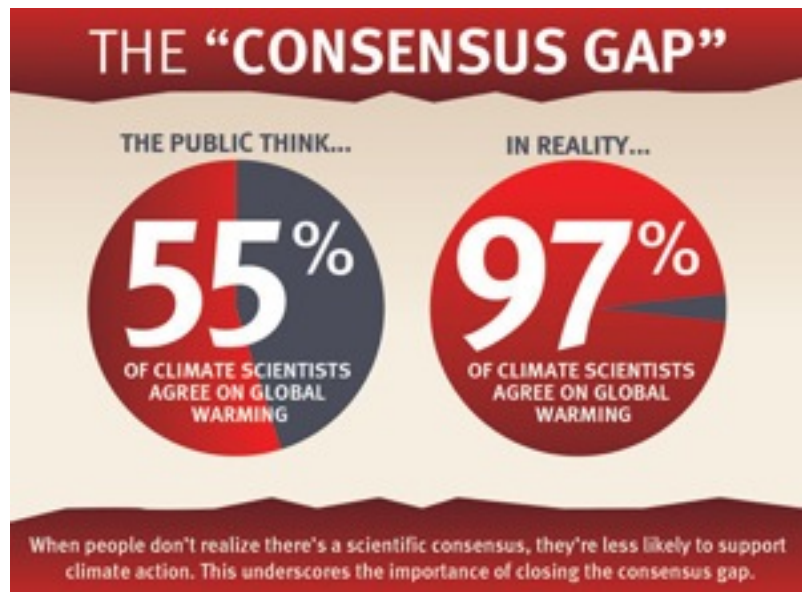
³⁶ “Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences” — pp. 278—293.

³⁷ “Skepticism and Uncertainty about Climate Change: Dimensions, Determinants and Change over Time” — pp. 690—700.

newsworthy, the message has to be negative and unexpected but nevertheless meet the requirements of a *mental pre-image*—to be comprehensive and refer to a group the readers identify themselves with, because “when something positive happens it is more likely to be attributed to people, whereas something attributed to non-people will have to be negative to hit the news. In a sense this may also be seen as a reflection of the dominant idea of man as the maker of his own progress against the forces of nature that tend to inundate him with floods, shake him to pieces with earthquakes, etc.” (Galtung & Holmboe Ruge, 1965).³⁸

Is climate change a threat that humanity cannot avoid or a challenge that requires a set of responses on various different levels? Popular media have not seemed to address this question (Boykoff, 2011)³⁹ and have been rather dragging with another one, more basic: is there such a thing as human-induced climate change?

According to the survey conducted by Polling Report in 2008, 47% of Americans thought climate scientists agreed that anthropocene is the major cause of the warming, whereas 53% of them did not think that the consensus had yet been reached. Meanwhile the poll conducted by the University of Illinois, Chicago, revealed that the minority was right: 97.4% of climate scientists answered yes to the question (Doran & Zimmerman, 2009).⁴⁰ This poll illustrates how the very standards of reporting can lead to ill-interpretation. An attempt to maintain the balance of opinions—human activity has to do with global warming versus human activity has nothing to do with global warming—tend to be fulfilled without taking into account the examination of the scientific consensus on the matter, expressed in a percentage, of which at the end of the day the



³⁸ “The Structure of Foreign News” — pp. 64—91.

³⁹ “Who Speaks for Climate? Making Sense of Mass Media Reporting on Climate Change” — p. 240.

⁴⁰ “Examining the Scientific Consensus on Climate Change” — pp. 21—22.

audience might not know:⁴¹

Anthony Leiserowitz, the director of the Yale Project on Climate Change Communication, defines climate change as the worst problem to fit with the human mind, partially because the processes involved that are supposed to be perceived as disturbing are invisible.⁴² His recent study on the role discrete emotions play in public climate change policy preferences refutes the earlier prevailing presumption that to frighten the public is the best way to make it concerned about a problem. The research demonstrates that fear appeals usually are ineffective or even counterproductive. It is suggested that the single strongest stimulation that switches the audiences's environmental consciousness is worry (Smith & Leiserowitz, 2014).⁴³

With the coverage of climate summits, reporting has to go beyond, to transcend geopolitical limitations the way modern nation states try to for the sake of the global public good: “We know that journalism has borrowed its epistemological perspective and ideals from modern science, claiming to talk either in the name of (fairly naïve or technical) objectivity or at least in the name of organized skepticism to the existing authorities of knowledge” (Eide, & Kunelius, 2012). These media scholars who conduct a continuous research of such summit journalism warn about what might go awry with the emotive images: “As such, they are successfully adhering to journalistic doxa, emphasizing conflict, disaster, and crisis; but for the same reason they may be part of a ‘cry wolf’—or alarmism—series of future scenarios communicates—even if the future is indeed alarming” (Eide, & Kunelius, 2012).⁴⁴

Lippmann (1921) emphasized the importance of stereotypes: “Whatever we recognize as familiar we tend, if we are not very careful, to visualize with the aid of images already in our mind.” He stressed that human qualities are abstract, obscure, and fluctuating, and that they need therefore to find their embodiment in *physical metaphors*;⁴⁵ Pörksen (1997) dubbed them *visiotypes*, meaning “globally effective” signs.⁴⁶ This is a task, in particular, for cartoonists whose craft relies on those widely known representations.

⁴¹ The Guardian. Why we need to talk about the scientific consensus on climate change. 20 November 2014. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/climate-consensus-97-per-cent/2014/nov/20/why-we-need-to-talk-about-scientific-consensus-on-climate-change>.

⁴² Grist. What’s the best way to communicate about climate change? This expert offers some insights. 17 September 2015. Web: <http://grist.org/climate-energy/whats-the-best-way-to-communicate-about-climate-change-this-expert-offers-some-insights/>.

⁴³ “The Role of Emotion in Global Warming Policy Support and Opposition” — pp. 937—948.

⁴⁴ “Media Meets Climate. The Global Challenge for Journalism” — p. 16.

⁴⁵ “Public Opinion” — pp. 78, 105—106.

⁴⁶ “Weltmarkt der Bilder: Eine Philosophie der Visiotype” — p. 27.

Humor as the Way to Sustain the Unsustainable

In the democratic world, environmental and health risks and attempts to conceal them are central to politics and also the subject of open satire (Neal & Davies, 1998).⁴⁷

Though the question “What is funny?” proved to be a serious one, sociologist Christie Davies (2011), whose works are sometimes referred to as state-of-the-art in humor research, reckons that jokes are “entertainment only, a mere laughing matter” and that any attempt to ascribe political and societal transformations to them is speculative. He quotes a former president of the Pennsylvania Bar Association, John Carpenter (1990), opening for the prosecution of lawyer jokes that became extremely popular in the US in the 1980s and made many lawyers feel uncomfortable as allegedly undermining their social position: “What profession is more disciplined or has a higher standard of ethics? What body of people has done more to craft and sustain civilization and the laws by which we live? This is truly a great and honorable profession. Yet we stand by and watch other people make fun of it and us and, in the spirit of trying to be ‘good sports,’ we even join in the self-abuse process—laughing with them and topping their latest lawyer bash with our own...” Davies argues that in spite of the fact that many lawyers take these jokes as a personal offense, there is no actual evidence that lawyers in general have been harmed by them. “Why should we humor the humorless by outlawing jokes?” he asks and adds, “[J]okes belong to people... Jokes are democracy.”⁴⁸ He also maintains that in the time when Britain was a constitutional monarchy and their society was unequal, humor, especially in the form of a caricature, was an attribute of “British Liberty”—which would become the prototype for American liberty juxtaposed to Continental absolutism—so much invigorated by naughty images produced by, for example, Scottish painter Isaac Cruikshank and English printmaker James Gillray, ridiculing wealthy and mighty monarchs and aristocrats.

Freud claimed that with parody, travesty, and unmasking as their practical counterpart, caricature is “against people and objects which lay claim to authority and respect, which are in some sense sublime.” He cited Theodor Lipps: “If it [what is ugly] is concealed, it must be uncovered in the light of the comic way of looking at things; if it is noticed only a little or scarcely at all, it must be brought

⁴⁷ “The corporations under siege”

⁴⁸ “Jokes and targets” — pp. 208—209, 211, 267.

forward and made obvious, so that it lies clear and open to the light of day... In this way caricature comes about.”⁴⁹

Caricatures, of course, are very much determined by the time and place where they have been created and published, though the themes they express are usually universal and in a way transcend the context they seem to be locked in. As *The Newspaper In Education* eloquently puts it, “because of their editorial nature and mass appeal, cartoons provide a wealth of information about public sentiment and opinion, information often missing in scholarly accounts of historical events.”⁵⁰

J.Y.T. Greig (1969) encourages us to laugh at power, as it is the way to show that what appeared to be fixed and oppressive is but the emperor’s new clothes. “If [laughter] testifies to the primitive nature of man, it testifies also to his power of controlling this primitive nature in the service of a social purpose. Laughter is like the passage of Janus. It has two doors, opening, the one towards the darkling past, and the other towards the brightening future of mankind.”⁵¹ He points out that nearly all comic theorists are comic monists, which means that they agree that there must be one universal cause for laughter, though he recapped that “no single formula for laughter has yet stood the test of prolonged criticism.”⁵²

Some psychologists who study human emotions suggest that, together with romantic attachment, humor rests on the delicate boundary between disgust and pleasure. Lewis, Haviland-Jones, Feldman Barrett (2010) elicit: “Given that the human body is a repository of disgusting entities, and that we live in a contaminated environment, humans are frequently poised on the edge of potential disgust [which] plays a significant role in humor, via jokes, cartoons, and casual word play.”⁵³

A real deep humor is laughter at oneself, says Alan Watts. He calls humor a perfectly genuine act, an attempt to reveal the difference between what is inside and outside: “When you peel an onion and you don’t really understand the nature of an onion, you might look for the pit in the center, like any ordinary fruit has. But the onion doesn’t have a center. It’s all skins.”⁵⁴ For this reason Simon Critchley

⁴⁹ “Jokes and their relation to the unconscious” — p.10.

⁵⁰ Neighbor, Karaca, Lang, 2003.

⁵¹ “The Psychology of Laughter and Comedy” — pp. 151—152, 327.

⁵² “The Psychology of Laughter and Comedy” — pp. 70—72.

⁵³ “Handbook of Emotions” — pp. 769—770.

⁵⁴ Watts, A. A perfectly genuine act (What is humor?): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jPL_U5caa0.

(2004) calls humor “a nicely impossible object for a philosopher,” as “a joke explained is a joke misunderstood.”⁵⁵

Before Darwin (1872) defined laughter as primarily “the expression of mere joy or happiness,”⁵⁶ a number of thinkers were trying to figure out what is the meaning of it, or, in other words, why do we laugh. In the 20th century, psychoanalysts joined the quest. John Morreall (1987) draws attention to the following three most popular theories:⁵⁷

The superiority theory (Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian; Thomas Hobbes in his *Human Nature* and *Leviathan*) regards laughter as an expression of condescension. It also brings about the division between “us” and “them.” Bob Mankoff, cartoon editor of *The New Yorker*, calls it the easiest and perfectly legitimate thing to do with humor. The formula is “a friend makes fun of an enemy.”⁵⁸ Chapman & Foot (1995) remark that setbacks and failures look much funnier when befalling the “right people,” as we tend to enjoy misfortunes, stupidity, and inadequacy in those we dislike more than in those we like.⁵⁹

The relief theory (Herbert Spencer; Freud) considers laughter to be a source of relief and pleasure. According to the latter (1905), it serves a substitute for an attempt to contain or repress psychic activity: “Humor is not resigned; it is rebellious. It signifies the triumph not only of the ego, but also of the pleasure principle, which is strong enough to assert itself here in the face of the adverse real circumstances.”⁶⁰ Scherer, Schorr, and Johnstone (2001) wrote that we use humor to distance ourselves from tragedy and the distress it causes.⁶¹

Russian philosopher Bakhtin spoke of laughter as a liberating force that in the Middle Ages exempted a man from his fears and was an incarnation of “the truth of the people.” He wrote that not only laughter was a triumph over a mystical fear (“fear of God”) and fear in the face of natural forces, but also triumph over moral fear, which restrained, repressed, and opacified one's mind, fear in the face of authoritative commands and prohibitions, in the face of death, of what is beyond the grave, of inferno—everything more frightful than life. By overcoming this fear, asserted Bakhtin, the mind of the man

⁵⁵ “On humor” — p. 2.

⁵⁶ “The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals” — p. 198.

⁵⁷ “The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor”

⁵⁸ TED talk “Anatomy of a New Yorker cartoon” by Bob Mankoff. Web: https://www.ted.com/talks/bob_mankoff_anatomy_of_a_new_yorker_cartoon?language=en#t-961666.

⁵⁹ “Humor and Laughter. Theory, Research, and Applications” — p. 95.

⁶⁰ “Sigmund Freud: Dictionary of Psychoanalysis” — p. 74.

⁶¹ “Appraisal process in emotions” — p. 60.

becomes clear. This truth was yet ethereal, but already prepared a fertile ground for the Renaissance self-conscious.⁶²

Modern age for philosophy preceded by medieval philosophy relying on faith began with René Descartes' call to doubt everything: "De omnibus dubitandum est" (Wilhelm & Hegel, 1892).⁶³ This is from where the *incongruity theory* (Francis Hutcheson's *Reflection upon laughter*; Kant; Schopenhauer; Kierkegaard) stems from. It states that laughter encourages us to mind irrelevances we encounter and helps us to overcome them. This theory has direct connection to the Socratic method, admired and supported by Søren Kierkegaard in his *Concept of Irony*, where he emphasizes the importance of negativity, saying that "everyone who wants to save his soul must lose it" (Kierkegaard, 1992).⁶⁴ In his words, critical reflection—subjecting our common knowledge and practices to critical examination and rejecting those that are false—is what makes us truly human. He agrees with Socrates' famous claim that unexamined life is not worth living.⁶⁵

In the post-ecologist condition—"a general consensus about the non-negotiability of democratic consumer capitalism—irrespective of mounting evidence of its unsustainability" (Bluhdorn & Welsh, 2007)⁶⁶—irony is not only symptom, but also cure, as it can be applied to shed the light to the discrepancies that slow down our progress in moving towards sustainable life based on universal human values. This is how Bronislaw Szerszynski looks at it. He proposes an alternative view is environmental sensibility, which implies acknowledgement of the human condition being full of shadows, paradoxes and absurdities, i.e. an environmentalism informed by ironic world relation that can help to diagnose and respond to the crises in public meaning—sustain unsustainable behavior, fulfill the gap between appearance and reality.⁶⁷

As English art historian Horace Walpole asserted, the world is a tragedy to those who feel, but to those who think it becomes a comedy.

⁶² "The Legacy of François Rabelais and Folk Culture of Middle Ages and Renaissance" Web: <http://www.opentextnn.ru/man/?id=5400>.

⁶³ "Lectures on the history of philosophy" — pp. 398—406.

