REGAINING CONTROL OVER NATURE OR LEARNING TO LIVE IN HARMONY WITH IT: MEDIA FRAMING OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AMIDST THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

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ABSTRACT:

At the time of the global crisis caused by COVID-19, when people become more open to changing their lifestyle and mindset, the Ukrainian online news media adjust the way they present environmental issues by relying more on messages that speak to people's attitudes and values. This study considers linguistic (evaluative and figurative expressions, facticity and evidentiality markers) and non-linguistic means (visuals) which Ukrainian newsmakers use in directing readers' attention and offering them a particular perspective on environmental issues. At the time of the coronavirus pandemic, the main 'sustainable' frames supported by the Ukrainian online media are those of resilience and pragmatism of individuals, their collaboration and mutual support, collective efficacy in bringing positive environmental changes, strength of the Ukrainian government initiating the changes and ensuring their implementation. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Ukrainian news outlets show themselves sensitive to the shifting perceptions of public and planetary health, attempting to enrich the national idea by ecological thinking, which presupposes a new ecological culture of co-existence.

KEY WORDS:

COVID-19 pandemic, environment, framing, online news media, Ukraine

1 Introduction

The weight of all COVID-19 viruses on our planet put together adds up to just a small fraction of a gram – less than a butterfly wing.[1] Yet this microscopic being, invisible to the naked eye, has produced 'the butterfly

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1   WACKERNAGEL, M.: Lessons from the Coronavirus? In ALMOND, R., GROOTEN, M., PETERSEN, T. (eds.): *Living Planet Report 2020 – Bending the Curve of Biodiversity Loss*. Gland : WWF, 2020, p. 22. [online]. [2021-08-03]. Available at: <https://f.hubspotusercontent20.net/hubfs/4783129/LPR/PDFs/ENGLISH-FULL.pdf>.

effect'[2] upon humanity, disrupting the economic, political, social, and private lives of people all over the world. The environment belongs among the areas affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, though this connection is out of the limelight in mass media coverage.

Connections of the coronavirus pandemic with the natural environment are manifold and complex: the pandemic has been found to exert both positive and negative influences on nature. Among the negative impacts is the increase in organic (household garbage) and inorganic (disposable masks and latex gloves) waste, which aggravates the already existing pollution problem. A positive influence of the coronavirus pandemic, which has virtually become a truism, is making the ecological footprint per person smaller, bending the global curve of greenhouse gas emissions by 5 or 6% in 2020 as compared with 2019.[3] However, this improvement cannot be considered as progress since the global crisis caused by the pandemic has brought economic and moral hardships to people, depriving them of the possibility to live their usual lives. Moreover, there is reason to believe that when the pandemic is over, the detrimental influence upon nature will grow in proportion[4] since people will attempt to catch up the ground lost in the battle with COVID-19. These positive and negative influences of the COVID-19 pandemic on the environment are direct short-term effects arising from human activity. Yet there are also longer-lasting impacts that concern not so much the material sphere, as people's values and mindset.[5] It is obvious that the coronavirus pandemic is causing a rebooting of the global social system;[6] in particular, changing people's attitude to the natural world of which they are part.

In contrast to the state of things in the USA and United Kingdom, Ukrainians' concern about environmental issues is not tracked closely at the official level. However, an indirect answer to the question of whether Ukrainians believe that the change in sustainable practices is really needed can be obtained from the analysis of mass media. This study evolves round two main sets of questions: 1) which environmental issues receive the most attention in Ukrainian news media at the time of the coronavirus pandemic; 2) how these issues are framed in news texts on the Ukrainian online news platform *Ukrinform*. It argues that in its coverage of environmental issues, *Ukrinform* proceeds from the assumption that personal experience of the COVID-19 pandemic has increased Ukrainians' awareness of broader issues, in particular, sustainability of their everyday choices.

Structurally, the text consists of five parts: (1) introduction, (2) context and theoretical toolkit, (3) sample and methods, (4) results and discussion, (5) conclusion. The part that follows this introduction presents the Strategy of Ukraine's Environmental Policy and the theoretical concepts necessary for analysing how news messages are framed. The methodological part describes the sample and methods of studying framing in online news texts. It is followed by the presentation of results and discussion. The conclusion summarises the findings and outlines prospects for further investigations in this direction. The results of this study may be of interest to linguists and those engaged in media and communication research. However, knowledge about Ukrainian online media framing of environmental issues is not of theoretical importance only: it may turn out to be helpful to those affected by the scourge of the COVID-19 pandemic who are currently in search of reference points in a world that has been undergoing profound social changes.

