



1 **Storming the news media: 5 years of reporting weather hazards and climate change**

2 **Chloe Brimicombe¹**

3 **1 Department of Geography and Environmental Science, University of Reading, Reading,**
4 **RG6 6AB, UK.**

5 Correspondence to: Chloe Brimicombe c.r.brimicombe@pgr.reading.ac.uk

6

7 **Abstract:** Global heating has increased the risk of weather hazards in recent years.
8 Communication of weather hazard risk by the news media has importance. Newsworthiness
9 affects weather hazards reporting. Here, the methods used to adhere to the open science
10 principles of reproducibility and transparency. Methods used are advanced Google searches
11 of media articles and the emergency disaster database (EM-DAT) that consider the weather
12 hazards floods, heat waves, wildfires, storms and droughts. Storms have had a large number
13 of articles in the last five years. But, wildfires have a large number of articles per individual
14 occurrence. Science and media collaborations could address the bias and improve reporting.

15 **Plain Text Summary:**

16 Climate change is increasing the risk of weather hazards (i.e. Storms and Heatwaves). Using
17 open science methods it is shown that there is a bias in weather hazard reporting. Storms
18 have had a large number of articles in the last five years. But, wildfires have a large number
19 of articles per individual occurrence. Science and media collaborations could address the bias
20 and improve reporting.

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28



29 **1. Introduction**

30 Weather hazards are having an increasing impact on our lives. The latest IPCC report
31 demonstrates that storms, flooding, heat waves, wildfires and droughts have been increasing
32 in intensity and frequency with climate change (IPCC,2021). The last 5 years has experienced
33 a number of notable weather hazards, from the costly 2018 Pacific Typhoon season to the
34 Pacific North West heat wave and European flooding in June 2021 and the Mediterranean
35 heat wave and wildfire in August 2021 (Gao et al., 2020; Kreienkamp et al., 2021; Sjoukje
36 Philip et al., 2021; Sullivan, 2021).

37 Communication of a risk does not always lead to the risk being understood (Porter and Evans,
38 2020), however the media is a key actor in communicating climate change and has a moral
39 obligation to report all aspects of the climate emergency to highlight in this case the risk of
40 extreme weather and what action is being taken (Boykoff and Yulsman, 2013; Kitzinger,
41 1999).In addition, it has previously been found that the media has often given more attention
42 to outlier views on climate change, instead of the consensus view (Meah, 2019; Petersen et
43 al., 2019).

44 Previous research demonstrates that the bias in reporting hazards and climate change leads
45 to attention and material resource deficit, not fully recognising or addressing the risk
46 (Brimicombe et al., 2021a; Howarth and Brooks, 2017).In comparison, it has been found that
47 when visual hazards such as floods and storms (Wilby and Vaughan, 2011) are used to
48 demonstrate climate change risk there is an improved understanding of climate risk, this is
49 also known as objectifying climate change (Höijer, 2010).

50 In this study, open science principles (Armeni et al., 2021; Nosek et al., 2015) are adhered to
51 whilst using simple advanced search tools provided by Google and the number of weather
52 disasters as reported by the emergency database (EM-DAT) (CRED, 2020). This, allows for an
53 examination of the English news media articles produced over the last 5 years to answer the
54 key questions: Has there been an overall increase in articles in the last 5 years? What weather
55 hazard had the most attention? And how many articles also discussed climate change?

56

57



58 **2. Methods and Data**

59 All the methods and data chosen by this study are in keeping with open data and open
60 science. Open science is where the research results are reproducible and transparent (Armeni
61 et al., 2021).

62 **2.1 Advanced Google Search**

63 An advanced Google search was carried out for the period 1st January 2017 to the 1st January
64 2022. The individual search selection was for all news articles in the period containing the
65 keyword flood, heat wave, wildfire, storm and drought and then the search was carried out
66 again this time including climate change as a keyword (cf. Brimicombe et al., 2021). Each
67 hazard was evaluated separately and their results compared, with duplicated results not
68 included.

69 Further, to counter any overestimates that might occur where articles are not discussing a
70 weather hazard but are using the term to describe something else, the approach taken is to
71 look at the first 100 articles headlines and remove articles not discussing a weather hazard.
72 Examples included articles discussing 'Goal droughts', 'NFL Storm' and 'Glass Animals single
73 Heatwave'. Then, this proportion of articles was removed from the overall total, giving a new
74 overall count of articles. For example, for Storms in 2017, the initial search returned 6.31
75 million articles, but 21 out of the first 100 were not about the weather hazard. Therefore,
76 21% of the total articles were removed leaving 4.98 million articles.