⁶⁴ "The concept of irony, with continual reference to socrates" — p. 274.

⁶⁵ Lecture 14: "Søren Kierkegaard—Subjectivity, Irony and the Crisis of Modernity" (Coursera lectures. University of Copenhagen). Webpage: <https://www.coursera.org/learn/kierkegaard>.

⁶⁶ "Eco-politics Beyond the Paradigm of Sustainability: A conceptual Framework and Research Agenda" — pp. 185—205.

⁶⁷ "The Post-ecologist Condition: Irony as Symptom and Cure" — p. 337—355.

Case study:

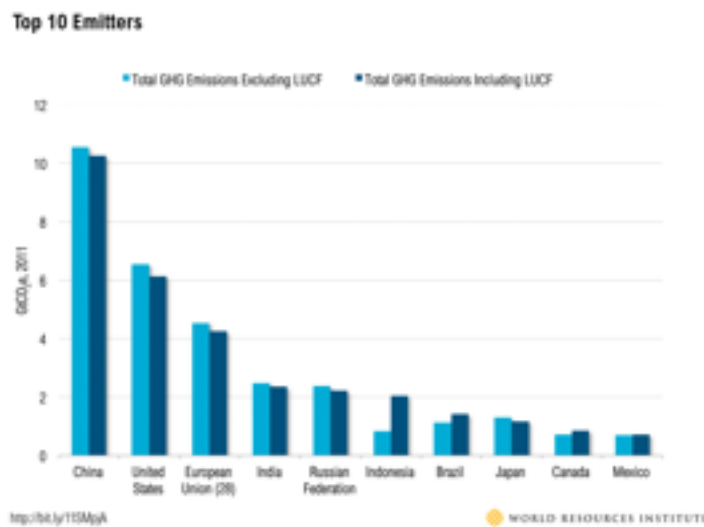
What Do Editorial Cartoons about the 21st United Nations Conference on Climate Change Have in Common?

Methods

This research focused on targets of humor in editorial cartoons dedicated to the 21st UN CCC. We narrowed down our sample of content to those editorial cartoons that met the following criteria:

1. They referred to debates on climate change.
2. They were published in popular online newspapers.
3. They were published in the period from November 30 to December 12.

4. They were published in media sourced from the ten countries with the highest total GHG emissions. These include, in order of ranking, China, the United States, the European Union (the aggregate emissions from its 28 member states), India, Russia, Indonesia, Brazil, Japan, Canada, and Mexico. As the World Resources Institute asserts, the aforementioned countries together play a more important role in determining the climate of the future than others, as they comprise 60% of the world population and 74% of global GDP, and have substantial human and financial capacity to improve outcomes through political cooperation.⁶⁸



⁶⁸ “6 graphs explain the world’s top 10 emitters” by Ge, M., Friedrich, J., Damassa, T. 25 November 2014. Web: <http://www.wri.org/blog/2014/11/6-graphs-explain-world’s-top-10-emitters>. The data derived from the WRI’s CAIT database.

We took into consideration crucial components of their INDCs as we hypothesized that these editorial cartoons would target first and foremost high-profile politicians involved in the debate, emphasizing the clash of interest between developed (e.g. the US and the EU) and developing countries (e.g. China and India). We also examined our presumption that environmentalists and scientists, on the contrary, would be rarely depicted and remain rather impersonal crowds calling to save the planet. Therefore we paid special attention to those few cartoons where they were present to see what features of these circles became objects of ridicule and what situations these cartoons referred to.

As a method, we applied traditional content analysis described by McQuail (2010)⁶⁹, which presupposes the following:

1. The link between the external object of reference and the reference to it in the content will be unambiguous.
2. The frequency of occurrence of chosen references will validly express the predominant meaning of the content in an objective way.

To meet these requirements, when asking ourselves what is the target of humor, we looked primarily at the main characters and phenomena highlighted in the editorial cartoons, assigning respective categories to them, and counted how many times these categories—or their elements (if there were several targets in one cartoon, we created a separate category for them)—occurred throughout the sample (see *Appendix*).

The discussion about various additional layers of interpretation that would imply deep semiotic analyses of each image was deliberately left aside premised on our attempt to avoid biases deriving from the cultural backgrounds of people involved in this research. However, it could become a matter for further consideration for our team and other academics who work in the field of humor research. As for now, we have an excuse for restricting our study to the parameters outlined: as Frank Cioffi (1998) pointed out, when it comes to what makes us smile or laugh, “we must have the courage of our parochialism,”⁷⁰ recognize the limitations inherent in our comprehension, which we possess by the very fact that we do not share the same “preoccupations and epistemic temperament” as the rest of mankind.

⁶⁹ Following Berelson’s (1952) definition.

⁷⁰ “Wittgenstein on Freud and Frazer” — p. 18.

Also, we restrained from labeling the cartoonists, with respect to the media they contributed to, as adherents of certain ideologies, since we framed the issue in time and scale. South African cartoonist Jonathan “Zapiro” Shapiro provides an argument in favor of this abstention—it is important to bear in mind the continuum: “People would judge a particular cartoon and say: well, that cartoon is leaving out a big issue. Yes, it is, but hopefully you gonna pick that up in another cartoon.”⁷¹

Results

Total number of cartoons: 85 (found in media of 18 countries out of 37 reviewed).

The countries where we have found sufficient content to include into the sample were: Mexico, Canada, India, the US, China, and the following European countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, and the UK.

Mexico

Excerpt from Mexico’s INDC: “It is indeed possible to grow economically, to generate social wellbeing at the same time taking care of our environment [the Mexican government announced it will invest 23 billion dollars at refineries to slash GHG from gasoline by 90%: 3.1 billion aimed at reducing sulfur content in gasoline in early 2016; 3 billion targeting three refineries and a gas processing plant in order to make them produce their own electricity, cutting 3,000 tons of GHG per megawatts generated each year starting in 2018; 13 billion targeting to increase capacity to process crude oil; and another 3.9 billion to try and reduce demand for imports of diesel with low sulfur content].”—*Enrique Peña Nieto, President of the United Mexican States*

Media reviewed: Major Mexican online newspapers *El Universal* and *Milenio*; *La Jornada*, one of the Mexico City’s leading daily newspapers and, according to Noam Chomsky, “maybe the only real

⁷¹ #Je suis Charlie—are you? The Charlie Hebdo story seen through the eyes of cartoonists from around the world. 25 Jan 2015. Web: <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2015/01/suis-charlie-150124235116941.html>.

⁷² Noam Chomsky interviewed for Outlook magazine by Ashraf, A. & Raman, A. 1 November 2010. Web: <https://chomsky.info/20101101/>.

independent newspaper in the [Southern] hemisphere”⁷²; *El Informador*, an independent daily newspaper published and headquartered in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico.

Number of cartoons: 1.

Categories: Bible (1).

Resume: The editorial cartoon “Climate change” has a Biblical motif in it, we see how during weather fluctuations no one has control, even such an idyllic and sacred moment as the coming of Christ the Savior (the cartoon is based on juxtaposition “Before”/“Now”).

C a n a d a

Excerpt from Canada’s INDC: “Our government is making climate change a top priority. And our actions will be based on five principles: first, we will act based on the best scientific evidence and advice; second, we will support and implement policies that contribute to the development of a low-carbon economy and this will include carbon pricing; third and very importantly, we will work with our provinces, territories, cities, and indigenous leaders who are taking a leadership role on climate change; [...] forth, we will help the developing world to tackle challenges of climate change; [...] finally, we view climate change not just as the challenge it is, but also as a historic opportunity. [...] We will not sacrifice growth—we will create growth.”—*Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada*

Media reviewed: *The Globe and Mail* (aka “newspaper of record”); *National Post*, its main competitor; *Le Devoir*, the only independent popular online newspaper in Quebec and one of the few in Canada.

Number of cartoons: 8.

Categories: Blame of the rich (1); Climate change vs. ISIS (1); Fossil fuels (2); High-profile representatives (2); Justin Trudeau vs. Stephen Harper (1); Justin Trudeau, Denis Coderre, Philippe Couillard (1).

Resume: Recently appointed Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau (the Liberal Party) is promoting Canada’s ambition to be in vanguard of climate initiatives. When addressing leaders during the COP21,

he said “Canada is back!”⁷³, referring to events associated with Stephen Harper’s leadership (the Conservative Party): in December 2012, Canada became the first country to formally withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol. These are several facts one should be aware of when looking at *Le Devoir*’s cartoon depicting Trudeau with a portrait of his predecessor, trying to inscribe him to “the list of species menaced by climate change.” Here, we can also see environmentalists in the background, with a traditional slogan: “Save the planet!” During his visit to the COP21, Trudeau had posted on Twitter a photo of him with other Canadian leaders, followed by the caption: “To fight climate change, we’re all in this together.”⁷⁴ As we see in the next cartoon, Trudeau is enthusiastically taking a selfie of him and his colleagues. The satirist asks the question: “What would then Trudeau, [Mayor of Montreal Denis] Coderre and [Premier of Quebec Philippe] Couillard do together in Paris?”

Another object of ridicule is the array of high-profile representatives who have a tendency to arrive to COPs on their private jets. *The Globe and Mail*’s cartoonist pictured them arriving to the conference on bicycles instead, while *National Post*’s sketched Ban Ki-moon surrounded by famous politicians who “at last reached a unanimous global decision” about what dish they are all going to order. Such messages are accompanied by the “blame of the rich.” The climate deal signed during the COP21 fails to prevent low-lying islands from being overcome by rising sea levels; as we see in the cartoon where the scientist announces, “...With the warming climate, more little islands will vanish from sight...”, followed by the caption, “A certain realization seems to settle in the Paris Conference,” for many men of fortune and property, participating in the COP21, who consider them their favorite seaside resorts and places for offshoring, such a situation is also in a way “threatening.”

One of the cartoons juxtaposes climate change with another global danger, ISIS: “OK, so we’re the second biggest threat facing the world today,” says a terrorist while reading a newspaper, “That’s still pretty good!”

Two cartoons are telling a story of the paradigm shift: eternal flame becomes energy-efficient light bulb (“Climate change initiative,” says an overseer to pedestrians); switching to a low-carbon economy might soon imply changes of habits and customs (e.g. not having a coal fire lit on Christmas Eve) through contemplating the connection between what we see as traditional and cozy alongside our

⁷³ “Seven things Canada needs to accomplish in Paris” by Bernstein, J. and McGraw, D. *The Globe and Mail*. 1 December 2015. Web: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/seven-things-canada-needs-to-accomplish-in-paris/article27545832/>.

⁷⁴ Justin Trudeau’s official Twitter account: <https://twitter.com/justintrudeau/status/671403931025698816>.

individual impact on the environment (households can be tested for the amount of carbon emissions they produce).

I n d i a

Excerpt from India's INDC: "Democratic India must grow rapidly to meet the aspirations of 1.25 billion people, 300 million of whom are without access to energy. [...] We have set ambitious targets. By 2030, we will reduce emissions by 33 to 35% of 2005 levels, and 40% of our installed capacity will be from our non-fossil fuels. We will achieve it by expanding renewable energy—for, example, by adding 175 gigawatts of renewable generation by 2022. We will enlarge our forest cover to absorb at least 2.5 billion tonnes worth of carbon dioxide. [...] We hope advanced nations will assume ambitious targets and pursue them sincerely. It is not just a question of historical responsibility. They also have the most room to make the cuts and make the strongest impact."—
Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India

Media reviewed: *The Times of India*, the most widely read English-language newspaper in the country.⁷⁵

Number of cartoons: 15.

Categories: Adaptation (1); Bible (1); Climate change vs. ISIS (1); COP21 (2); High-profile representatives (1); Indigenous people (1); Narendra Modi observing Barack Obama vs. the poor (1); Narendra Modi blamed by US (1); Narendra Modi and the poor (1); Narendra Modi and the rich (1); India and China vs. US (1); Narendra Modi and Khadga Prasad Sharma Oli (1); Omar Abdullah and Amma (1); Parliament of India (1).

Resume: According to his satirical compatriots, Narendra Modi, India's Prime Minister, is clearly in the limelight (mentioned five times): as a scapegoat of the US's—markedly hypocritical, as they depict it,—indignation, with regard to India's intention to almost double its utilization of coal—despite

⁷⁵ "IRS 2012 Q3: Cumulative readership of top 10 English, Hindi dailies shows marginal growth" by Campaign India Team. 29 January 2013. Web: <http://www.campaignindia.in/article/330472,irs-2012-q3-cumulative-readership-of-top-10-english-hindi-dailies-shows-marginal-growth.aspx>.

endorsing renewable energy—in the nearest future⁷⁶ (the Statue of Liberty is overhanging with a blazing torch behind Narendra Modi with his miserable little candle giving off a tiny puff of smoke: “Hey, you! This is NO SMOKING zone!”); together with China (the dragon), India (the elephant) is blamed for stubbornly moving the world backwards and proclaimed the main troublemaker (whipped by furious Uncle Sam commanding the dragon and elephant to turn and move in the opposite direction). In these cartoons, we see Modi as undeveloped and a much less influential negotiator (no guns, no cigars), as well as a relatively affluent and lucky citizen of poor people’s India (Bharat), where they say to unsatisfied President Obama, “No, sirji, only you can afford global warming, all we can afford is gobar warming,” Gobar—“cow dung” in Hindi—is one of the most common energy sources for rural India. Another cartoon portrays Modi with Nepal’s Prime Minister Khadga Prasad Sharma Oli; the former introduces the latter to the concept of “gandhigiri” (adding to it prefix *eco-*), a relatively new term in India which is used to express the ideas of Mohandas Gandhi, in particular non-violent insurrection. The ongoing Nepalese Constitutional crisis, accompanied by cruel protests, according to some Nepalese politicians, is supported by India, but both Modi and Oli maintain friendly relationships with each other in public⁷⁷: “That’s one climate that’ll never change—they’ll keep blowing hot and cold with each other,” meaning the relations will remain in a perpetual state of uncertainty.

Another Indian politician who became a target of humor is Omar Abdullah, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, who is presented as “the erstwhile flood victim.” In September 2014, he called the floods that took place in the area he governs the worst in a century; he reported to local media: “I had no government... My secretariat, the police headquarters, the control room, fire services, hospitals, all the infrastructure was underwater... I had no cell phone and no connectivity...”⁷⁸ Here, he is having a phone conversation with Amma (“Mother”), a Hindu spiritual leader and guru, in which he reveals his ignorance: “I’m not sure if floods are caused by climate change. But they can result in...” He stops, and hears on the other end: “...climate change.”

⁷⁶ "Mixing coal and solar energy India's route to sustained economic growth" by Earl, G. Financial Review. 8 March 2016. Web: <http://www.afr.com/news/world/asia/mixing-coal-and-solar-energy-indias-route-to-sustained-economic-growth-20160307-gnd5ye>.