2 Context and Theoretical Toolkit

On 28th February 2019, The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Ukrainian Parliament) adopted the Law "On the Basic Principles (Strategy) of Ukraine's Environmental Policy for the Period till 2030".[7] The main aim of the Strategy is threefold: (1) to identify and systematise environmental challenges and threats; (2) to define the main tools of state ecological policy; (3) to formulate strategic goals and objectives of state environmental policy. The environmental challenges of Ukraine in the third decade of the 21st century are listed in the Strategy in the following order:
1. air quality;
2. climate change:
3. water conservation;
4. protection of land;
5. forest protection;
6. mineral resources;
7. emergencies;
8. exclusion zone and obligatory resettlement zone;
9. ecological problems of Donbas;
10. waste management;
11. biosafety;
12. biological and landscape diversity.[8]

Communicating the state environmental policy to people is the responsibility of the state-owned Ukrainian mass media which follow the strategic lines drawn by the government. They present the Strategy of Ukraine's environmental development in a reader-friendly manner by considering cases relevant to different objectives of the Strategy, or, in other words, setting the respective agenda. Agenda-setting theory, according to Linström and Marais, explains why in the public mind one issue becomes more salient than another.[9] However, this agenda-setting approach disregards a lot of important contextual information about the issue under consideration. Explicating this information in a structured way is the task of framing theory.

The term "frame" has various definitions. In social sciences, it is usually treated in the Goffmanian sense – as a structure of interpretation which gives one an idea of 'what is going on here'.[10] Media and communication studies (for example, Gamson)[11] specify the research question in the following way: "How are issues constructed by mass media?" Working within this perspective, Entman investigates how a particular media framing of an issue produces a particular result.[12] The focus is on the way journalists present information in order to elicit a particular picture of the world in the mind of the reader presupposes, in particular, close attention to linguistic means. Thus, the research problem of media framing belongs to the areas of both media and linguistic analysis.

2   Remark by authors: According to the Chaos theory, trivial things, such as a butterfly flapping its wings in the Amazon jungle, can have a life-changing effect upon many, for example, triggering a chain of events that cause a storm to devastate half of Europe.
3   ROCKSTR M, J., WARSZAWSKI, L.: Global Pandemic Writes a Prescription for Planetary Health. In ALMOND, R., GROOTEN, M., PETERSEN, T. (eds.): *Living Planet Report 2020 – Bending the Curve of Biodiversity Loss*. Gland : WWF, 2020, p. 12. [online]. [2021-08-03]. Available at: <https://f.hubspotusercontent20.net/hubfs/4783129/LPR/PDFs/ENGLISH-FULL.pdf>.
4   CARRINGTON, D., KOMMENDA, N.: *Air Pollution in China Back to Pre-COVID Levels and Europe May Follow*. Released on 3rd June 2020. [online]. [2021-08-04]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jun/03/air-pollution-in-china-back-to-pre-covid-levels-and-europe-may-follow>.
5   See: DEUZE, M.: The Role of Media and Mass Communication Theory in the Global Pandemic. In *Communication Today*, 2020, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 4-17.
6   KRAJČOVIČ, P.: Use of Media to Raise Awareness of Eco-Innovations. In *Communication Today*, 2019, Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 121.

7   *Law of Ukraine "About the Basic Principles (Strategy) of the State Environmental Policy of Ukraine for the Period till 2030" No. 2697-VII*, of 28th February 2019. [online]. [2021-08-12]. Available at: <https://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=115073#A5GQ0SGIE1>.
8   *Law of Ukraine "About the Basic Principles (Strategy) of the State Environmental Policy of Ukraine for the Period till 2030" No. 2697-VII*, of 28th February 2019. [online]. [2021-08-12]. Available at: <https://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=115073#A5GQ0SGIE1>.
9   LINSTRÖM, M., MARAIS, W.: Qualitative News Frame Analysis: A Methodology. In *Communitas*, 2012, Vol. 17, p. 22.
10   GOFFMAN, E.: *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston, Massachusetts : Northeastern University Press, 1986, p. 8.
11   GAMSON, W. A.: News as Framing. In *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1989, Vol. 33, No. 2, p. 157.
12   ENTMAN, R. M.: Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame after 9/11. In *Political Communication*, 2003, Vol. 20, No. 4, p. 415-432.

