



## **Acknowledgments**

This report was written by David Arkush, managing director of Public Citizen's Climate Program.

## **About Public Citizen**

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## Introduction

Given the gravity and urgency of the climate crisis, as well as a surfeit of relevant, newsworthy developments, one would expect U.S. media to report on climate and clean energy issues daily. The year 2017 brought numerous unprecedented developments in these areas. From the U.S. reversing course on domestic climate policy and declaring it would back out of the Paris Agreement to record-shattering heat waves, wildfires, hurricanes, Arctic warmth, and more, there was no shortage of climate-related news. This report examines media coverage of topics relevant to climate change that garnered significant attention in 2017, such as extreme weather events, and assesses the extent to which media coverage explicitly connected the topics to climate change.

The proportion of pieces that mentioned climate change in climate-relevant contexts was decidedly low. There was no topic that media connected to climate change in more than 33 percent of pieces. Perhaps unsurprisingly, that high-water mark comes from articles discussing record heat.<sup>1</sup> From there, the numbers drop off steeply. Some topics, like hurricanes, saw scant mention of climate at all, with just four percent of pieces discussing Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, Maria, or Nate mentioned climate change or global warming. Finally, among pieces that mentioned climate change or global warming, only nine percent discussed solutions or mitigation.

## Methodology and Analysis

For this analysis, we searched all sources in LexisNexis’s “news” category for climate-relevant topics to find the number of pieces that mentioned and did not mention climate change or global warming.<sup>2</sup> We also broke out separate numbers for LexisNexis’s “Newspapers” and “News Transcripts” subcategories<sup>3</sup> and conducted separate searches of nine major papers and five major television networks.<sup>4</sup> We counted a piece as mentioning a subject such as record heat or climate change if it made the barest mention of the relevant terms — that is, if the piece merely turned up in the search results for those terms.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout, this report, we write loosely of pieces “discussing” the terms for which we searched, as we counted an article if it merely turned up in the results of a search for a term regardless of the character or extent of the relevant discussion. We also use “article” loosely, as many of the pieces discussed are opinion columns, editorials, or transcripts of television or radio broadcasts.

<sup>2</sup> We used the following search terms for climate change: (“climate change” OR “global warming”).

<sup>3</sup> The “News Transcripts” comprises mostly television transcripts, but also includes some radio, such as National Public Radio. We also limited searches geographically, to the U.S.

<sup>4</sup> The outlets are *The Boston Globe*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Denver Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Post*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and the television networks are ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Network, and MSNBC.

<sup>5</sup> To search for climate change, we used the following terms: (“climate change” OR “global warming”).

Pieces on record heat were most likely to mention climate change, and even there the rate was just 33 percent.<sup>6</sup> Pieces on record or historic drought mentioned climate 24 percent of the time. Those on record or historic rainfall mentioned it 10 percent of the time. If one adds “extreme rainfall,” the proportion rises to 21 percent. (For other topics, the numbers for “extreme” would lower rather than raise the overall percentage that mention climate change.) Pieces on record or historic wildfires or floods mentioned climate just nine percent of the time. Among extreme weather, the lowest rate of mentions was in the context of the year’s extraordinary series of hurricanes: Just four percent of pieces discussing Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, Maria, or Nate made the connection to climate change.

Regarding pests and pest-borne illness, pieces on the spread of Lyme disease mentioned climate most often, but still just 10 percent of the time. The topic with the lowest rate of climate mentions was West Nile virus, at three percent.

Finally, only nine percent of pieces that discussed climate change also mentioned solutions or mitigation.

### Extreme Weather

All weather, and therefore all extreme weather, occurs in a climate system that humans have changed, and anthropogenic climate change cannot easily be dismissed as a factor in any particular event.<sup>7</sup> But a burgeoning field of science is working to project future climate impacts in finer detail, as well as to determine with greater precision the degree to which anthropogenic climate change made particular extreme weather events more likely or more severe.<sup>8</sup>

Below, we discuss some common types of climate-influenced extreme weather and consider the extent to which U.S. media connected them to climate change in 2017. We group references to “record” and “historic” weather together because they refer to similar concepts, and they are arguably the instances when news outlets are mostly likely to at least ask whether climate change is involved. But we also break out the numbers for each of those term. Where there were a significant number of uses of “severe” or “extreme,” we include the results for those terms as well. For example, 833 pieces mention “extreme rainfall,” so we ascertained the number of those pieces that mention climate change as well and provided the figures in this report. By contrast, only 46 pieces mention “severe rainfall,” so we omitted those results.