⁷⁷ "I am not anti-India, Nepal PM Oli tells Modi amid protests" by Parashar, U. Hindustan Times. 1 January 2016. Web: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/world/i-am-not-anti-india-nepal-pm-oli-tells-modi-on-phone/story-5U9UhhjJC16FGEwDuNZMM.html>.

⁷⁸ "Did Kashmir abandon its flood-hit people?" by Biswas, S. BBC News. 12 September 2014. Web: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-29170087>.

In the series of cartoons “Just like that,” we see a variety of themes: Indian political parties with controversial agendas and ideologies that altogether cause “climate change in Parliament”; “Chennai’s global warming traffic cop,” who does nothing but shows “STOP” to the crowd of drowning drivers; high-profile politicians who are accustomed to arrive to COPs in their luxury cars escorted by motorcades; and the mockery of adaptation: “Given our pollution levels, his body needs this gas [CO₂] not that [O₂], to survive.”

Editorial cartoons in *The Times of India* are characterized by extensive usage of puns such as “global”/“gobar,” “cop”/“COP,” “cap” as an accessory/“cap” as an upper limit, “global warming”/“global swarming.” The last example refers to ISIS, picturing a spooky scenario for the country, with a horde of terrorists, entitled: “Global Swarming // Destination India.”

One cartoon touches upon the insecurity and naïvety of indigenous people of the Arctic: “Look at it this way—in three years your roof could leak,” says the salesman selling a refrigerator to an eskimo.

The Indian cartoonists also refer to the Biblical story of Noah’s Ark: “Uh, oh,” looks out Noah, “climate change already?”.

T h e U S

Excerpt from the US’s INDC: “I’ve come here personally, as the leader of the world’s largest economy and the second-largest emitter, to say that the United States of America not only recognize our role in creating this problem, we embrace our responsibility to do something about it. [...] There are hundreds of billions of dollars ready to deploy to countries around the world if they get the signal that we mean business this time. Let’s send that signal.”—*Barack Obama, President of the United States of America*

Media reviewed: *The New York Times*, known as “newspaper of record,” *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are among the other leading American newspapers.

Number of cartoons: 11.

Categories: Climate change denier (1); Climate negotiations (1); COP21 (1); Fossil fuels (1); India (1); Republican Mitch McConnell (1); Republicans don’t give up (2); Republicans and greenwashing (1); Republicans vs. climate science (1); US vs. China (1).

Resume: American editorial cartoons we have been reviewing are predominantly critical of representatives of the Republican Party (mentioned five times), pictured as goofy and fatty elephants. One of the Party's members who gained special attention is Mitch McConnell, a notorious coal proponent,⁷⁹ compared by *The Washington Post's* cartoonist with the nasty Grinch who stole Christmas: "The Arctic ice melted! I've lost my workshop! There will be no toys!" complains Santa, submerged in the water with all his possessions; "I have lots of coal you can give them," replies McConnell. We see Republicans as dismissive of climate science because it threatens their "business as usual." And their climate change denial is presented here as a matter of stubbornness—as the underwater rock on which the uncompromising elephant is standing on the points of his toes, with only the tip of his proboscis sticking out of the sea ("Republicans are holding their ground in the raging climate," explains the title). In the cartoon "GOP is gaming out the pluses and minuses for acting on climate change", they, however, do not mind employing a greenwashing parallel to their idiosyncratic arguments: "Climate change can't be solved if we act but the rest of the world doesn't." "And vice versa. Heh-heh." "Let's just act like we care." The cartoonist also suggests that they might be facing "another challenge on climate change: "We will fight any progress on climate because we suspect the world is full of people just as irresponsible about it as we are..."

One of the cartoons depicts a climate change denier with a frying pan, tossing the planet like a pancake.

The cartoon "And now it's decision time on Climate" plays with the bombastic last-chance-argument: "Solution for the next 200,000 years."

Several cartoons in *The New York Times* target other major emitters. In one of them, entitled "Do what I say, not what I do," the US passes the buck to China: "To save the planet, you should give up my way of life," says the fat American to the slim Chinese.

Another cartoon depicts India as responsible for retarding the process of reaching the final agreement at the climate summit ("The emerging economy could pose many demands on developed countries before agreeing to a deal").

⁷⁹ "Coal state senators look to block Obama's climate rules" by Kate Sheppard. The Huffington Post. 27 October 2015. Web: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/senators-resist-clean-power-plan_us_562fd704e4b00aa54a4b9dae.

The cartoon “Paris weather forecast. Winds expected” presents climate negotiations as the windy time: wind turbines are turning, while politicians are preaching to the wind with their climate pledges.

The cartoon “Someday, people may provide a new energy source” depicts the fossil fuel industry with its wells as resembling the prehistoric beast: “Tomorrow’s dinosaurs!”

C h i n a

Excerpt from China’s INDC: “China pledges to peak CO₂ emissions by around 2030 and strive to achieve it as soon as possible, and by 2030, reduce CO₂ per unit of GDP by 60—65% over the 2005 level, raise the share of non-fossil fuels in primary energy consumption to about 20% and increase forest stock by around 4.5 billion cubic meters over 2005. This requires strenuous efforts, but we have confidence and resolve to fulfill our commitments.”—*Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China*

Media reviewed: Online newspapers *China Daily* and *Global Times*, which are both state-run and give a Chinese perspective on international affairs the country is involved in; it is generally considered that *Global Times* is more liberal than other Chinese newspapers and has a yellowish tint.

Number of cartoons: 4.

Categories: Climate change vs. ISIS (1); “Save the planet!” (3).

Resume: In Chinese editorial cartoons the Earth is the main character and it is portrayed as the victim for whom there is no help from humanity. We observe this motif in the cartoons “Degrees of wrangling” and “Back from the brink,” both published in *Global Times*, and “Save the Earth,” published in *China Daily*.

One other cartoon entitled “Terrorism and climate change” shows both of the threats eager to play chess with the official who turned his back to the latter to deal with the former. ‘Terrorism’ rejoices, rubbing his hands. ‘Climate change’ cries hysterically, with smoke pouring out of its head: “Hey! Be quick!”

There is certainly no lack of drama in these Chinese editorial cartoons, which makes them rather more sarcastic than ironic in their critique of climate negotiations and “Save the planet!” motto.

The EU

Excerpt from the EU's INDC: “The EU's contribution to the new agreement will be a binding, economy-wide, domestic greenhouse gas emissions reduction target of at least 40% by 2030 from 1990 levels. At least 27% share for renewable energy. At least 27% improvement in energy efficiency.”—*The EU vision for the new agreement*

Austria

Media reviewed: Social liberal German-language newspaper *Kurier*.

Number of cartoons: 4.

Categories: Arctic animals (2); Climate change denier (1); COP21 (1).

Resume: All four cartoons depict absurd situations associated with the future of mankind affected by climate change that are presented through the *visiotypes* we elaborated on in the theoretical part of this thesis. These are windmills that are becoming ubiquitous in the cartoon called “Alternative energy”—a depiction of the technological peculiarities of already unfolding future—and “Silly reindeers” in the car with Santa who got stuck in the drifting iceberg and say that they need more horse power—a mockery of human obsession with the speed of progress that violates planetary boundaries and eventually brings about implications that make our further advancements in certain areas of the world uncomfortable or even impossible. We also see the polar bear himself who attends the summit, with a label “EXTINCT” on his back, which is entitled here as “Classic climate change conference joke” and a climate change skeptic in the open space, colonizing a new land, pokes environmentalists, “Ha! Tell me there is no planet B,” which can be regarded as a derision of their alarmism and at the same time a parody on the obstinacy of those who doubt that they—akin to American Republicans—have anything to do with global warming.

Belgium

Media reviewed: *Gazet van Antwerpen*, an independent online newspaper serving Flanders.

Number of cartoons: 12.

Categories: Arctic animals (2); Belgium (3); China (1); Climate negotiations (3); COP21 (2); Regional elections in France (1).

Resume: Editorial cartoons published in *Gazet van Antwerpen* make fun mostly of the COP21 and climate negotiations per se (together they are mentioned five times), involving Arctic animals (mentioned two times), who comment on the event in a quite vitriolic manner. Again, the polar bear is given the floor: in the cartoon “Activists at the climate summit,” one of the bears, followed by a penguin—both wearing explosive belts—and his fellow, armed with a rifle, says, “Perhaps the climate gets whatever attention!”; in the cartoon “There is a climate agreement,” there are two bears swimming in the ocean, whose iceberg has recently crumbled, so one bear shouts angrily at another, which gives us an explanation concerning what has actually happened, “A joy jump, idiot!” The cartoon called “Quick wins on climate salon” has a blackish tint: we see a military servant who presents a torpedo he brought to the exposition saying, “This allows to halve the CO₂-emissions of a coal plant.”

Speaking about the target of curbing the emissions in a way that would keep the global temperature increase below 2°C, such endeavor is compared with the efforts of Atlas from Greek mythology, a Titan who was doomed to hold the sky. In the next century, the sea level is supposed to rise dramatically, but the cartoon captioned “Climate rally in 2100” predicts that people and the slogan “STOP CO₂” will persevere.

In “Paris: Let them out only when there is a climate agreement,” we see a “hot” symposium—sweating politicians trapped in a sauna and forced to come up with a deal, so that none of them has a doubt—at least corporeally—that warming can become problematic if they remain silent. We see in another cartoon that, in addition to that, outside the blue zone—COP’s area for hardcore climate talks—there is also scorn expressed on behalf of “business as usual”: “Frozly’s air conditioning: Because you know that these politicians making the same fuss,” addresses the curvy lady from the billboard those who are heading to the conference.

Three images ridicule Belgium, depicting its national delegation sent to the COP21 as completely unprepared, with no single document to present, while other countries bring piles of data with them; untaught and ridiculous as to fulfilling their own ambitions regarding sustainable development: “We want to achieve the climate goals... Therefore every Belgian must walk around [forcing the wind turbine he carries to move]”; and quite nonchalant at the same time, allowing nuclear

reactors to continue their operation even though they were previously scheduled to be shut down in 2015 due to their expiry dates⁸⁰: “Targets 1 and 2 will remain open for 10 more years,” is captioned the cartoon in which those two targets are smiling and running hand in hand through a field teeming with windmills.

One of the cartoons alludes to the regional elections in France that took place simultaneously with the COP21; prior to them, the polls predicted unprecedented support for the right-oriented Front National⁸¹: “How close to the white line?”, asks the minister who was stopped by a road traffic controller on her way to climate summit. “From now on we drive extreme right in France,” he exhorts.

The only other country solely referred to in one of the Belgian cartoons is China that “promises to do something about the smog”: “We will destroy all our fossil fuels!”, announces the Chinese speaker. “How?”, asks a journalist. The answer: “Incinerate.”

B u l g a r i a

Media reviewed: Bulgarian colloquial and satirical tabloid *24 Chasa*; one of the most popular features in the newspaper is the daily cartoon Malkiyat Ivancho, drawn by the well-known Bulgarian cartoonist Ivaylo Ninov.

Number of cartoons: 1.

Categories: Global Warming vs. Cold War (1).

Resume: One guy says to another, with a sphere in the background, “Alternation of the Cold War and Global Warming badly affects the health of humanity.” The title of this cartoon, based on a quibble “Cold War”/“Global Warming”, contains a tricky question: “How to keep—together or separately?”

D e n m a r k

Media reviewed: *Politiken*, a leading Danish online newspaper that maintains a liberal and centre-left stance.

⁸⁰ "Belgium's aging nuclear plants worry neighbors" by Boelpaep, B. BBC News. 2 February 2016. Web: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35469932>.

⁸¹ "French regional elections: voting begins as moderates attempt to curb rise of far right" by Chrisafis, A. The Guardian. 13 December 2015. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/13/french-vote-regional-elections-polls-suggest-far-right-will-struggle>.

Number of cartoons: 4.

Categories: Refugees (1); EU (1); Lars Løkke Rasmussen (2).

Resume: Denmark links the climate change debate with the current refugee crisis. "Future climate refugees must be stopped today" says the title of one of the cartoons. A boat, jam-packed with passengers, is lost in the middle of the ocean. One of the crew members cries out, "Turn back!"

Another cartoon called "Torrential climate change" is critical of the European measures to improve safety.⁸² The lady in a burka says, "No, it was not a thunder"; the caption elucidates: "While the whole world is dealing with climate change in Paris, the EU is busy sending bombers to the Middle East."

Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Prime Minister of Denmark, was targeted by the *Politiken*'s cartoonist twice. His office has been famously criticized by climate policy specialists for its lack of strategy necessary to achieve climate goals and for the absence of a sufficient contribution in previous climate negotiations.⁸³ Excerpt from Løkke's speech at the COP21: "Our objective is to accelerate innovation in public and private global clean energy. The goal is to make sure that clean energy is widely affordable. Never before have we been this close to actually changing the direction of our world and our climate..."⁸⁴ For his rhetoric, he is portrayed by the cartoonist as Sancho Panza who hacks the windmills ("Climate goals slaughtered one by one") and an utterly tedious speaker who himself does not mind to take a nap while being at his country's service ("Løkke's climate talk in Paris was piping hot air").

F i n l a n d

Media reviewed: Popular national online newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*.

Number of cartoons: 1.

Categories: COP21 and greenwashing (1).

⁸² "Germany to send up to 1,200 troops to Middle East after Bundestag approves military action against Isis in Syria" by Dearden, L. Independent. 4 December 2015. Web: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-votes-to-approve-military-action-against-isis-in-syria-a6760131.html>.

⁸³ "Copenhagen climate failure blamed on Danish text" by Vidal, J. The Guardian. 31 May 2010. Web: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/may/31/climate-change-copenhagen-danish-text>.

⁸⁴ Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen's statement at COP21 in Paris on 30 November 2015. Web: http://www.stm.dk/_p_14273.html.

Resume: The man says to the lady (both, presumably, are COP21 organizers) who covers her face with the palm, confronting Yoda, the Incredible Hulk, Kermit the Frog, and Shrek, “But you told me to bring green movie celebrities!”

F r a n c e

Media reviewed: *Charlie Hebdo*, well-known French satirical weekly magazine left-wing political alignment, available online.⁸⁵

Number of cartoons: 4.

Categories: China (1); COP21 (1); Marine Le Pen (1); COP21 and greenwashing (1).

Resume: Each cartoon in *Charlie Hebdo* is accompanied by a brief overview of the day. Three out of the selected four give an insight into the events they refer to⁸⁶:

One, titled “The conference for all records” (by Gérard Biard), helps to understand what the cartoon, captioned “COP21: Begins good,” is about: “It is not known whether the COP21 will have a beneficial effect on the climate, but what is certain is that it has already won the battle of figures... No need to predict the apocalypse, it is already there—40 000 visitors expected each day, who will be drinking water volumes comparable with the volumes of 50 fountains; needless to predict drought, it is already there... The only figure we may have trouble with attaining in the end is the carbon footprint of the two-week planetary rout.”