77 Limitations of this method do remain it can still capture articles not explicitly about the
78 weather hazard, however, this is limited by the proportional approach taken. In addition, it is
79 only likely to capture the English news media and will give a slightly different number of
80 articles between users. As such it is recommended that further in-depth research should be
81 carried out looking at news media sentiment.

82

83

84

85



86 **2.2 EM-DAT Hazard Reporting**

87 To supplement the findings of the advanced google search, we use another source of data in
88 keeping with open science, the emergency events database (EM-DAT). EM-DAT is the leading
89 international disaster database, it contains details of over 22,000 mass disasters worldwide
90 since 1900 and is compiled from a range of sources including UN agencies and Non-
91 Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (CRED, 2020). This provides us with an overview of the
92 number of weather hazards that have occurred every year for the last 5 years. This then allows
93 us to assess on average how many articles have been written about each weather hazard.
94 Table 1 shows a count of the weather hazards considered by this study included in EM-DAT
95 (CRED, 2020).

96 *Table 1: Displaying the total number of disaster reported per weather hazard for the last 5*
97 *years as reported by EM-DAT (CRED, 2020).*

<i>Weather Hazard</i>	<i>Number of Disasters reported in the last 5 years</i>
Drought	64
Flood	865
Heat wave	38
Storm	557
Wildfire	66
Total	1590

98

99 Limitations of this method are that there are biases and under-reporting of hazards by this
100 database(Brimicombe et al., 2021a; Gall et al., 2009). In addition, this database only includes
101 hazards that are considered a disaster, where an agency declares a state of emergency, or
102 where it is reported that over 100 people have been affected(CRED, 2020). However, it
103 remains the most comprehensive source of reported weather hazards (Brimicombe et al.,
104 2021a; Gall et al., 2009).

105

106

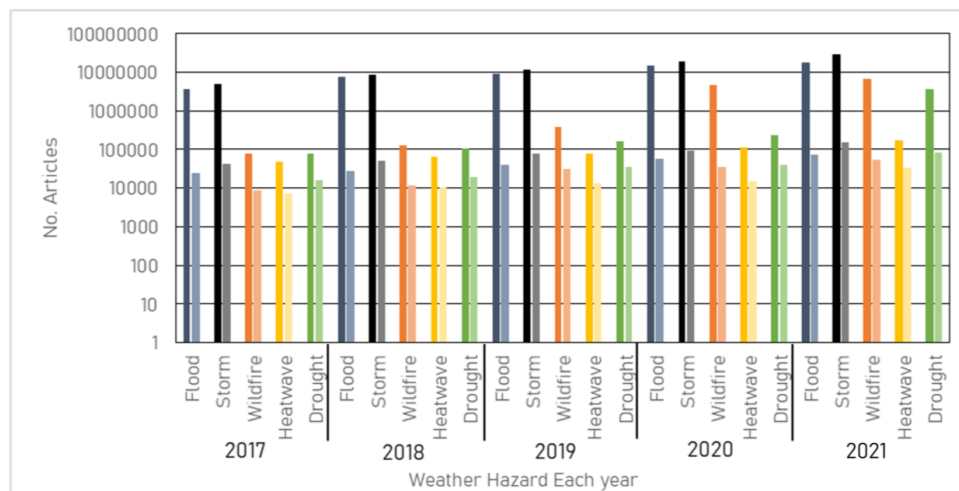
107



108 **3. Results**

109 **3.1 Overall number of articles has increased**

110 In total since 2017, over 142 million articles have been written by the English language news
111 media about weather hazards. There has also been an increase in the number of English
112 language news media articles for all weather hazards. Per year storms have the most articles,
113 whilst heat waves have the least number of articles (Figure 1). The ranking of the total number
114 of articles for each weather hazard type is storms, floods, wildfire, drought and heat wave.
115 28.1 million articles are about storms, whereas 169k articles are about heat waves in 2021
116 (Figure 1).