One surprising trend emerged: Regarding most topics, media outlets were significantly more likely to discuss extreme weather as “historic” rather than “record” — for example, more likely to discuss

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<sup>6</sup> One might ask whether some articles decline to mention climate change simply because the connection is already obvious. A rigorous attempt to answer that question is beyond the scope of this analysis, and for that matter might not be feasible at all. Anecdotally, however, that description was not a clear fit for any article we happened to read while conducting this analysis.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., NATIONAL ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES, *ATTRIBUTION OF EXTREME WEATHER EVENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF CLIMATE CHANGE* 10–11 (2016).

<sup>8</sup> See generally *id.*

“historic flooding” than “record flooding.” At the same time, they were significantly less likely to mention climate change when they discussed “historic” weather — the more common frame — as compared to “record” weather.

**Heat.** Higher global temperatures are one of the principal effects of climate change. In addition to increasing average annual temperatures, climate change increases the number of extremely hot individual days.<sup>9</sup>

In 2017, a year of major heat waves in the U.S., just 33 percent of articles discussing heat records — pieces using phrases like “record heat” or “record heat wave” — mentioned climate change. Among major news sources, the rate was much lower, at 23 percent. We also considered mentions of climate in the context of “severe heat” and “extreme heat.” Eighteen percent of all sources that discussed “severe heat” mentioned climate change. (Thirty-six percent of pieces on “severe heat” from major sources mentioned climate change. But there were only 25 major-source pieces on “severe heat” in total, so it is unlikely that the percentage is a meaningful figure.) For “extreme heat,” the proportion of pieces mentioning climate change was 16 percent for all sources and 19 percent for major sources. Table 1 provides detailed data on mentions of record heat, severe heat, extreme heat, and climate change.

**Drought, Heavy Rainfall, and Flooding.**<sup>10</sup> Climate change can alter a region’s precipitation in one of several ways. In some areas, it increases or decreases the total amount of rain or snowfall. In others, climate change concentrates roughly the same amount of precipitation into fewer, heavier events.<sup>11</sup> Where precipitation remains the same overall, warmer temperatures can lead to more evaporation and therefore drier conditions and more drought. Both droughts and heavy downpours are increasing due to climate change,<sup>12</sup> and climate change is also projected to worsen U.S. droughts severely in the coming decades.<sup>13</sup>

Twenty-four percent of all stories mentioning “record drought” or “historic drought” also mentioned climate change. Just 19 percent of pieces in major media did so. Media were significantly more likely to mention climate change in the context of “record drought” than “historic drought” (34 percent versus 20 percent, respectively, for all sources, and 29 percent versus 16 percent for major sources). But media were also much more likely to discuss “historic drought” than “record drought” (628 total “historic drought” pieces versus 120 “record drought” pieces).

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<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Climate Communication, *Heat Waves*, <http://pubc.it/2klc6yf>; Natasha Geiling, *Alarming New Report Analyzes the Increasing Frequency of Extreme Heat Days*, THINKPROGRESS, Oct. 25, 2017, <http://pubc.it/2mCjyyY>.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.climatecentral.org/news/climate-change-altering-droughts-us-21563>

<sup>11</sup> Climate Signals, *Increased Drought Risk*, <http://pubc.it/2kH1IXA> (visited Dec. 18, 2017); Climate Communication, *Precipitation, Floods and Drought*, <http://pubc.it/2kHdhhv> (visited Dec. 18, 2017); Climate Communication, *Drought*, <http://pubc.it/2kH86hm> (visited Dec. 18, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> U.S. Global Change Research Program, National Climate Assessment, *Extreme Weather*, <http://pubc.it/2kH9GzS> (visited Dec. 18, 2017); Climate Nexus, 2017 *Climate Impacts Around the World*, <http://pubc.it/2BpIBJe> (visited Dec. 18, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> U.S. GLOBAL CHANGE RESEARCH PROGRAM, CLIMATE SCIENCE SPECIAL REPORT: FOURTH NATIONAL CLIMATE ASSESSMENT VOL. I 240 (2017).