Greenwashing also becomes the target for the French satirists. Another piece “False pubs for real crooks” (by Antonio Fischetti) complements the cartoon, captioned “The police makes a gesture to save the planet,” displaying as necessary means for the accomplishment of such action “bamboo baton”, “coconut casque,” and “recyclable demonstrator”: “At first glance, one would think it is a real pub. There is the *Air France* logo and comely hostess. Parody reveals itself in the text: «We are an airline. We sponsor the UN climate conference to give the impression that we are a part of the solution and to ensure that our profits will not be affected...» Other parodies are dedicated to *Total* («Our philosophy is one you do not need to know») or *Volkswagen* («Drive cleaner or at least pretend to do so»). The merry men,

⁸⁵ We picked this magazine for the reason of controversy caused by its visual content and the outrageous events that followed the publication of cartoons of Muhammad. Unlike Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, famous for its caustic cartoons, it grants free access, which was an additional argument in favor of including *Charlie Hebdo* into our sample.

⁸⁶ Our translation of excerpts from French. Originals can be found on the magazine’s website: <https://charliehebdo.fr/en/>.

who replaced the true Parisian bus shelter posters by these pastiches, belong to the collective Brandalism, a combination of «brand» and «vandalism.» As it all was inclining us to laugh at the COP21, we had to do it! As for vandalism, the worst is those polluters who want us to believe they care about the climate.”

The cartoon featuring Marine Le Pen, the leader of the far-right in France, in the costume of Darth Vader is well explained by the piece “Climbing brown waters” (by Gérard Biard) that follows it: “What a waste of time and money, this COP21!.. The National Front has the solution. Its almost 30% at the national level will not be impressed by miserable two degrees [increase] in temperature. With returning to the franc, we will get back to our good old seasons, for sure: floral springs, warm winters but not too much, beautiful late autumn and winter with snow on Christmas. Beside all these not-at-our-place we will throw into the sea and swallow a mouthful, not sure there is enough fleet in the Mediterranean for rising waters. Nice is saved! The only risk that remains is a slight dislocation of local fauna. It may well be that from next Sunday the Shtis will begin to speak with the accent of the Var.”

The cartoon “Climate: China is ready to make the efforts?” pictures a factory producing phones for Apple, where all the employees are polar bears. The unanimous response of these fictional inhabitants of Celestial Kingdom is: “My ass!” Unlike the cartoons described above, it does not correspond with the overview of the day that accompanies it.

G e r m a n y

Media reviewed: *Der Tagesspiegel*, a classical liberal online newspaper.

Number of cartoons: 2.

Categories: Arctic animals (1); “Save the planet!” (1).

Resume: In the cartoon titled “If Paris fails,” with quite clear allusion to the refugee crisis, one man says to the other, “We finally need limits!!” observing through his binoculars a boat full of polar bears sailing to the shore.

In “Planet’s head gets hot. Will we help it to cool it?” the Earth sits in an inflatable boat, which is sinking, as it has holes punched in it. The Earth says, “Really? They discuss in Paris just how you could tinker a lifeline for me? That's fantastic!!”

I r e l a n d

Media reviewed: *The Irish Times*, a popular national online newspaper, in general politically liberal and progressive and centre-right on economic issues.

Number of cartoons: 3.

Categories: Climate negotiations (1); Enda Kenny (2).

Resume: One of the cartoons depicts Taoiseach Enda Kenny smeared with manure. During COP21 he was trying to persuade the delegates that the contribution that the agri-food sector could make to reducing GHG emissions is overestimated. Kenny claimed that Ireland should be treated as a special case for producing its edible products more sustainably than other countries.⁸⁷ Another cartoon portrays Kenny exclaiming slogans like “global warming measures,” “flood defenses,” “education reform,” “legal reform,” and hints that this might be just “hot air”—he is not that mighty: “Do you feel a warm breeze?” asks one of the listeners. In support of this surmise, above there are two examples of emergencies that have not so long ago gained headlines in Irish news: storm Desmond (3–8 December 2015), causing heavy rainfall and widespread flooding that damaged transport infrastructure and left thousands of buildings without electricity⁸⁸; the incident with Clodagh Cogley, a 21-year-old victim of the Berkeley balcony collapse, as a result of which six Irish students were killed and seven seriously injured.⁸⁹

“And they say climate conferences don’t seem to help at all, at all...” points out a man, putting heavy volumes of reports from climate negotiations before the doorway of his house to prevent the flood from entering it.

T h e N e t h e r l a n d s

Media reviewed: Popular national online newspaper *Trouw*, with no particular political alignment.

⁸⁷ "Ireland's climate change gassy problem and the importance of farming" by Spain, J. Irish Central. 10 December 2015. Web: <http://www.irishcentral.com/news/irishvoice/Irelands-Climate-Change-gassy-problem-and-the-importance-of-farming.html>.

⁸⁸ "Storm Desmond: Thousands of people flooded out of homes" BBC News. 7 December 2015. Web: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-35023558>.

⁸⁹ "Berkeley balcony collapse case hearing in California court" by Garza, T. The Irish Times. 20 January 2016. Web: <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/berkeley-balcony-collapse-case-hearing-in-california-court-1.2503501>.

Number of cartoons: 2.

Categories: Climate policy (2).

Resume: The two cartoons are the only contributions in the whole sample that represent the category ascribed to them. ABP—Algemeen Burgerlijk Pensioenfonds (“Dutch Civil Servants Pension Fund”), depicted as a piggy bank on a leash of an old couple, is the biggest pension fund in the Netherlands, which announced in October 2015 that it will reduce CO2 emissions of businesses it invests in by 25% within the next five years, doubling at the same time investments in sustainable energy.⁹⁰

Another cartoon depicts Themis, the personification of divine order and law, wearing a gas mask, “CO2 reduction now!” she urges men in suits. “First talk!” they reply.

P o r t u g a l

Media reviewed: Popular national tabloid *Público*, known as a publication with extensive texts and few illustrations.

Number of cartoons: 5.

Categories: Barack Obama (1); Climate negotiations (2); Pope Francis (1); “Save the planet!” (1).

Resume: The cartoons are presented as stripes containing dialogues questioning certain aspects of climate debate that vividly illustrate the common man’s perspective:

1st stripe: “An astronaut plans to launch into space... ..the text of the future agreement on climate change.” “Why take it into space?” “With the lack of what it does here on Earth...”

2nd stripe: “Do you think you can save the planet?” “It depends.” “It depends?” “Of course, it depends on the planet. Shouldn’t I say what is this?!”

3rd stripe: “Barack Obama at the climate conference wants decisions.....future generations would be proud of.” “Always optimistic, this Obama. Believe future generations...”

⁹⁰ "ABP expects to divest more than 1,500 holdings with new SRI policy" by Preesman, E. and Boschman, O. Investments & Pensions Europe. 15 October 2015. Web: <http://www.ipe.com/countries/netherlands/abp-expects-to-divest-more-than-1500-holdings-with-new-sri-policy/10010262.fullarticle>.

4th stripe: “Pope Francis urged more than 150 world leaders at the climate summit... ..to focus their efforts on «mitigation of the impact of climate change, fight against poverty and for promotion of human dignity.» What are you going to do? The man urges to believe in miracles.”

5th stripe: “The Summit on Climate Change came to an end... ..No consistent results.” “There is hope that there will be the next summit!”

S l o v e n i a

Media reviewed: *Delo*, a national left-wing, socialist and liberal online newspaper.

Number of cartoons: 1.

Categories: Fossil fuels (1).

Resume: Climate agreement is depicted as a paper plane that flies from Paris into the heap of frightened smoke spewed from the pipe called “Slovenian energetics.”

S p a i n

Media reviewed: *El País*, one of the national newspapers of record; its political alienation is centre-right, pro-monarchy.⁹¹

Number of cartoons: 5.

Categories: Mariano Rajoy (1); China (2); Climate change denier (1); Apocalypse (1).

Resume: China was targeted by the Spanish cartoonist twice. One of the cartoons makes fun of its local superstition, “Suspecting breach on behalf of China, the agreements was made at the UN climate summit in Paris, after the oriental delegation bestowed this curious cat [that allegedly brings luck] on the remaining participants.” Another portrays a Chinese representative rushing to the conference and carrying instead of a suitcase the F-gesture: “Urgently sent today from Beijing, with trenchant instructions, a plenipotentiary arrived at the decisive meeting, very determined, despite chronic bronchitis pollution.”

Two images are accompanied with a footnote in a yellow frame in the lower left corner: “...But don’t forget about the refugees.” One cartoon depicts an apocalyptic situation: somewhere in the XXIV

⁹¹ On 16 February 2012, edition of *El País* was banned in Morocco due to the publication of a cartoon which, according to the Moroccan authorities, tarnished King Mohammed VI's name.

century, one archeologist asks another, scrutinizing a light bulb he has recently found, “And what is this?” His peer answers: “I don't know; but since it smells of hamburgers, must be the XXI century.” Another image caricatures a climate railman, who happens to be climate change denier, yelling at a passenger trying to tease him with a phrase “climate change”: “Repeat if you dare, populist heretic!”

In the cartoon captioned “To combat rising temperature, revise thermometers downwards,” a humorous life-hack is presented as an idea sticking out from the head of Mariano Rajoy, Spain’s Prime Minister.

T h e U K

Media reviewed: The Guardian, a center-left liberal newspaper, praised for its extensive coverage of environmental issues.

Number of cartoons: 2.

Categories: François Hollande, Xi Jinping, Barack Obama, David Cameron, Narendra Modi (1); Volkswagen Group (1).

Resume: One of the cartoons mocks the epic triumph of high-profile politicians at the COP21, including David Cameron, François Hollande, and leaders of the most targeted countries in terms of satirical media coverage we have dealt with so far: “We saved the world!” they shout.

Another cartoon refers to the scandal with a famous car brand. On 18 September 2015, the United States Environmental Protection Agency issued a notice of violation of the Clean Air Act to German automaker *Volkswagen Group*, after it was investigated that its vehicles’ turbocharged direct injection diesel engines are programmed to cause their nitrogen oxide output to meet US standards during regulatory testing, but emit up to 40 times more in real-world driving, which applies to about 500,000 cars in the country.⁹² “This is to cheat the defeat device,” proposes the scientist, whose disrespect to conditional boundaries is evidently a target of humor here.

The countries where we have not found sufficient content to include in the sample were: Japan, Brazil, Indonesia, Russia, and European countries such as Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia,

⁹² “VW could face long legal nightmare” by Clive Coleman. BBC News. 24 September 2015. Web: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-34352243>.

Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Sweden (19 in total).

The details are provided in the following tables:

Countries	Excerpts from INDCs	Media reviewed
Japan	<p>“Japan will provide, in 2020, approximately 1.3 trillion Japanese yen of public and private climate finance, 1.3 times up from the current level, to developing countries. [...] I will ensure Japan’s involvement in the work of GCF [Green Climate Fund] from the project-forming stage for swift implementation of the next year’s support of 2.5 billion dollars. [...] By next spring Japan will formulate the <i>Energy and Environment Innovation Strategy</i>. Prospective focused areas will be identified and research and development on them will be strengthened.”—<i>Shinzō Abe, Prime Minister of Japan</i></p>	<p>Liberal national online newspapers <i>Asahi Shinbun</i> and <i>Mainichi Shinbun</i>; Japan’s largest and only independent English-language newspaper <i>The Japan Times</i>.</p>
Brazil	<p>“Brazil’s intended nationally-determined contribution is to reduce emissions by 43% by 2030 vis-à-vis the 2005 baseline. This is an absolute reduction goal for the whole economy. It is quite certainly a very ambitious goal, and goes way beyond our actual share of responsibility for the increase in the average global temperature. From that point onwards, we will move towards zero illegal deforestation in the Amazon region and we will offset the emissions from legal clearance of vegetation. Our challenge consists of restoring and reforesting 12 million hectares of forests and another 15 million hectares of degraded pasture lands. Furthermore, all sources of renewable energy will have their place and share in our expanded energy mix until such time as, by 2030, we reach 45% in renewables.”—<i>Dilma Vana Rousseff, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil</i></p>	<p>Popular national online newspapers <i>Correio Braziliense</i>, <i>Estado de Minas</i>, <i>O Estado de S. Paulo</i>, <i>Folha de S. Paulo</i>, <i>O Globo</i>, <i>Zero Hora</i>; main English-language Brazilian online newspaper <i>The Rio Times</i>.</p>

Countries	Excerpts from INDCs	Media reviewed
Indonesia	“Indonesia is committed to reduce by 29% from business as usual levels by 2030. And 41% with international assistance. [...] [the climate agreement] must reflect equity and fairness... and it must not impede development in developing countries.”— <i>Joko Widodo, President of the Republic of Indonesia</i>	Popular national online newspapers <i>Kompas</i> , <i>Media Indonesia</i> , <i>Jawa Pos</i> ; English-language Indonesian online newspapers <i>The Jakarta Globe</i> and <i>The Jakarta Post</i> .
Russia	“By 2030, we expect to reduce our emissions by 70% compared to levels recorded in 1990. [...] Russia has developed a nanotube-based technology which, according to experts, could reduce carbon dioxide emissions in Russia alone by 160—180 million tonnes. We are ready to exchange such innovations with the rest of the world. [...] Russia has massive forests and we intend to protect them. And we want to support developing countries in their efforts to protect their forests.”— <i>Vladimir Putin, President of Russian Federation</i>	Main English-language Russian online newspaper <i>The Moscow Times</i> .

The EU

Country	Media reviewed
Croatia	Popular Croatian online tabloid <i>24 Sata</i> .
Cyprus	Greek-language newspaper <i>Phileleftheros</i> , which prides itself as being independent from influence of any political party.
Czech Republic	Popular Czech online tabloids <i>Blesk</i> and <i>Aha!</i> , neutral in their political and religious leanings.
Estonia	Popular Estonian weekly newspaper <i>Maaleht</i> , available online.
Greece	Greek satirical political weekly newspaper <i>To Pontiki</i> , available online; some suggest that it has centre-left orientation.
Hungary	Social-democratic Hungarian online newspaper <i>Népszava</i> .
Italy	Liberal political online newspaper <i>Italia Oggi</i> ; an anti-establishment newspaper <i>Il Fatto Quotidiano</i> .
Latvia	Latvian national online newspaper <i>Latvijas Avīze</i> .

Country	Media reviewed
Lithuania	Popular Lithuanian online newspapers <i>Lietuvos Rytas</i> and <i>Lietuvos Žinios</i> .
Luxembourg	French-language left-liberal online newspaper <i>Le Quotidien</i> .
Malta	<i>Times of Malta</i> , a newspaper that belongs to the country's top media house; it is known as the most influential media sources in Malta.
Poland	<i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> , a social-liberal and centre-left nation online newspaper.
Romania	Popular Romanian online newspaper <i>Cotidianul</i> .
Slovakia	Mainstream Slovakian online newspapers <i>SME</i> .
Sweden	Independent and liberal Swedish online newspaper <i>Dagens Nyheter</i> .