117

118 *Figure 1: Displays number of articles (on a logarithmic scale) per hazard per year for 2017 to*
119 *2021. The darker colour indicates overall article numbers whilst the lighter colour indicates*
120 *only articles that contain the weather hazard and climate change as its subject.*

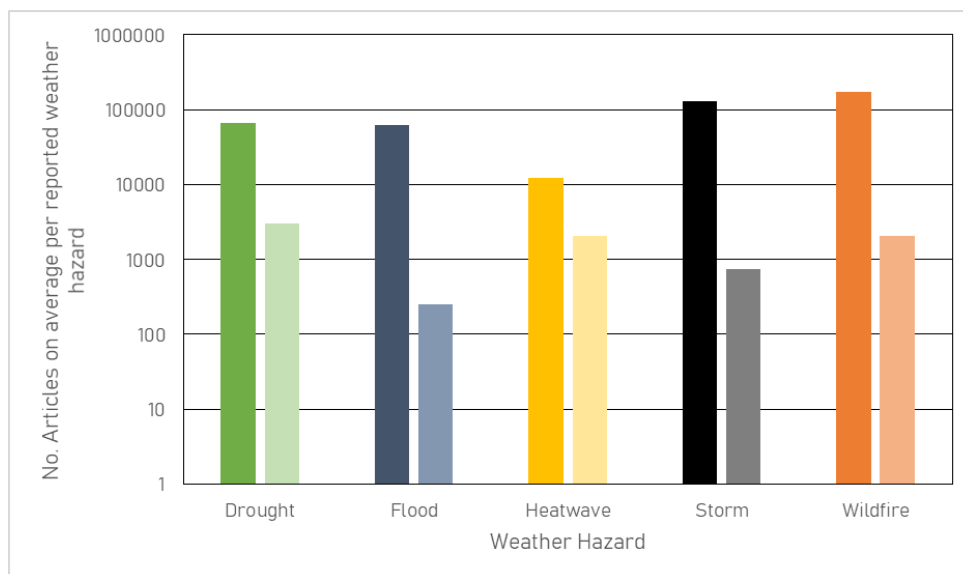
121

122 Fewer articles are about weather hazards and climate change at over 1.03 million. The
123 number of articles about weather hazards and climate change has increased (Figure 1). Per
124 year storms have the most articles, whilst heat waves have the least number of articles for
125 weather hazards and climate change. In addition, the ranking of the number of articles for
126 each weather hazard type is storms, floods, wildfire, drought and heat wave. In 2021, 149k
127 articles include storms and climate change whereas 32k mention heat waves and climate
128 change (Figure 1).



129 **3.2 Per hazard occurrence wildfire has the greatest number of articles**

130 The results in section 3.1 change when the number of articles is considered as a proportion
131 of the number of weather hazards reported in EM-DAT in table 1. Overall, on average for each
132 individual weather hazard, 89k articles were written, however, the picture for each hazard
133 varies widely. On average per wildfire, there have been 175k articles in the last 5 years (Figure
134 2). The weather hazard with on average the least number of articles per weather hazard
135 occurrence over the last 5 years are heat waves with 12k articles (Figure 2). The ranking of
136 the number of articles on average per weather hazard occurrence is wildfire, storm, drought,
137 flood and then heat wave.



138

139 *Figure 2: displaying on average the total number of articles per reported weather hazard in*
140 *EM-DAT for the last 5 years (Logarithmic scale). Dark colours are all weather hazard articles,*
141 *whilst lighter colours are articles also including climate change.*

142

143

144

145

146



147 **3.3 Individual droughts have the most articles discussing climate change**

148 Overall, on average for each individual weather hazard, 650 articles were written that also
149 consider climate change, however as with all weather hazard articles the picture for each
150 hazard varies widely. On average per drought, there have been 3k articles in the last 5 years
151 (Figure 2). The weather hazard with on average the least number of articles per weather
152 hazard occurrence over the last 5 years are floods with 200 articles (Figure 2). The ranking of
153 the number of articles that also consider climate change on average per weather hazard
154 occurrence is drought, wildfire, heat wave, storm, floods.

155

156

157

158

159

160

161

162

163

164

165

166

167

168

169

170

171



172 **4. Discussion**

173 Heat waves have the least amount of news media articles. This should not be of surprise given
174 other research demonstrating the consistent underreporting of this weather hazard
175 (Harrington and Otto, 2020; Vogel et al., 2019). It however, may be of surprise given the
176 number of record-breaking heat waves during recent years such as the June 2021 Pacific
177 North-West heat wave which was found likely to of been impossible without Climate Change
178 (Sjoukje Philip et al., 2021).