We also considered pieces on “severe drought” and “extreme drought.” On severe drought, 15 percent of all sources and 25 percent of major sources mentioned climate change. For extreme drought, the figures are 10 percent and 13 percent.

Regarding rainfall, just 10 percent of the 2,344 pieces discussing record or historic rainfall mentioned climate change, including just 13 percent of the 167 pieces from major media outlets. However, 833 pieces discuss “extreme rainfall,” and 52 percent of those pieces mention climate change. (The figure for major sources is 50 percent of 58 pieces.) The main reason for this result appears to be that some media outlets understood and reported that the massive amount of rainfall associated with Hurricane Harvey was influenced by climate change and, when they reported on it, they tended to use the phrase “extreme rainfall.” Indeed, fifty-one percent of the pieces mentioning “extreme rainfall” also mentioned “hurricane.”

If one considers “historic rainfall,” “record rainfall,” and “extreme rainfall” together, there are 3,150 total pieces, of which 21 percent mention climate. Among major sources, the proportion is also 21 percent, of 229 pieces.

Regarding flooding, nine percent of pieces discussing record or historic flooding mentioned climate change. Following the typical pattern, media were more likely to mention climate in the context of “record” (sixteen percent) rather than “historic” (seven percent) flooding. We also considered mentions of “severe flooding.” There, the figures are 13 percent for all sources and 19 percent for major media.

Table 2 provides detailed data on media mentions of drought and climate change. Tables 3 and 4 provide data for rainfall and flooding, respectively.

**Wildfires.** Climate change has lengthened wildfire season, and U.S. wildfires have been growing both in total area burned and financial cost.<sup>14</sup> Warmer temperatures and increased drought conditions both contribute to wildfires.<sup>15</sup>

Nine percent of pieces discussing “historic” or “record” wildfires mentioned climate change, including 16 percent among major sources. As usual, media were significantly more likely to mention climate when discussing “record” (34 percent) than “historic” (five percent) events, but pieces using the phrase “historic” (425) vastly outnumber those using “record” (70).

Table 5 provides detailed data on mentions of wildfires and climate change.

**Hurricanes.** The year 2017 also saw a remarkable series of hurricanes hit the U.S. It is well established that climate change contributes to the damage of hurricanes in multiple ways. For

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<sup>14</sup> Climate Nexus, *Wildfires*, <http://pubc.it/2BpRgeK>.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. GLOBAL CHANGE RESEARCH PROGRAM, CLIMATE SCIENCE SPECIAL REPORT: FOURTH NATIONAL CLIMATE ASSESSMENT VOL. I 243 (2017).

example, warmer ocean temperatures lead to stronger winds; warmer air leads to more rain (and therefore flooding); and higher sea levels worsen storm surges.<sup>16</sup>

Only four percent of articles discussing hurricanes Harvey, Irma, Maria, or Nate mentioned climate change. Table 6 provides detailed data.

### Pests and Pest-Borne Illness

Warmer temperatures extend the range of disease-carrying insects and give them a longer active season.<sup>17</sup> In addition, wetter conditions — in the form of increased rainfall, flooding, and higher humidity (because warmer air holds more water) — are more hospitable to mosquito breeding.<sup>18</sup>

Just eight percent of stories discussing growing mosquito populations mentioned climate change, including 12 percent of pieces from major outlets. The numbers for articles on ticks are still worse, with five percent of all pieces and six percent from major media mentioning climate. Ten percent of stories discussing the spread of Lyme disease mentioned climate, including 20 percent of pieces by major media. For West Nile virus, the figures are six percent and seven percent; for Zika, seven percent and 11 percent.

Tables 7 and 8 provides detailed data on mentions of climate change and pests and pest-borne illnesses, respectively.

### Solutions

A critical question in the context of climate change is whether we can mitigate or solve the problem. In fact, we can prevent the worst of the coming harm from the climate crisis with existing technology, in a manner that instead of costing money will yield massive net benefits in short order.<sup>19</sup> As these facts are little known, we considered the extent to which the media report on mitigation and solutions when discussing climate change. We found that just nine percent of stories mentioning climate change also mentioned mitigation or solutions. For major sources, the rate falls to six percent. Table 9 provides detailed data.