Discussion

As we made sure, representatives of the political establishment (including those who are outside the COP21 framework) were most frequently referred to in the editorial cartoons that we analyzed. Out of 85 selected cartoons, 26 depict them as their main characters: three high-profile politicians in general; six to Narendra Modi; three to Barack Obama; two to Justin Trudeau; two to Enda Kenny; and two to Lars Løkke Rasmussen. Mentioned once are Denis Coderre, Philippe Couillard, Khadga Prasad Sharma Oli, François Hollande, Xi Jinping, David Cameron, Mariano Rajoy, and Pope Francis, who are directly associated with COP, as well as other politicians who happen to be linked to the climate debate by virtue of the cartoonists' imagination: American Republicans, mentioned four times, Mitch McConnell, Stephen Harper, Parliament of India, Omar Abdullah, Amma, and Marine Le Pen—each mentioned once.

Eight editorial cartoons present climate change as a geopolitical conundrum determined by the role of certain countries, revealing conflicts of interest between them. Countries being directly referred to are: China (6); the US (3); and India (2). The clash of the rich and poor—i.e. developed vs. developing nations—appears as a target of humor nine times (in non-European countries), six times referring to Indians, two times to the Chinese, and once to the indigenous peoples of the Arctic and the inhabitants of 'drowning' island countries.

Media scholars who have been researching cartoons dedicated to the COP15, have found the most notable “cartoonic” discourse in developing countries, especially Indonesia, with its “blame of the rich” message (Hahn et al., 2012). From our research, we can deduce that during the COP21 India fulfilled the role of the main prosecutor.

Five images exploit “Save the planet!” slogans, only reassuring the audience that such an attempt seems lofty and hopeless (the planet acts on its own).

Climate change denier is mentioned three times.

Seven cartoons portray climate negotiations in general and nine COP21 in particular, of which two clearly depict greenwashing (the phenomenon is also highlighted in one of the parodies on the Republicans).

A bunch of cartoons refer to recent geopolitical events, associated with increased insecurity and religious and political extremism such as attacks of ISIS (3) and the involvement of the EU in military operations in the Middle East (1), refugees crisis (1), regional elections in France (2).

Four images tell the story of a threatened future for fossil fuels, which will soon be replaced with new technologies.

In the EU, we have found five cartoons featuring Arctic animals as their main characters: polar bears (4); reindeers (1); and penguin (1).

One cartoon depicts three Arctic animals as climate activists marching to the COP21, who resemble terrorists. The only other time we encounter references to climate activists in our sample is in the background of the cartoon portraying the current Canadian PM. They are, as we expected, pictured as a faceless mass of people carrying the banner “Save the planet!”.

Scientists appear only three times: announcing that sea level rise will submerge little islands, being an imminent nuisance for the Republicans, and as an aid for cheating, which became possible and then widely condemned in the case of Volkswagen Group.

Conclusion

This research provides a body of evidence that the editorial cartoons that met our criteria covered the phantasmagorical nature of the framework and affairs related to China, the US, and India, as well as public figures from these countries more regularly than other aspects of climate debate.

Science and climate activism yet remain rather abstract and general.

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Appendix

Mexico



Title: Climate change

Author: Qucho Monero

Source: El Informador

Translation:

[Caption]: "The coming of the Child"

[Inscriptions]: Left—"Before"; right—"Now"

Canada



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Garnotte

Source: Le Devoir

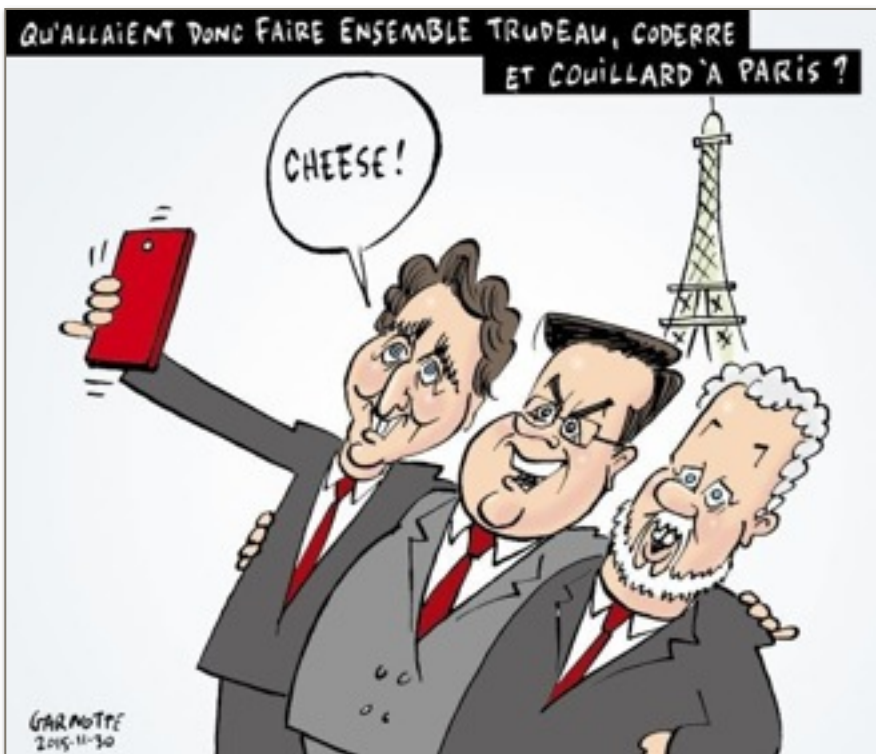
Translation:

[Streamer]: “Save the planet!”

[Poster]: “Conference on climate change // Paris — 2015 // Inscription of new species menaced by climate change”

[Justin Trudeau]: “I would like to inscribe «Conservatus Harperis»...”

[Lady with a pen]: “...And you say that this is a species of the Albertan Dinosaur?”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Garnotte

Source: Le Devoir

[Caption]: “What would then Trudeau, Coderre and Couillard do together in Paris?”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Garnotte

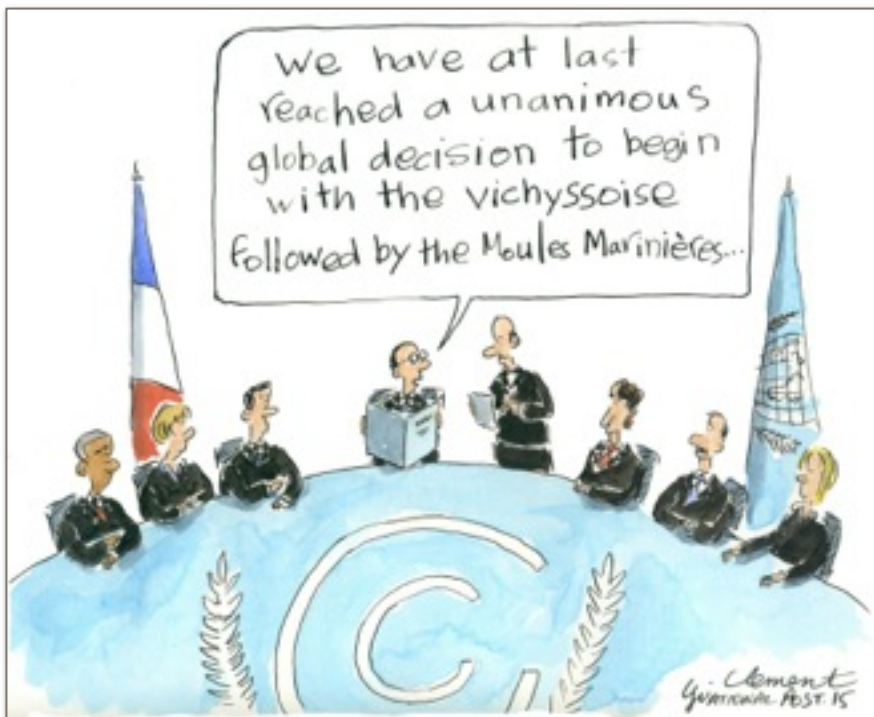
Source: Le Devoir

Translation:

[Caption]: "A certain realization seems to settle in the Paris Conference..."

[Scientist]: "...With the warming climate, more little islands will vanish from sight..."

[Exclamations from left to right]: "How about the Bahamas?" "The same with Cayman Islands?" "And the Virgin Islands?" "And the Turks and Caicos?" "And you, papa, don't you have an account in Jersey?" "Something must be done!" "Transfer all my accounts to a bank of Nepal!"



Title: Government leaders in Paris prepare for the momentous decisions ahead

Author: Gary Clement

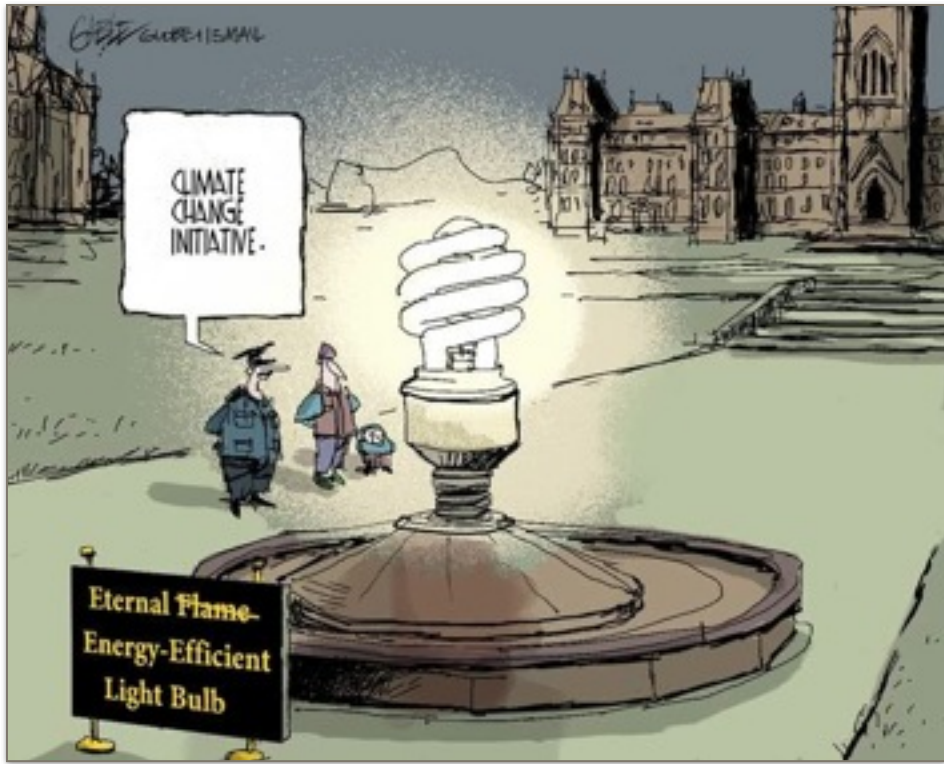
Source: National Post



Title: Well, at least we're second best
Author: Gary Clement
Source: National Post



Title: [Not mentioned]
Author: Brian Gable
Source: The Globe and Mail



Title: [Not mentioned]
Author: Brian Gable
Source: The Globe and Mail



Title: [Not mentioned]
Author: Brian Gable
Source: The Globe and Mail

India



Title: "Global warming"
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



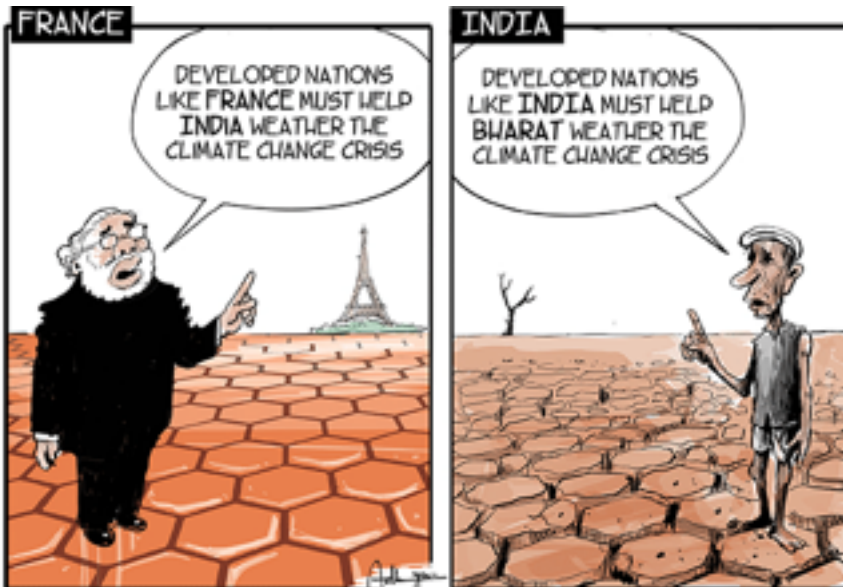
Title: Climate talks and India
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



Title: Climate conference
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



Title: India at the World Environment Summit
Author: Sandeep Adhwaryu
Source: The Times of India



Title: India vs. Bharat
Author: Sandeep Adhwaryu
Source: The Times of India



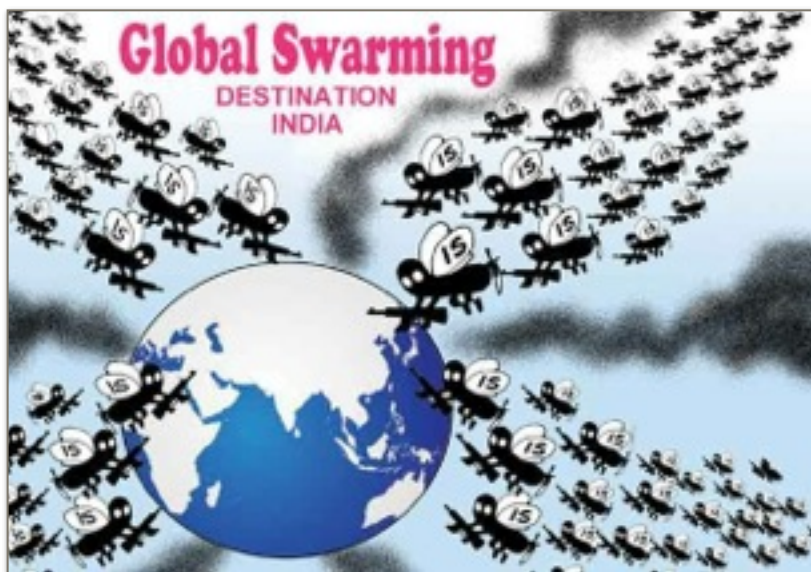
Title: Paris Climate Change 2015
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



Title: Climate change
Author: Partho Sengupta and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



Title: Climate change
Author: Sandeep Adhwaryu
Source: The Times of India



Title: Islamic State and India
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



Title: Global warming
Author: Sunil Agarwal and Ajit Ninan
Source: The Times of India



Climate change in Parliament is due to toxic gases emitted by all parties.

Title: Just like that. Climate change in India's Parliament
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India



Title: Just like that. Chennai floods
Author: Ajit Ninan
Source: The Times of India



Title: Just like that. Conference on carbon emissions
Author: Ajit Ninan and Jug Suraiya
Source: The Times of India

PM's convoy is heading for a climate conference on carbon emissions...