3 Sample and Methods

According to Linström and Marais,[13] when framing is applied to news media, the unit of analysis is usually the whole news text. In our case, news texts were considered together with the image(s) they contained, so the analysis presented here is multimodal in nature.

The sample was drawn from *Ukrinform* (the short name of *The National News Agency of Ukraine*), which is a Ukrainian state platform for news broadcasting.[14] Founded in 1918 as the Radio-Telegraph Agency of Ukraine (RATAU), it aimed at providing information exchange between Ukraine and other countries. During the time of the Soviet Union, the information space of Ukraine was dominated by the coloniser state – Russia, hence RATAU was subjugated to the Russian News Agency TASS. In 1991, when Ukraine declared its independence from the Soviet Union, the name RATAU was changed to *Ukrainian News Agency – Ukrinform*. Today, *Ukrinform* is a fully-fledged subject of the global information space,[15] carrying out its activities independently of political parties or public organisations. It covers topical events in every sphere of the country's life and of the global community, providing objective, timely and complete information to its readers. Most of the news texts are in the state language (Ukrainian), but the content of general interest is also given in Russian, English, German, French, Spanish, Polish, Chinese and/or Japanese. News items on *Ukrinform* are meant for a wide range of readers. The addresser (journalist), though physically a concrete person, acts as a representative of a state-owned multimedia company. The addressee is not institutionalised, though is likely to take an active social stance, willing to be informed of what is going on in both the Ukrainian national location and globally.

The sample was specified by entering the tag "ekologia" (Ukrainian for "ecology", Latin transliteration) on the *Ukrinform* site.[16] The search period was slightly more than a year: from March 2020 (when the World Health Organisation recognised COVID-19 as a pandemic) to April 2021. The search produced 173 shortline news texts about ecological problems in Ukraine. These were manually processed for the 'undercurrent' theme of the coronavirus pandemic, indicated by respective vocabulary items. Following the hyperlinks in these texts, we obtained 29 longreads in which an environmental problem was underpinned by the theme of the coronavirus pandemic. In their turn, these texts were hyperlinked to texts in other Ukrainian online media (*Racurs, Focus*, and *Gazeta*). In this way, a sub-sample of 51 longreads was formed.

Each news item on *Ukrinform* has a standard layout: it comprises a timestamp, a visual image (usually a photograph) and an inline frame which contains the thesis and the source of information (if available). Most news texts on *Ukrinform* have a hypertextual structure characteristic of web resources. In such a way, the size of a news item expands considerably, embracing a vast thematic space. Hence, the information presented on *Ukrinform* is characterised by multimodal complexity (combination of textual and pictorial modes of presenting information) and interactivity (the reader has an opportunity to select a news item which is of interest to them, to go over the inline and decide whether to read further, check related sources, following the hyperlinks, google the image, etc.). By clicking on the image or inline, the reader gets access to the full text of the news item, which is 200 – 300 words long on average, but may be shorter (150 words) or longer (up to 550 words). For a typical layout of a news entry on *Ukrinform,* see Figure 1 (the layout, language, font style and colours as in the original). This *Ukrinform* entry features the following elements: the date of publication (20th April 2021), the visual image (snow falling over a blossoming tree in the foreground and a person under an umbrella in the background), the timestamp (20:51), the inline (*"The April 'February' or Where Is the Promised 'Global Warming'?"*) hyperlinked to the longline text, and the shortline text (*"Weathermen say that April is not so cold. They also add that a cool April is better for orchards than warm weather followed by frosts in May"*).
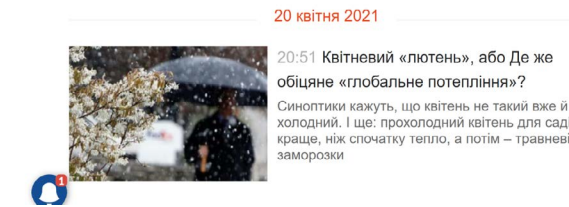

Figure 1: Layout of a news entry on Ukrinform
Source: ASHIROVA, Z.: The April 'February' or Where Is the Promised 'Global Warming'? Released on 20th April 2021. [online]. [2021-05-09]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/3231727-kvitnevij-luten-abo-de-ze-obicane-globalne-poteplinna.html>.