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<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Climate Signals, *Hurricane Harvey 2017*, <http://pubc.it/2wNP9z2>; Michael E. Mann, *It's a Fact: Climate Change Made Hurricane Harvey More Deadly*, THE GUARDIAN, Aug. 28, 2017. One recent study concluded that global warming increased the rainfall from Hurricane Harvey by at least 19 percent, and likely 38 percent. Mark D. Risser & Michael F. Wehner, *Attributable Human-Induced Changes in the Likelihood and Magnitude of the Observed Extreme Precipitation During Hurricane Harvey*, GEOPHYSICAL RESEARCH LETTERS (accepted manuscript online Dec. 12, 2017), <http://pubc.it/2kXaD7t>.

<sup>17</sup> Climate Nexus, *Climate Risk and Spread of Vector-Borne Diseases*, <http://pubc.it/2CNy7o4> (visited Jan. 3, 2012)

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*

<sup>19</sup> See, e.g., David Arkush, *How moving away from fossil fuels can save lives and lead to expanded health coverage*, THE HILL, June 30, 2017, <http://pubc.it/2CSgS4U>.

## Conclusion

For the public to be well-informed about climate change, it is critical that the media connect everyday coverage to climate where it is relevant, as well as cover the climate crisis directly, including developments on how we can mitigate it. On both scores, the media performed poorly in 2017. When discussing even the most clearly climate-connected topics, like record heat waves, the media mentioned climate change just 33 percent of the time. Regarding most other subjects, including hurricanes and the spread of mosquitoes, ticks, and the illnesses they carry, the coverage was far worse. One of the most important lacking pieces — a subject that appeared in just nine percent of coverage that mentioned climate change — is solutions.



## Tables

**Table 1: Media Mentions of Heat and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Record Heat</b> <sup>20</sup>	All sources	587	1,765	33.3%
	Newspapers	247	737	33.5%
	Television & Radio	12	96	12.5%
	Major sources	49	210	23.3%
<b>Severe Heat</b> <sup>21</sup>	All sources	88	499	17.6%
	Newspapers	21	127	16.5%
	Television & Radio	3	12	25.0%
	Major sources	9	25	36.0%
<b>Extreme Heat</b> <sup>22</sup>	All sources	2,218	13,560	16.4%
	Newspapers	700	5,058	13.8%
	Television & Radio	46	212	21.7%
	Major sources	103	531	19.4%

<sup>20</sup> We used the following search terms: (“heat record” OR “heat records” OR “record heat” OR “record heat wave”).

<sup>21</sup> We used the following search terms: “severe heat”.

<sup>22</sup> We used the following search terms: “extreme heat”.

**Table 2: Media Mentions of Drought and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Record or Historic Drought<sup>23</sup></b>	All sources	203	840	24.2%
	Newspapers	60	245	24.5%
	Television & Radio	5	23	21.7%
	Major sources	11	57	19.3%
<b>Record Drought<sup>24</sup></b>	All sources	41	120	34.2%
	Newspapers	10	35	28.6%
	Television & Radio	2	7	28.6%
	Major sources	2	7	28.6%
<b>Historic Drought<sup>25</sup></b>	All sources	127	628	20.2%
	Newspapers	38	194	19.6%
	Television & Radio	3	15	20.0%
	Major sources	8	49	16.3%
<b>Severe Drought<sup>26</sup></b>	All sources	750	5,089	14.7%
	Newspapers	175	1,485	11.8%
	Television & Radio	28	106	26.4%
	Major sources	36	147	24.5%
<b>Extreme Drought<sup>27</sup></b>	All sources	239	2,364	10.1%
	Newspapers	66	767	8.6%
	Television & Radio	6	38	15.8%
	Major sources	8	62	12.9%

<sup>23</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic drought” OR “record drought”).

<sup>24</sup> We used the following search terms: “record drought”.

<sup>25</sup> We used the following search terms: “historic drought”.

<sup>26</sup> We used the following search terms: “severe drought”.

<sup>27</sup> We used the following search terms: “extreme drought”.