Hats off to them! A cap on emissions.

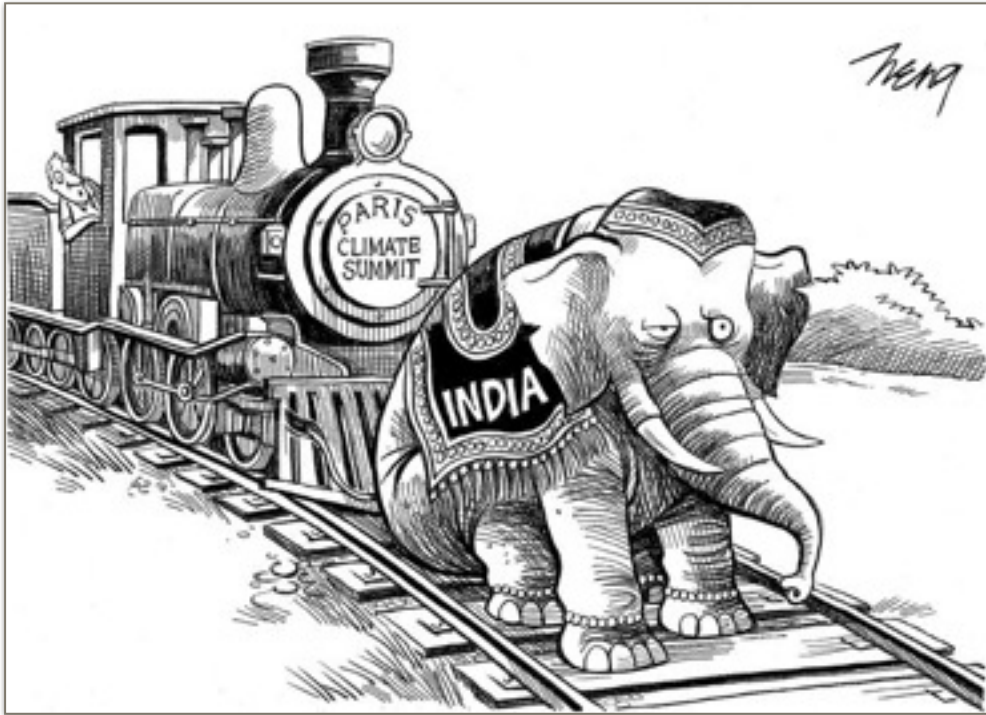
Title: Just like that. Paris climate talks
Author: Ajit Ninan
Source: The Times of India



Given our pollution levels, his body needs *this* gas not *that* gas, to survive.

Title: Just like that. Pollution level
Author: Ajit Ninan
Source: The Times of India

The US



Title: The emerging economy could pose many demands on developed countries before agreeing to a deal

Author: Heng

Source: The New York Times

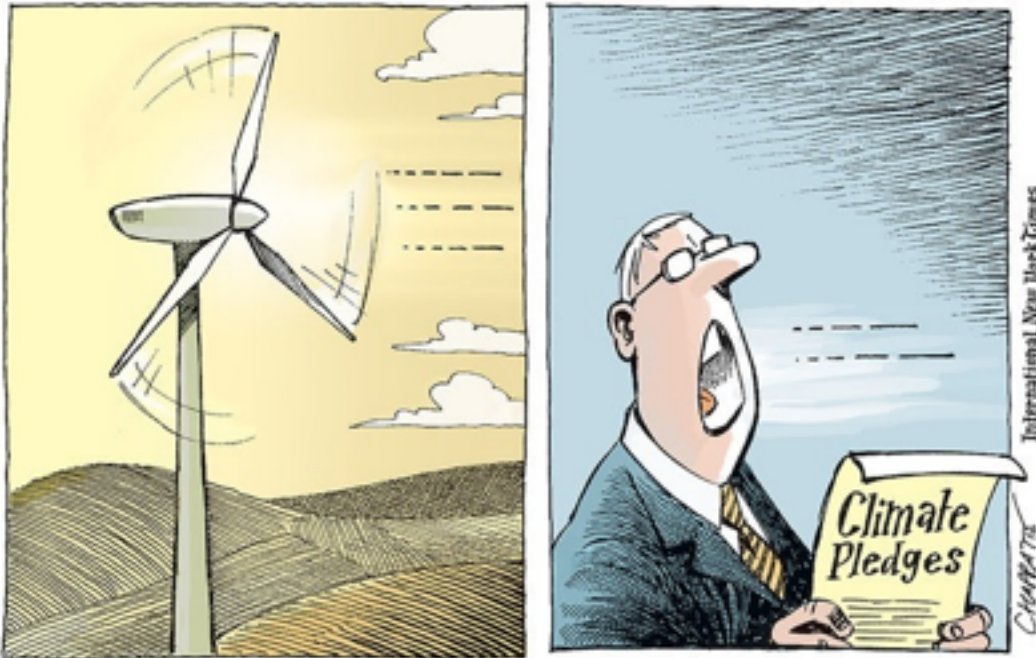


Title: Do what I say, not what I do

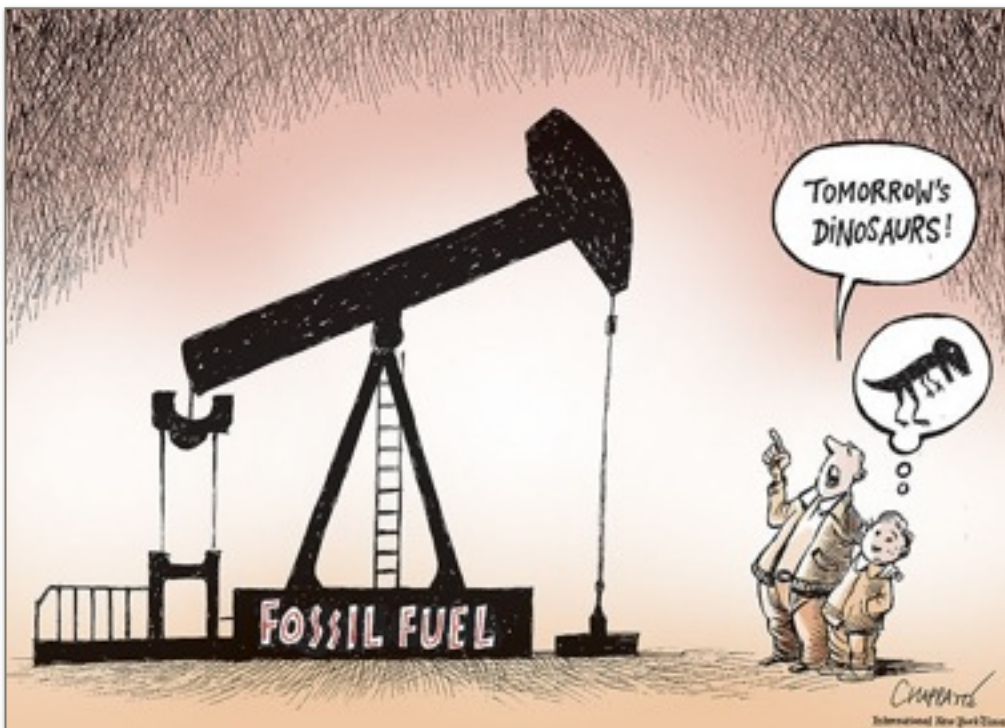
Author: Patrick Chappatte

Source: The New York Times

WIND TURBINES:



Title: Paris weather forecast.
Winds expected
Author: Patrick Chappatte
Source: The New York Times



Title: Someday, people may provide a new energy source
Author: Patrick Chappatte
Source: The New York Times



Title: And now it's decision time on Climate

Author: Tom Toles

Source: The Washington Post

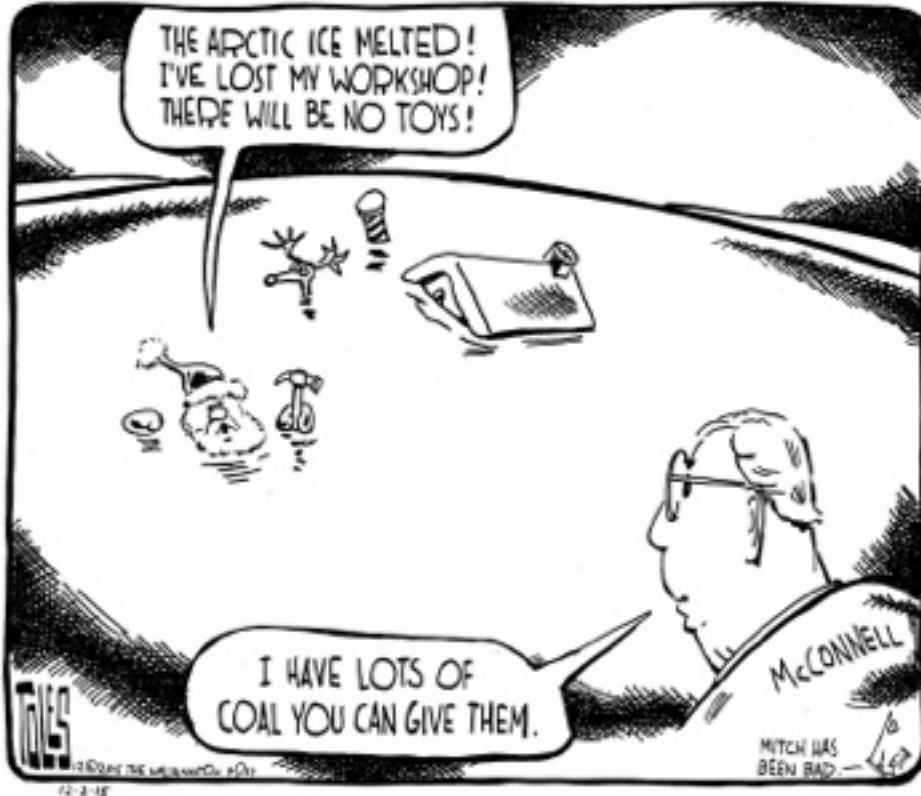


Title: GOP is gaming out the pluses and minuses for acting on climate change

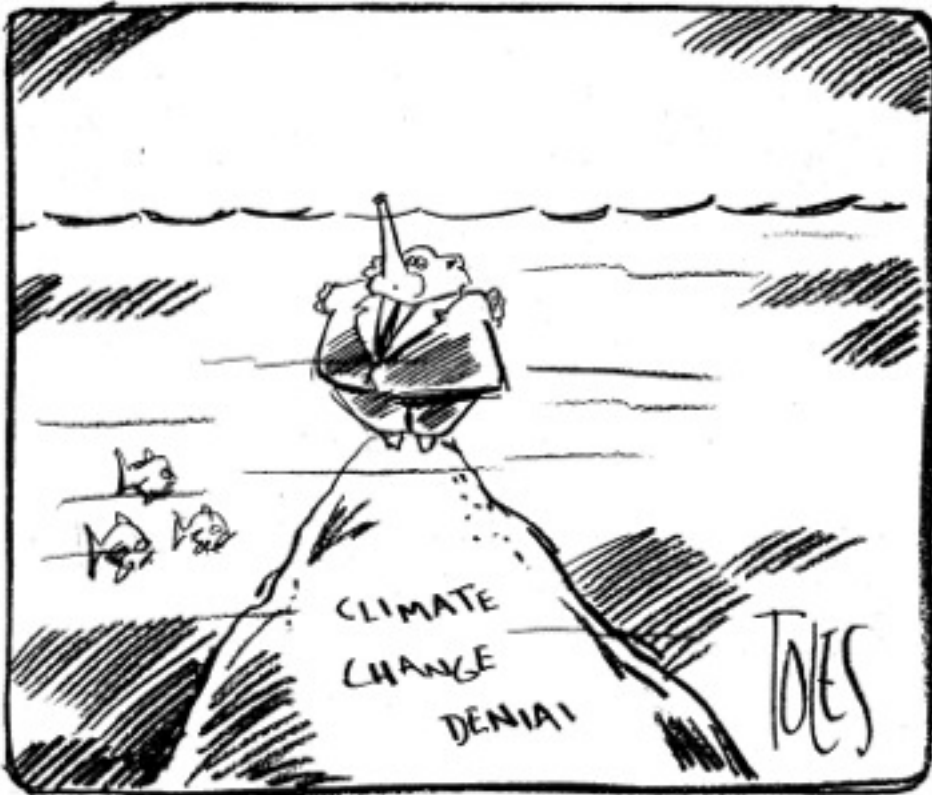
Author: Tom Toles

Source: The Washington Post





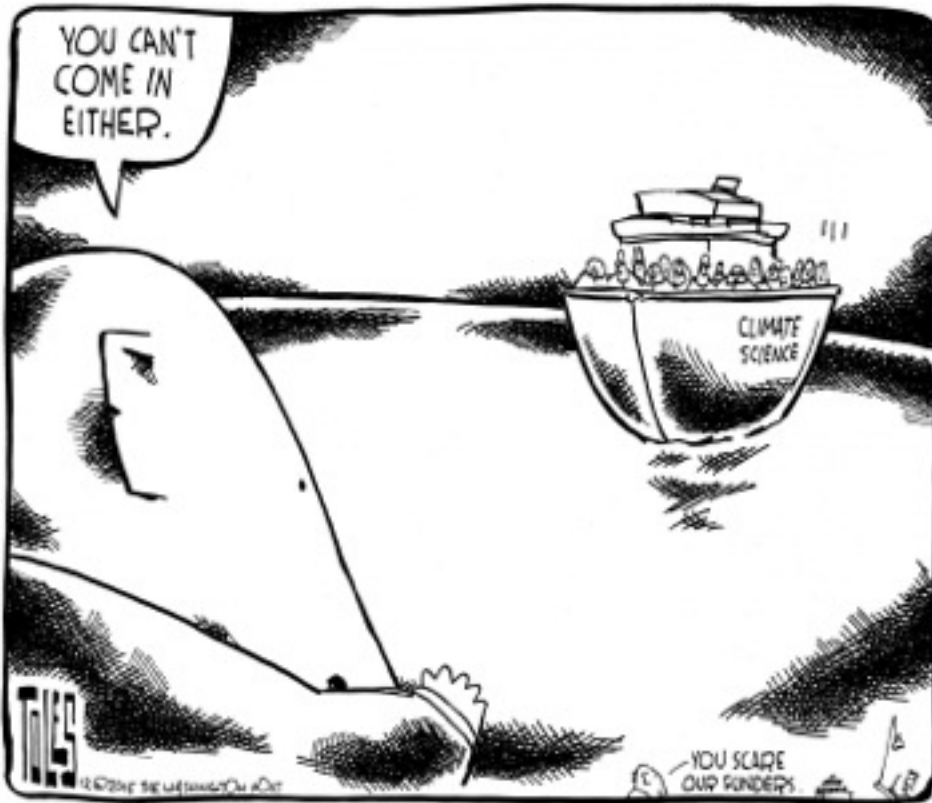
Title: Mitch McConnell is the Grinch who saved Christmas
Author: Tom Toles
Source: The Washington Post