The excerpt of the news entry (*"The April 'February' or Where Is the Promised 'Global Warming'?"*) together with the photo, date (20th April 2021), and timestamp (20:51) is considered to be a new genre of online journalism – a newsbite.[17] It is linked to the full story hypertextually, which gives the reader an opportunity to decide whether to follow the link or not, thus meeting the present-day need for fast consumption of news.

Frame analysis of the news texts under consideration was done inductively, i.e., frames were identified by respective devices that news texts contained. According to Gamson and Lasch,[18] framing devices are symbolic means that suggest how to think about the issue. After scrutinising 10 randomly selected longreads, we identified framing devices which are the most characteristic of the theme under consideration since they have been registered in the majority of the texts under analysis, explicating the author's stance towards the problems addressed. They are: evaluative and figurative expressions, hedges and evidentiality markers, intertextual elements, and images.

4 Results and Discussion

Figure 2 presents quantitative data on environmentally oriented news addressing different topics on *Ukrinform* in 2020 – 2021.
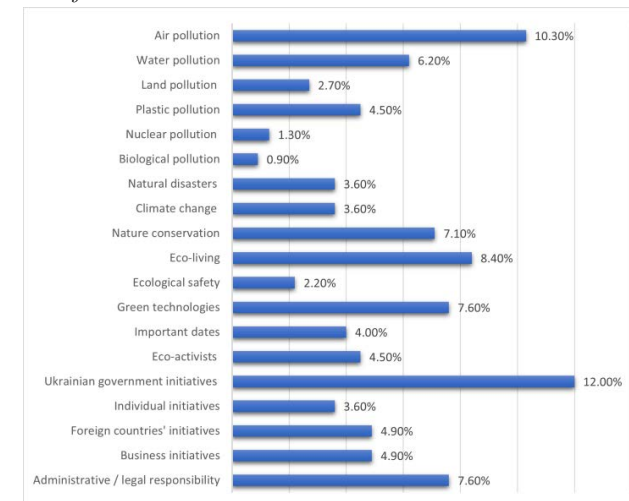

Figure 2: Thematic breakdown of news items addressing environmental topics on Ukrinform in 2020 – 2021
Source: Own processing

13   LINSTRÖM, M., MARAIS, W.: Qualitative News Frame Analysis: A Methodology. In *Communitas*, 2012, Vol. 17, p. 31.
14   *Information on Agency*. [online]. [2021-08-02]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.net/info/about_agency.html>.
15   FOMENKO, V. K.: Ukrinform: From an Object to a Subject of the World News Space. In *Messenger of V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University. "Social Communications" Series*, 2017, Vol. 16, p. 55.
16   UKRINFORM: *Ukrainian Multimedia Platform for Broadcasting*. [online]. [2021-05-01]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.net>.

17   KNOX, J.: Visual-Verbal Communication on Online Newspaper Home Pages. In *Visual Communication*, 2007, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 23.
18   GAMSON, W. A., LASCH, K. E.: The Political Culture of Social Welfare Policy. In SPIRO, S. E., YUTCHTMAN-YAAR, E. (eds.): *Evaluating the Welfare State: Social and Political Perspectives*. San Diego : Academic Press, 1983, p. 4.