179 How notable events or weather hazards get attention and are reported is subject to
180 ‘newsworthiness’, which can also be known as the political economy between society and the
181 media (Boykoff and Yulsman, 2013; Kitzinger, 1999). This is made up of 4 main factors: *the*
182 *availability effect/heuristic which is if a hazard is presented as risk before it is more likely to*
183 *be remembered in this manner, stories from impacted groups, geographically bound and are*
184 *visually impactful* (Kitzinger, 1999; Tomlinson et al., 2011). The results of this study show that
185 the hazards that fit the criteria the most were storms which have the most articles by quantity
186 and wildfires that have the most articles per individual occurrence.

187 In addition, this study’s results highlight a huge reporting bias in favour of storms and wildfire
188 in the news media. This attention bias in the overall number of reports has a material cost
189 where storms receive more research, funding and policy than other hazards (Brimicombe et
190 al., 2021b; Harrington and Otto, 2020; Howarth and Brooks, 2017; Vogel et al., 2019).
191 However, despite ranking second in terms of the overall number of articles, per individual
192 occurrence floods have the least number of articles. This is something that should be explored
193 further in a news media sentiment study.

194 In addition, the number of articles on average per individual weather hazard that also
195 considers climate change is not following the ‘newsworthiness’ criteria and therefore
196 drought, wildfire and heat waves have the most articles. Instead, the media can be suggested
197 to follow the science where it is seen these hazards are easier to attribute to climate change
198 than floods or storms (Ciavarella et al., 2020; Kreienkamp et al., 2021). Whilst the media does
199 have a moral obligation and plays a key role in communicating climate risk, how science, the
200 public and those in position of power communicates climate change has influence on what is



201 portrayed by the media (Boykoff and Yulsman, 2013; van der Hel et al., 2018; Howarth and
202 Anderson, 2019).

203 Therefore, it could be suggested that this reporting of climate change has come about by the
204 increasing collaboration between science and the media examples include Science Media
205 Centre, The Conversation and Voice of Young Science. This comes in spite of the discourse
206 around the role of science in both communication and policy spaces (Boykoff and Yulsman,
207 2013; Pielke, 2007).

208

209 **5. Conclusion**

210 The English News Media has a bias for weather hazards and climate change. Storm articles
211 have the largest total for the last five years, whilst wildfires have the most article per
212 individual hazard occurrence.

213 In comparison, storms have the most articles that also consider climate change. But, per
214 individual occurrence, drought articles is highest. Heat waves remain under-reported by the
215 English news media. Interestingly the number of flood articles is high. However, they are the
216 least reported per individual hazard. Exploring this along with the sentiment of news
217 reporting about weather hazards would be beneficial.

218 Weather hazards reporting remains subject to the newsworthiness factor and the political
219 economy of the media and society. The relationship between the media and science is
220 changing with climate change. Overall, the media should report the risk of climate change and
221 weather hazards. Science has a supporting role to play through collaborations with the media.