Title: Republicans are holding their ground in the raging climate change debate
Author: Tom Toles
Source: The Washington Post

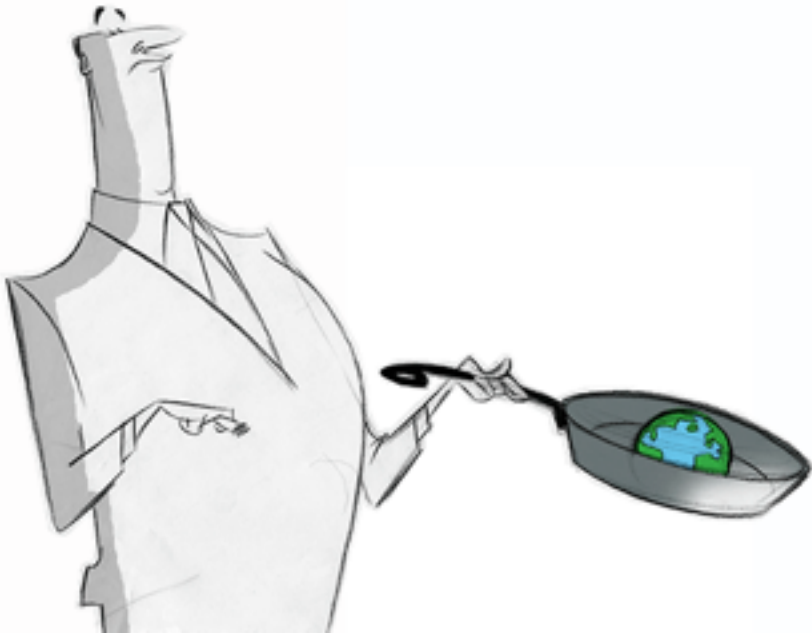


Title: Republicans face another challenge on climate change
Author: Tom Toles
Source: The Washington Post



Title: Republicans face another challenge on climate change
Author: Tom Toles
Source: The Washington Post

Title: The climate change denier's fry-up
Author: Ann Telnaes
Source: The Washington Post



China



Title: Save the Earth
Author: Li Min
Source: China Daily



Title: Terrorism and climate change
Author: Luo Jie
Source: China Daily



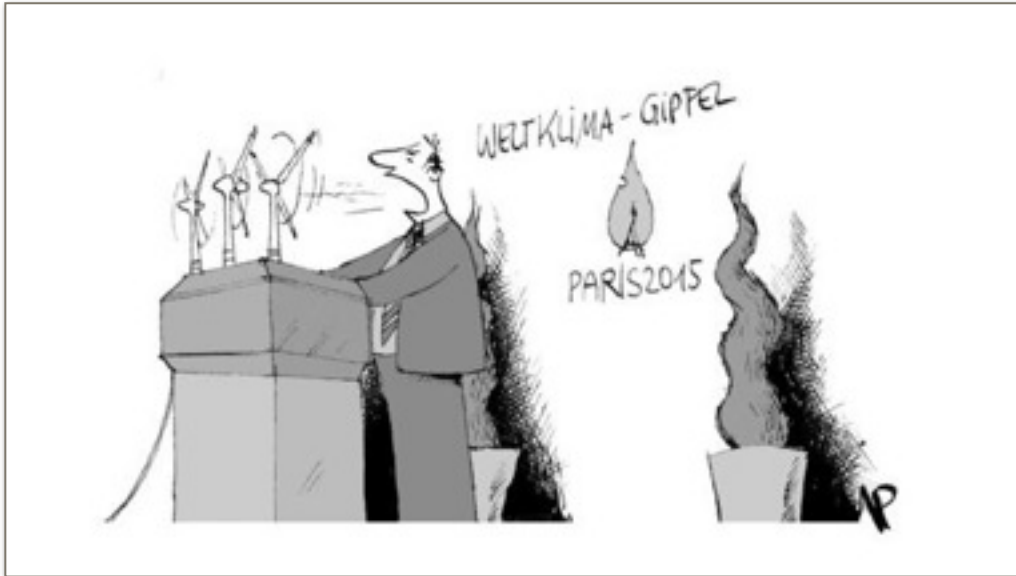
Title: Degrees of wrangling
Author: Liu Rui
Source: Global Times



Title: Back from the brink
Author: Shen Lan
Source: Global Times

The EU

Austria



Title: Alternative energy
Author: [Not mentioned]
Source: Kurier
Translation:
[Poster]: “World climate summit // Paris 2015”



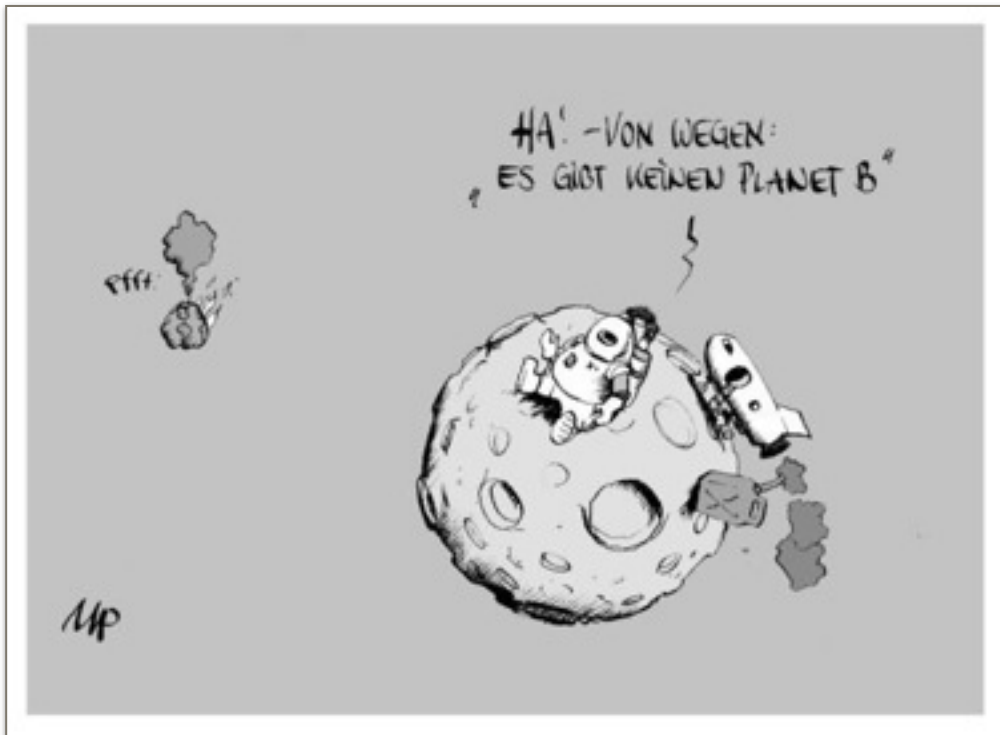
Title: Silly reindeers
Author: [Not mentioned]
Source: Kurier
Translation:
[Reindeers]: “We need more horse power...”



Title: Classic climate change conference joke

Author: [Not mentioned]

Source: Kurier



Title: Climate change skeptic reserves right

Author: [Not mentioned]

Source: Kurier

Translation:

[Astronaut]: "Ha! Tell me there's no planet B."

Belgium



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Canary Pete

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "Targets 1 and 2 will remain open for 10 more years"



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Canary Pete

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "Activists at the climate summit"

[Bear]: "Maybe climate will also get some attention!"



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Canary Pete

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "The climate conference starts"



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Canary Pete

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "Ministers on their way to climate summit"

[Lady]: "How close to the white line?!"

[Road traffic controller]: "Now we drive extreme right in France."



Title: [Not mentioned]

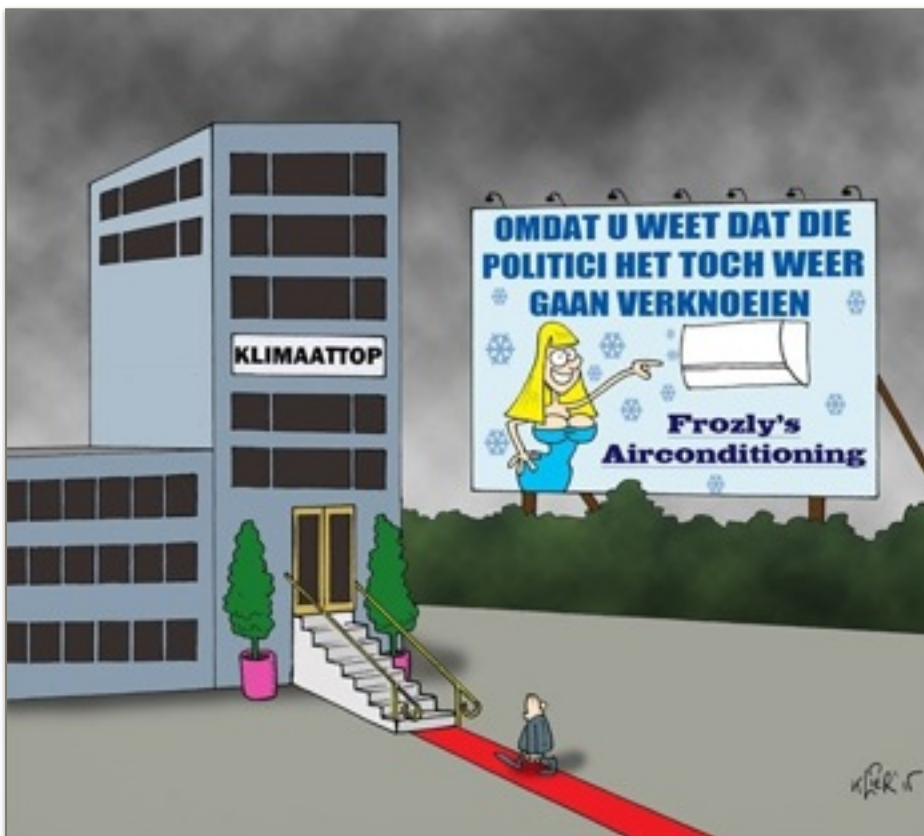
Author: Canary Pete

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: “There is a climate agreement.”

[Bear]: “A jump of joy, idiot!!!”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Klier

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Signboard]: “Climate change”

[Billboard]: “Because you know that politicians are making the same old fuss // Frozly’s air-conditioning”

Deelnemers klimaatop willen opwarming aarde onder 2 graden houden



Title: [Not mentioned]

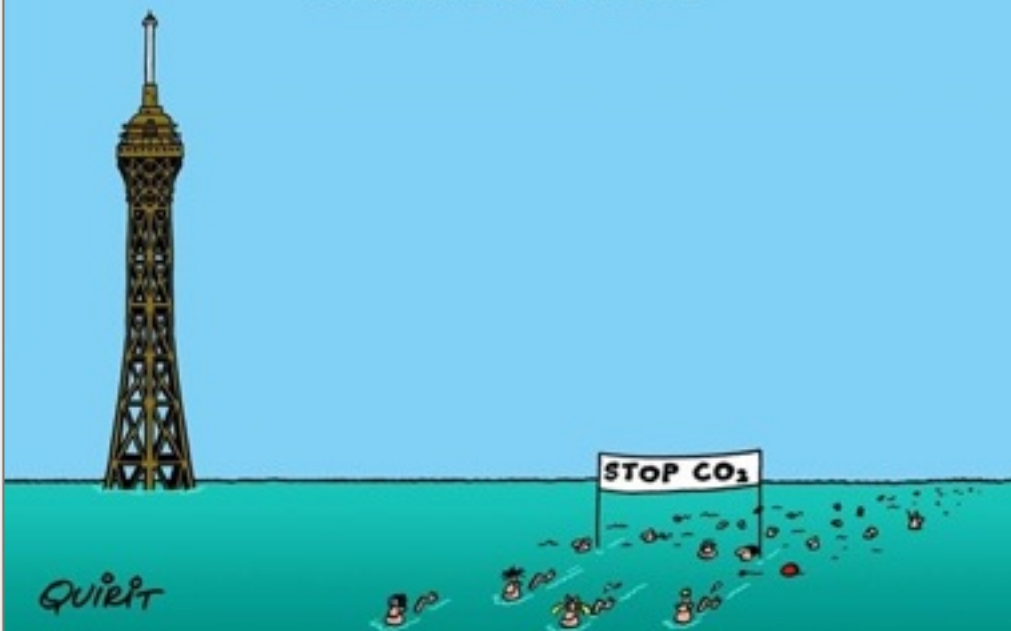
Author: Klier

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: “Participants of the climate talks want to keep global warming below 2 degrees”

KLIMAATBETOGING IN 2100



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Quirit

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: “Climate rally in 2100”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Quirit

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "Paris: Let them out only when there is a climate agreement"

[Responses from left to right]: "I agree." "Me too." "Me too."



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Quirit

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "Quick wins on climate salon"

[Military servant]: "This allows to halve the CO₂-emissions of a coal plant."



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Quirit

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

[Caption]: "We want to achieve the climate goals..."

[Person]: "Therefore every Belgian must walk around."



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Quirit

Source: Gazet van Antwerpen

Translation:

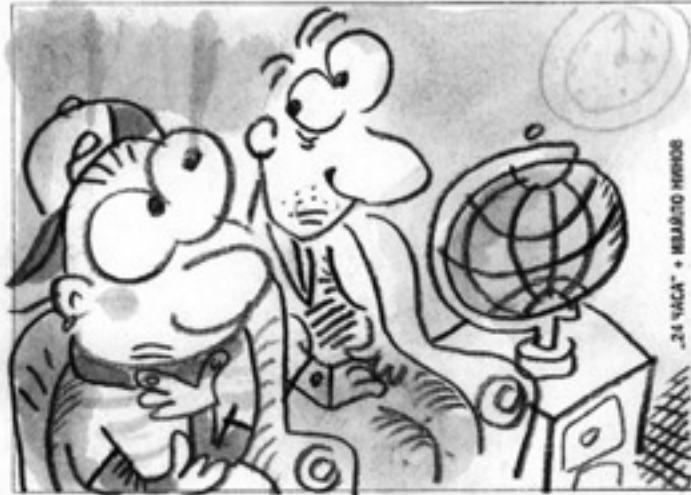
[Caption]: "China promises to do something about the smog"

[Chinese speaker]: "We will destroy all our fossil fuels!"

[Journalist]: "How?"

[Chinese speaker]: "Incinerate."

Bulgaria



— РЕДУВАНЕТО НА СТУ-
ДЕНА ВОЙНА И ГЛО-
БАЛНО ЗАТОПЛЯНЕ ВЛИЯЕ
ЗЛЕ НА ЗДРАВЕТО НА
ЧОВЕЧЕСТВОТО.

Title: How to keep—together or separately?

Author: Malkiyat Ivancho

Source: 24 Chasa

Translation:

[Caption]: “Alternation of the Cold War and Global Warming badly affects the health of humanity.”