The data in Figure 2, which reflects the agenda set by *Ukrinform*, demonstrates a certain lack of agreement with the salience of environmental problems as specified by the "Strategy of Ecological Development of Ukraine for the Period till 2030" (see above). The main points of agreement are air, water and land pollution, climate change giving up its slot to them, while the problems of the exclusion and obligatory resettlement zones, as well as the ecological problems of Donbas obviously lose in salience. Ukrainian government initiatives on tackling environmental problems are given considerable visibility. A possible explanation could be that when choosing which events to make more visible, journalists respond to the current concerns of their readers: in the time of COVID-19, the principle of 'the finite pool of worry' conditions the priority of issues connected with people's health during the coronavirus pandemic. However, the size of our sample (a total of 224 publications: 173 shortline news texts and 51 longreads) is indicative of the fact that the salience of environmental issues remained relatively high in 2020 – 2021. Figure 3 presents quantitative data on the correlation of environmentally oriented news on *Ukrinform* with the 'undercurrent' of COVID-19.
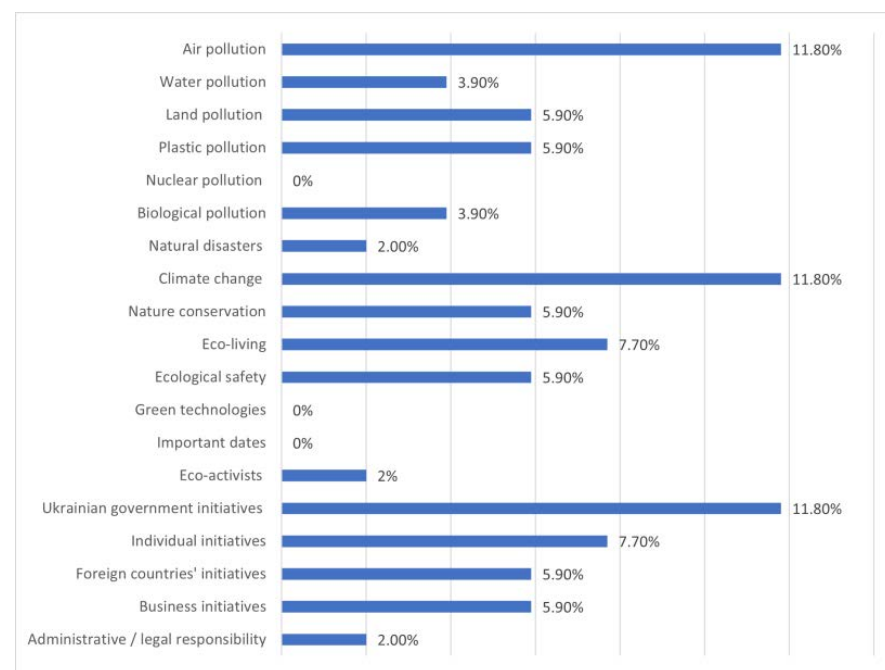

Figure 3: Thematic breakdown of news texts addressing environmental topics on Ukrinform in 2020 – 2021 and underpinned by the topic of COVID-19
Source: Own processing

As the data in Figure 3 shows, the environmental topics considered in one and the same context with COVID-19 most often are: air pollution, climate change, and Ukrainian government initiatives. Notably, the topic of climate change gains in salience when considered in one context with the theme of the coronavirus pandemic. It could be explained by the recently appeared tendency of Ukrainian news media to draw parallels between the planetary and human health. The salience given to government initiatives could be explained by the desire of mass media to give people some reference points at the time of uncertainty and fear that the coronavirus pandemic has brought.

However, the agenda-setting analysis of the environmental topics does not provide a sufficient amount of information on how issues are defined and reduced to meaningful leitmotifs. This is done here by applying a more nuanced tool – framing analysis, i.e., scrutinising a number of framing devices that organise information in news texts, such as evaluative and figurative linguistic expressions, facticity and evidentiality markers and visual images, etc.

Since online news texts are essentially narrative, the categories of author and reader merit attention. In *Ukrinform* news texts, there are no references to the reader, which suggests that the principle of objectivity and neutrality, which is inherited by the online news from printed news, is strictly observed. There are no explicit references to the individual author (a particular journalist) either, but references to the collective author (*Ukrinform)* are quite common; for example, a metonymic reference to the outlet in the denotation of its employee: as a Ukrinform correspondent reports. When hyperlinks are used, the author denotation type changes: references to individual authors become quite common.

Evaluative modalities (positive, didactic, negative, critical, etc.)[19] are actualised in the texts under consideration with the help of different means: evaluative lexis, constructive cases, presupposition triggers, etc. The number of canonic evaluative words – epithets – is quite limited in our sample: about 5% contain evaluative lexis in headlines, even smaller is the proportion of evaluative expressions in journalists' narrative. Evaluative lexis in the subjective judgements of people whose words are quoted, however, is higher, making about 7%. Among the evaluative lexis, negatively coloured attributes (*awful, shocking, terrible, deadly*, etc.) and predicates (*die, kill, poison*, etc.) prevail. Images resonate with the verbal means, amplifying their effect. The newsbite in Figure 4 illustrates the point.
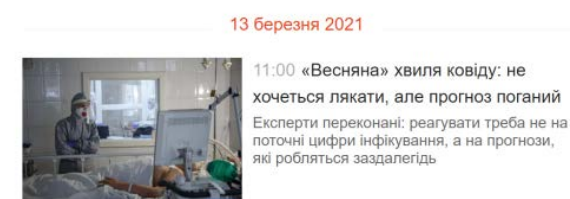