222 **Disclosure Statement:**

223 *The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.*

224 **Data availability:**

225 All data is available via advance Google searches and the EM-DAT database.

226

227



228 **References**

- 229 Armeni, K., Brinkman, L., Carlsson, R., Eerland, A., Fijten, R., Fondberg, R., Heininga, V. E.,
230 Heunis, S., Koh, W. Q., Masselink, M., Moran, N., Baoill, A., Sarafoglou, A., Schettino, A.,
231 Schwamm, H., Sjoerds, Z., Teperek, M., van den Akker, O. R., van't Veer, A. and Zurita-Milla,
232 R.: Towards wide-scale adoption of open science practices: The role of open science
233 communities, *Sci. Public Policy*, 48(5), 605–611, doi:10.1093/SCIPOL/SCAB039, 2021.
- 234 Boykoff, M. T. and Yulsman, T.: Political economy, media, and climate change: Sinews of
235 modern life, *Wiley Interdiscip. Rev. Clim. Chang.*, 4(5), 359–371, doi:10.1002/WCC.233,
236 2013.
- 237 Brimicombe, C., Napoli, C. Di, Cornforth, R., Pappenberger, F., Petty, C. and Cloke, H. L.:
238 Borderless Heat Hazards With Bordered Impacts, *Earth's Futur.*, 9(9), e2021EF002064,
239 doi:10.1029/2021EF002064, 2021a.
- 240 Brimicombe, C., Porter, J. J., Di Napoli, C., Pappenberger, F., Cornforth, R., Petty, C. and
241 Cloke, H. L.: Heatwaves: An invisible risk in UK policy and research, *Environ. Sci. Policy*, 116,
242 1–7, doi:10.1016/j.envsci.2020.10.021, 2021b.
- 243 Ciavarella, A., Cotterill, D., Stott, P., Kew, S., Philip, S., van Oldenborgh, G. J., Skålevåg, A.,
244 Robin, Y., Otto, F., Hauser, M., Seneviratne, S. I., Lehner, F. and Zolina, O.: Siberian heatwave
245 of 2020 almost impossible without climate change, 2020.
- 246 CRED: EM-DAT | The international disasters database, EM-DAT [online] Available from:
247 <https://www.emdat.be/> (Accessed 15 June 2020), 2020.
- 248 Gall, M., Borden, K. A. and Cutter, S. L.: When do losses count?, *Bull. Am. Meteorol. Soc.*,
249 90(6), 799–809, doi:10.1175/2008BAMS2721.1, 2009.
- 250 Gao, S., Zhu, L., Zhang, W. and Shen, X.: Western North Pacific Tropical Cyclone Activity in
251 2018: A Season of Extremes, *Sci. Reports* 2020 101, 10(1), 1–9, doi:10.1038/s41598-020-
252 62632-5, 2020.
- 253 Harrington, L. J. and Otto, F. E. L.: Reconciling theory with the reality of African heatwaves,
254 *Nat. Clim. Chang.*, 1–3, doi:10.1038/s41558-020-0851-8, 2020.
- 255 van der Hel, S., Hellsten, I. and Steen, G.: Tipping Points and Climate Change: Metaphor
256 Between Science and the Media, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2017.1410198>, 12(5),
257 605–620, doi:10.1080/17524032.2017.1410198, 2018.
- 258 Höjjer, B.: Emotional anchoring and objectification in the media reporting on climate
259 change, *Public Underst. Sci.*, 19(6), 717–731, doi:10.1177/0963662509348863, 2010.
- 260 Howarth, C. and Anderson, A.: Increasing Local Salience of Climate Change: The Un-tapped
261 Impact of the Media-science Interface, *Environ. Commun.*, 13(6), 713–722,
262 doi:10.1080/17524032.2019.1611615/SUPPL_FILE/RENC_A_1611615_SM7853.PDF, 2019.
- 263 Howarth, C. and Brooks, K.: Decision-Making and Building Resilience to Nexus Shocks
264 Locally: Exploring Flooding and Heatwaves in the UK, *Sustain.* 2017, Vol. 9, Page 838, 9(5),
265 838, doi:10.3390/SU9050838, 2017.
- 266 Kitinger, J.: Researching risk and the media, *Heal. Risk Soc.*, 1(1), 55–69,