**Table 3: Media Mentions of Rainfall and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Record or Historic Rainfall<sup>28</sup></b>	All sources	243	2,344	10.4%
	Newspapers	74	637	11.6%
	Television & Radio	7	92	7.6%
	Major sources	21	167	12.6%
<b>Record, Historic, or Extreme Rainfall<sup>29</sup></b>	All sources	646	3,150	20.5%
	Newspapers	173	810	21.4%
	Television & Radio	13	108	12.0%
	Major sources	48	229	21.0%
<b>Record Rainfall<sup>30</sup></b>	All sources	184	1,883	9.8%
	Newspapers	53	529	10.0%
	Television & Radio	7	59	11.9%
	Major sources	15	109	13.8%
<b>Historic Rainfall<sup>31</sup></b>	All sources	45	390	11.5%
	Newspapers	17	92	18.5%
	Television & Radio	0	32	0.0%
	Major sources	6	58	10.3%
<b>Extreme Rainfall<sup>32</sup></b>	All sources	425	823	51.6%
	Newspapers	90	168	53.6%
	Television & Radio	6	16	37.5%
	Major sources	29	58	50.0%

<sup>28</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic rainfall” OR “record rainfall”).

<sup>29</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic rainfall” OR “record rainfall” OR “extreme rainfall”).

<sup>30</sup> We used the following search terms: “record rainfall”.

<sup>31</sup> We used the following search terms: “historic rainfall”.

<sup>32</sup> We used the following search terms: “extreme rainfall”.

**Table 4: Media Mentions of Flooding and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Record or Historic Flood<sup>33</sup></b>	All sources	115	1,225	9.4%
	Newspapers	36	400	9.0%
	Television & Radio	10	78	12.8%
	Major sources	14	107	13.1%
<b>Record Flood<sup>34</sup></b>	All sources	55	337	16.3%
	Newspapers	20	112	17.9%
	Television & Radio	3	21	14.3%
	Major sources	7	34	20.6%
<b>Historic Flood<sup>35</sup></b>	All sources	60	833	7.2%
	Newspapers	16	273	5.9%
	Television & Radio	7	57	12.3%
	Major sources	7	75	9.3%
<b>Severe Flood<sup>36</sup></b>	All sources	118	886	13.3%
	Newspapers	26	126	20.6%
	Television & Radio	2	17	11.8%
	Major sources	5	27	18.5%

<sup>33</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic floods” OR “historic flood” OR “record floods” OR “record flood”).

<sup>34</sup> We used the following search terms: (“record flood” OR “record floods”).

<sup>35</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic flood” OR “historic floods”).

<sup>36</sup> We used the following search terms: (“severe flood” OR “severe floods”).

**Table 5: Media Mentions of Wildfires and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Record or Historic Wildfires</b> <sup>37</sup>	All sources	39	425	9.2%
	Newspapers	16	118	13.6%
	Television & Radio	2	12	16.7%
	Major sources	3	19	15.8%
<b>Historic Wildfires</b> <sup>38</sup>	All sources	15	301	5.0%
	Newspapers	4	89	4.5%
	Television & Radio	1	9	11.1%
	Major sources	2	9	22.2%
<b>Record Wildfires</b> <sup>39</sup>	All sources	24	70	34.3%
	Newspapers	12	18	66.7%
	Television & Radio	1	3	33.3%
	Major sources	1	10	10.0%

**Table 6: Media Mentions of Hurricane and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Hurricanes</b> <sup>40</sup>	All sources	9,797	229,536	4.3%
	Newspapers	2,756	55,375	5.0%
	Television & Radio	387	6,065	6.4%
	Major sources	864	13,508	6.4%

<sup>37</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic wildfires” OR “historic wildfire” OR “record wildfire” OR “record wildfires”).

<sup>38</sup> We used the following search terms: (“historic wildfires” OR “historic wildfire”).

<sup>39</sup> We used the following search terms: (“record wildfires” OR “record wildfire”).

<sup>40</sup> We used the following search terms: ((hurricane /s harvey) OR (hurricane /s irma) OR (hurricane /s maria) OR (hurricane /s nate)).