Denmark



Title: Future climate refugees must be stopped today

Author: Roald Als

Source: Politiken

Translation:

[Person]: "Turn back!"



Title: Torrential climate change

Author: Anne-Marie Steen Petersen

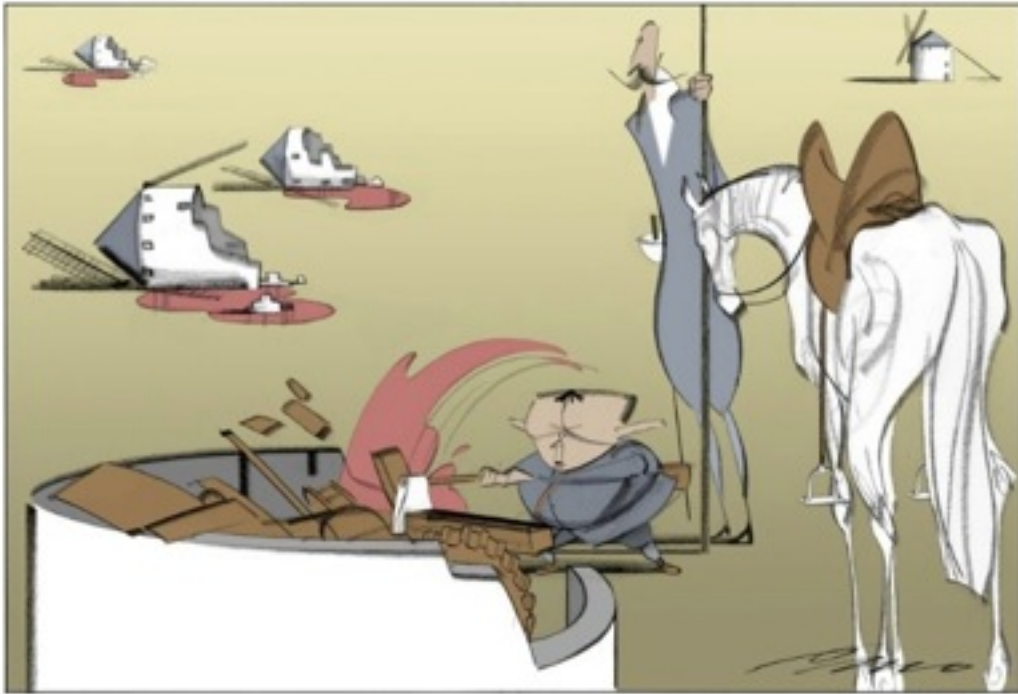
Source: Politiken

Translation:

[Caption]: "While the world deals with climate change in Paris, the EU is busy sending bombers to Middle East."

[Woman]: "No, it wasn't a thunder."

Mens hele verden forhandler i Paris om klimaforandringerne, har EU travlt med at sende bombefly til Mellemøsten. Tegning: Anne-Marie Steen Petersen



Title: Climate goals
slaughtered one by one
Author: Per Marquard Otzen
Source: Politiken
Translation:
[Caption]: “To Don Quixote’s
pleasant surprise, Sancho
Panza successfully and single-
handedly kills the wind
turbines.”

Til Don Quixotes glædelige overraskelse lykkes det Sancho Panza egenhændigt at få has på vindmøllerne. Tegning: Per Marquard Otzen



Title: Løkke’s climate talk in
Paris was piping hot air
Author: Per Marquard Otzen
Source: Politiken

Finland



Title: COP21

Author: Wumo

Source: Helsingin Sanomat

Translation:

[Signboard]: "COP21 Paris climate conference"

[Man]: "But you told me to bring green movie celebrities!"

France



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Coco

Source: Charlie Hebdo

Translation:

[Caption]: “The dark side of France // Soon in six regions!”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Coco

Source: Charlie Hebdo

Translation:

[Caption]: “Climate: China is ready to make the efforts?”

[Collective response]: “My ass!”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Riss

Source: Charlie Hebdo

Translation:

[Caption]: "The police makes a gesture to save the planet"

[Descriptions from top to down]: "Bamboo baton"
"Coconut casque" "Recyclable demonstrator"



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Coco

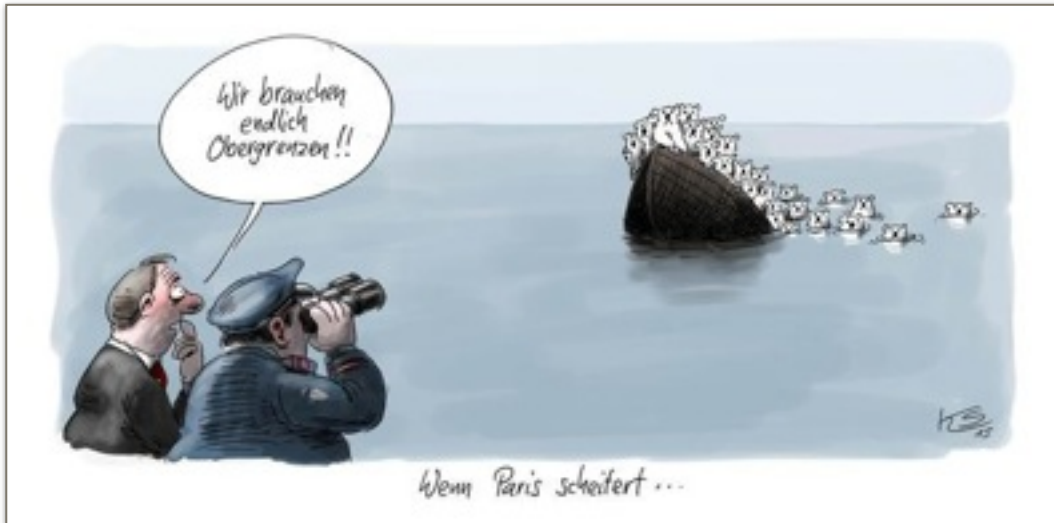
Source: Charlie Hebdo

Translation:

[Caption]: "COP21: Begins good"

[Responses]: "How many already?" "150."

Germany



Title: If Paris fails

Author: Klaus Stüttmann

Source: Tagesspiegel

Translation:

[Caption]: “If Paris fails”

[Man]: “We finally need limits!!”



Title: Planet's head gets hot.

Will we help it to cool it?

Author: Klaus Stüttmann

Source: Tagesspiegel

Translation:

[Planet]: “Really? They discuss

in Paris just how you could

tinker a lifeline for me? That's

fantastic!!”

Ireland



Title: [Not mentioned]
Author: Martyn Turner
Source: The Irish Times



Title: [Not mentioned]
Author: Martyn Turner
Source: The Irish Times



Title: [Not mentioned]
Author: Martyn Turner
Source: The Irish Times

The Netherlands



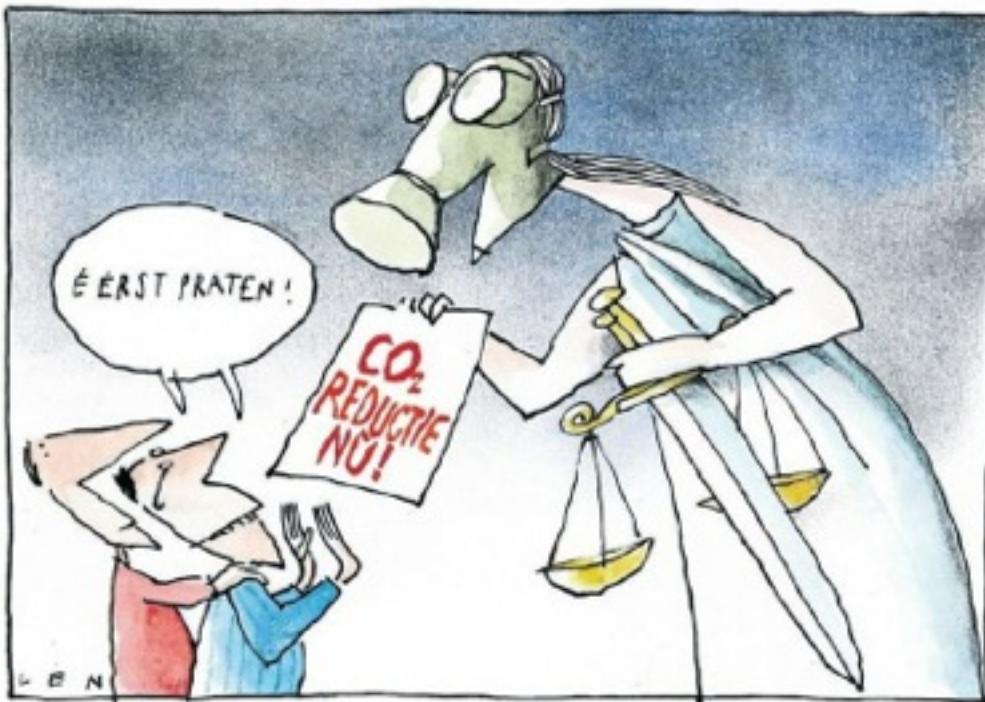
Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Len

Source: Trouw

Translation:

ABP—Algemeen Burgerlijk Pensioenfonds (“Dutch Civil Servants Pension Fund”)



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Len

Source: Trouw

Translation:

[Announcement]: “CO2 reduction now!”

[Men]: “First talk!”

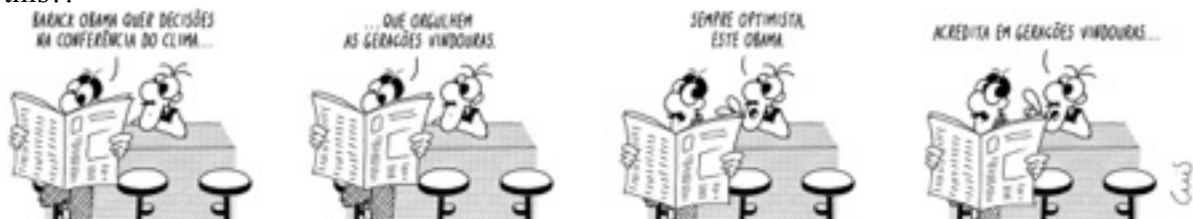
Portugal



“An astronaut plans to take into space... ..the text of the future agreement on climate change.” “Why take it into space?” “With the lack of what it does here on Earth...”



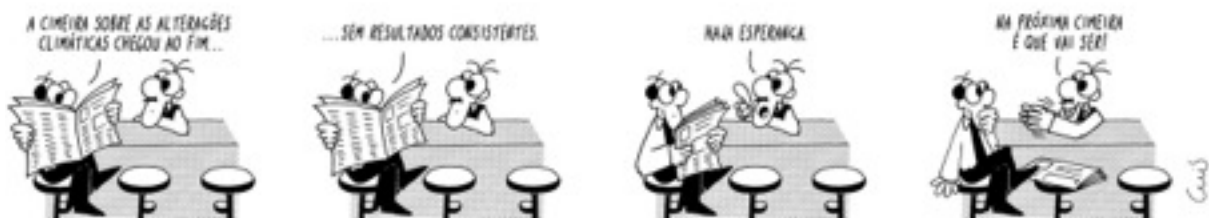
“Do you think you can save the planet?” “It depends.” “It depends?” “Of course, it depends on the planet. Shouldn’t I say what is this?!”



“Barack Obama at the climate conference wants decisions... ..future generations would be proud of.” “Always optimistic, this Obama. Believe future generations...”



“Pope Francis urged more than 150 world leaders at the climate summit... ..to focus their efforts on «mitigation of the impact of climate change, fight against poverty and for promotion of human dignity.» What are you going to do? The man urges to believe in miracles.”



“The Summit on Climate Change came to an end... ..No consistent results.” “There is hope that there will be the next summit!”

Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Luis Afonso

Source: Público

Slovenia



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Marko

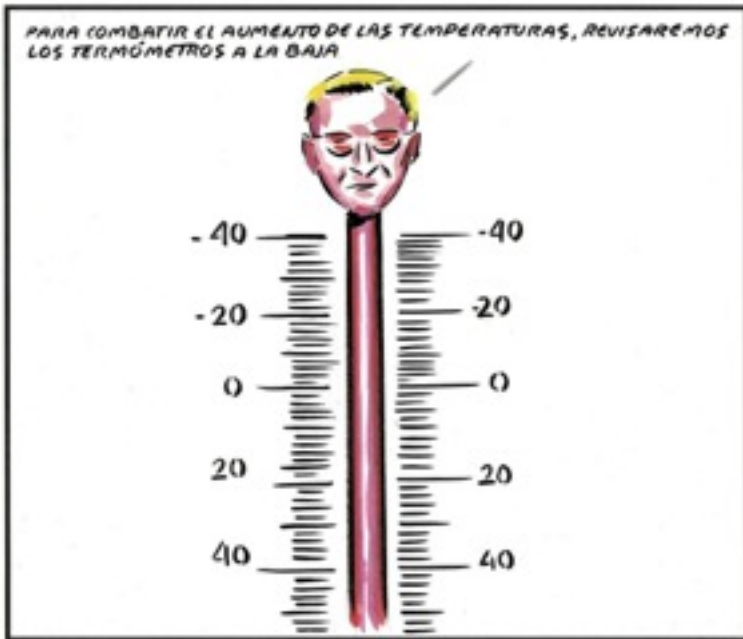
Source: Delo

Translation:

[Paper plane]: "Climate agreement"

[Pipe]: "Slovenian energetics"

Spain



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: El Roto

Source: El País

Translation:

[Caption]: “To combat rising temperature, we will look at the thermometers downwards”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Forges

Source: El País

Translation:

[Caption]: “Suspecting breach on behalf of China, the agreements was made at the UN climate summit in Paris,...

...after the oriental delegation bestowed this curious cat on the remaining participants.”



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Forges

Source: El País

Translation:

[Caption]: "What to do in a long «bridge»...? Skip a railman-denier"

[Dialogue]: "Repeat if you dare, populist heretic!" "Climate change" "Ag!"

[Footnote framed in yellow]: "...But don't forget about the refugees"



Title: Paris, climate summit 2015...

Author: Forges

Source: El País

Translation:

[Caption]: "Paris, at the Climate Summit 2015..."

...Urgently sent today from Beijing, with trenchant instructions, a plenipotentiary arrived at the decisive meeting, very determined, despite chronic bronchitis pollution."

La acción del chiste transcurre en el yacimiento de Atapuerca a principios del Siglo XXIV...



Title: [Not mentioned]

Author: Forges

Source: El País

Translation:

[Caption]: “The action of this joke takes place in the Atapuerca in early XXIV century...

...after the climate change disaster”

[Dialogue]: “And what is this?” “I don't know; but since it smells of hamburgers, must be the XXI century.”

[Footnote framed in yellow]: “...But don't forget about the refugees”

The UK



Title: On the Paris climate talks

Author: Ben Jennings

Source: The Guardian



Title: On Volkswagen

Author: Kipper Williams

Source: The Guardian