- 267 doi:10.1080/13698579908407007, 1999.
- 268 Kreienkamp, F., Philip, S. Y., Tradowsky, J. S., Kew, S. F., Lorenz, P., Arrighi, J., Belleflamme,
269 A., Bettmann, T., Caluwaerts, S., Chan, S. C., Ciavarella, A., De Cruz, L., de Vries, H., Demuth,
270 N., Ferrone, A., Fischer, E. M., Fowler, H. J., Goergen, K., Heinrich, D., Henrichs, Y.,
271 Lenderink, G., Kaspar, F., Nilson, E. and L Otto, F. E.: Rapid attribution of heavy rainfall
272 events leading to the severe flooding in Western Europe during July 2021, *World Weather*
273 *Attrib.*, 13, 18 [online] Available from: [https://www.meteo.be/fr/infos/actualite/ce-que-lon-](https://www.meteo.be/fr/infos/actualite/ce-que-lon-sait-sur-les-pluies-)
274 [sait-sur-les-pluies-](https://www.meteo.be/fr/infos/actualite/ce-que-lon-sait-sur-les-pluies-) (Accessed 26 August 2021), 2021.
- 275 Meah, N.: Climate uncertainty and policy making—what do policy makers want to know?,
276 *Reg. Environ. Chang.*, 19(6), 1611–1621, doi:10.1007/s10113-019-01492-w, 2019.
- 277 Nosek, B. A., Alter, G., Banks, G. C., Borsboom, D., Bowman, S. D., Breckler, S. J., Buck, S.,
278 Chambers, C. D., Chin, G., Christensen, G., Contestabile, M., Dafoe, A., Eich, E., Freese, J.,
279 Glennerster, R., Goroff, D., Green, D. P., Hesse, B., Humphreys, M., Ishiyama, J., Karlan, D.,
280 Kraut, A., Lupia, A., Mabry, P., Madon, T. A., Malhotra, N., Mayo-Wilson, E., McNutt, M.,
281 Miguel, E., Paluck, E. L., Simonsohn, U., Soderberg, C., Spellman, B. A., Turitto, J.,
282 VandenBos, G., Vazire, S., Wagenmakers, E. J., Wilson, R. and Yarkoni, T.: Promoting an open
283 research culture, *Science* (80-.), 348(6242), doi:10.1126/science.aab2374, 2015.
- 284 Petersen, A. M., Vincent, E. M. and Westerling, A. L. R.: Discrepancy in scientific authority
285 and media visibility of climate change scientists and contrarians, *Nat. Commun.* 2019 101,
286 10(1), 1–14, doi:10.1038/s41467-019-09959-4, 2019.
- 287 Pielke, R. A.: *The honest broker : making sense of science in policy and politics*, 1st ed.,
288 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge., 2007.
- 289 Porter, J. J. and Evans, G.: Unreported world: A critical analysis of UK newspaper coverage of
290 post-disaster events, *Geogr. J.*, 186(3), 327–338, doi:10.1111/GEOJ.12353, 2020.
- 291 Science Media Centre: Science Media Centre, *Sci. Media Cent.* [online] Available from:
292 <https://www.sciencemediacentre.org/> (Accessed 23 January 2022), 2022.
- 293 Sjoukje Philip, Y., Kew, S. F., Jan van Oldenborgh, G., Yang, W., Vecchi, G. A., Anslow, F. S., Li,
294 S., Seneviratne, S. I., Luu, L. N., Arrighi, J., Singh, R., van Aalst, M., Hauser, M., Schumacher,
295 D. L., Pereira Marghidan, C., Ebi, K. L., Bonnet, R., Vautard, R., Tradowsky, J., Coumou, D.,
296 Lehner, F., Wehner, M., Rodell, C., Stull, R., Howard, R., Gillett, N. and L Otto, F. E.: Rapid
297 attribution analysis of the extraordinary heatwave on the Pacific Coast of the US and Canada
298 June 2021, *World Weather Attrib.* [online] Available from:
299 <https://public.wmo.int/en/media/news/june-ends-exceptional-heat> (Accessed 26 August
300 2021), 2021.
- 301 Sullivan, H.: Summer of fire: blazes burn across Mediterranean with more extreme weather
302 forecast , *Guard.* [online] Available from:
303 [https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/13/summer-of-fire-blazes-](https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/13/summer-of-fire-blazes-mediterranean-more-extreme-weather-forecast)
304 [mediterranean-more-extreme-weather-forecast](https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/13/summer-of-fire-blazes-mediterranean-more-extreme-weather-forecast) (Accessed 26 August 2021), 2021.
- 305 The Conversation: The Conversation: In-depth analysis, research, news and ideas from
306 leading academics and researchers., *Conversat.* [online] Available from:
307 <https://theconversation.com/uk> (Accessed 23 January 2022), 2022.



- 308 Tomlinson, C. J., Chapman, L., Thornes, J. E. and Baker, C. J.: Including the urban heat island
309 in spatial heat health risk assessment strategies: A case study for Birmingham, UK, *Int. J.*
310 *Health Geogr.*, 10, doi:10.1186/1476-072X-10-42, 2011.
- 311 Vogel, M. M., Zscheischler, J., Wartenburger, R., Dee, D. and Seneviratne, S. I.: Concurrent
312 2018 Hot Extremes Across Northern Hemisphere Due to Human-Induced Climate Change,
313 *Earth's Futur.*, 7(7), 692–703, doi:10.1029/2019EF001189, 2019.
- 314 Voice of Young Science: Voice of Young Science – Sense About Science, *Voice Young Sci.*
315 [online] Available from: <https://senseaboutscience.org/what-we-are-doing/voys/> (Accessed
316 23 January 2022), 2022.
- 317 Wilby, R. L. and Vaughan, K.: Hallmarks of organisations that are adapting to climate change,
318 *Water Environ. J.*, 25(2), 271–281, doi:10.1111/J.1747-6593.2010.00220.X, 2011.
- 319