**Table 7: Media Mentions of Pests and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Growing Mosquito Population</b> <sup>41</sup>	All sources	540	6,701	8.1%
	Newspapers	170	1,967	8.6%
	Television & Radio	5	79	6.3%
	Major sources	33	274	12.0%
<b>Growing Tick Population</b> <sup>42</sup>	All sources	563	10,663	5.3%
	Newspapers	127	2,462	5.2%
	Television & Radio	14	133	10.5%
	Major sources	35	616	5.7%

<sup>41</sup> We used the following search terms: ((mosquito /s growing) OR (mosquito /s rising) OR (mosquito /s population) OR (mosquito /s spread)).

<sup>42</sup> We used the following search terms: ((tick /s growing) OR (tick /s rising) OR (tick /s population) OR (tick /s spread)).

**Table 8: Media Mentions of  
Pest-Borne Illnesses and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Lyme Disease</b> <sup>43</sup>	All sources	460	6,532	7.0%
	Newspapers	165	2,226	7.4%
	Television & Radio	2	48	4.2%
	Major sources	16	417	3.8%
<b>Lyme Disease Growing or Spreading</b> <sup>44</sup>	All sources	169	1,738	9.7%
	Newspapers	59	589	10.0%
	Television & Radio	1	13	7.7%
	Major sources	12	61	19.7%
<b>West Nile Virus</b> <sup>45</sup>	All sources	147	4,476	3.3%
	Newspapers	55	1,459	3.8%
	Television & Radio	3	18	16.7%
	Major sources	8	169	4.7%
<b>West Nile Virus Growing or Spreading</b> <sup>46</sup>	All sources	60	1,032	5.8%
	Newspapers	20	357	5.6%
	Television & Radio	1	5	20.0%
	Major sources	4	60	6.7%
<b>Zika Virus</b> <sup>47</sup>	All sources	1,116	16,643	6.7%
	Newspapers	291	3,585	8.1%
	Television & Radio	42	362	11.6%
	Major sources	66	856	7.7%
<b>Zika Virus Growing or Spreading</b> <sup>48</sup>	All sources	333	4,532	7.3%
	Newspapers	90	1,120	8.0%
	Television & Radio	6	83	7.2%
	Major sources	21	200	10.5%

<sup>43</sup> We used the following search terms: “lyme disease”.

<sup>44</sup> We used the following search terms: (“lyme disease” /s growing) OR (“lyme disease” /s spreading) OR (“lyme disease” /s rising)).

<sup>45</sup> We used the following search terms: “west nile virus”.

<sup>46</sup> We used the following search terms: (“west nile virus” /s growing) OR (“west nile virus” /s rising) OR (“west nile virus” /s population) OR (“west nile virus” /s spread)).

<sup>47</sup> We used the following search terms: “zika”.

<sup>48</sup> We used the following search terms ((zika /s growing) OR (zika /s rising) OR (zika /s population) OR (zika /s spread)).

**Table 9: Media Mentions of Mitigation, Solutions, and Climate Change**

Topic	Sources	Mentioned Climate	Total	Percentage
<b>Mitigation or Solve or Solutions</b> <sup>49</sup>	All sources	20,490	232,181	8.8%
	Newspapers	4,649	65,831	7.1%
	Television & Radio	310	5,589	5.5%
	Major sources	702	11,925	5.9%
<b>Mitigation</b> <sup>50</sup>	All sources	9,310	232,181	4.0%
	Newspapers	1,974	65,831	3.0%
	Television & Radio	119	5,589	2.1%
	Major sources	210	11,925	1.8%
<b>Solutions</b> <sup>51</sup>	All sources	9,999	232,181	4.3%
	Newspapers	2,187	65,831	3.3%
	Television & Radio	125	5,589	2.2%
	Major sources	319	11,925	2.7%
<b>Solving</b> <sup>52</sup>	All sources	2,846	232,181	1.2%
	Newspapers	781	65,831	1.2%
	Television & Radio	93	5,589	1.7%
	Major sources	134	11,925	1.1%

<sup>49</sup> We used the following search terms: (("climate change" OR "global warming") /s solution) OR (("climate change" OR "global warming") /s mitigat!) OR (("climate change" OR "global warming") /s solv!).

<sup>50</sup> We used the following search terms: ("climate change" OR "global warming") /s mitigat!.

<sup>51</sup> We used the following search terms: ("climate change" OR "global warming") /s solution.

<sup>52</sup> We used the following search terms: ("climate change" OR "global warming") /s (solve or solving).