Figure 4: Evaluative lexis in Ukrinform
Source: GORBAN, Y.: The 'Spring Wave` of COVID: We Don't Want to Scare Anyone, but the Prognosis Is Bad. Released on 13th March 2021. [online]. [2021-09-09]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/3207405-vesnana-hvila-kovidu-ne-hocetsa-lakati-ale-prognoz-poganij.html>.

The text contains a verbal phrase with a negative connotation *"we don't want to scare anyone"*, the meaning of which is reinforced with the view of intensive care wards with patients, where doctors do not seem to be doing anything. There is ground to believe that exposure to the deadly COVID-19 disease results in increased fear of perceived threats. However, *Ukrinform* cannot be said to be spreading panic among its readers: rather, negative emotions are motivators of personal engagement and constructive action. Praising attributes are not characteristic of the news texts under study, but positive colouring is imparted to factual information with the help of brightly coloured close-up shots; for example, of children's dancing balls in the capital, blossoming trees or flowers in bloom. The share of constructive materials on the platform is quite high (about 17%). Such materials include, for instance, micromobility (using bicycles and scooters), rapid progress of medicine and natural sciences on the whole, waking up people's awareness of their health and responsibility for it, etc. Explicitly stated facts, for instance, that human pernicious influence on natural habitat, reinforced by global warming, increases the risk of spill-over of animal viruses to people, are repeated in a number of publications. They carry a message that in order to survive, humanity needs to re-evaluate their relationship with nature.

'Punchy' facts are capable of triggering presuppositions, i.e., the background knowledge of people, connected with positive or negative judgements, for example, *"(...) a person swallows one credit card a day and one plastic coat hanger a month. All this is microplastic that gets into the human body with water and food; (...) every day each of us eats and inhales about 1 gram of plastic"*. In order to be able to evoke the right kind of evaluative stance of the reader, the journalist should anticipate the scope of their background and contextual knowledge (e.g., that plastic that gets into one's body is detrimental to one's health).

19   PINICH, I.: Pragmatics of Emotionality in Discourse Processing: Prolegomena to Ideology Shaping Engines. In *Lege Artis. Language Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 2017, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 264.

Figurative language in our sample is underpinned by the 'military' and 'natural disaster' conceptual metaphors, the latter drawing on such source concepts as FIRE, FLOOD, ANIMAL, PLAGUE, etc. (for a recent detailed analysis see Panasenko et al.).[20] Such conceptual imagery tells human stories highlighting the fragility of human and planetary health and the necessity to take better care of both. Conceptual metaphors instantiated in language also occur in visual representations.[21] An illustration of this phenomenon is a photo (Figure 5) of a pile of plastic bottles that occupy the whole picture frame, thus presupposing the idea of boundlessness. The blue colour of plastic suggests a comparison with the ocean, which is supported verbally (*the ocean of plastic).*

Figure 5: Multimodal conceptual metaphor (verbal/visual)
Source: RUDIACHENKO, O.: 2021 – 2030 A Blue Dream in the Ocean of Plastic. Released on 13th August 2021. [online]. [2021-09-09]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-technology/3295306-ci-mozna-plastikovu-plasku-peretvoriti-znovu-na-naftu-gaz-ci-vugilla.html>.

As it becomes clear from the shortline, the "blue dream" (which is Ukrainian for *shimmering dream)* is about turning plastic bottles back into natural resources – oil, gas, coal. Facticity of statements is known to vary from 'true' through 'uncertain' to 'false'. *Ukrinform* makes a point for not propagating fakes, drawing most of the information from official sources (briefings, laws and regulations, etc.). It quotes only trusted voices of experts (such as medical professionals and scientists), political leaders, government officials, and – occasionally – celebrities. The involvement of the latter can be explained by the factor of 'like-mindedness': when ordinary people hear the voices of those in the spotlight and yet with the same values and identity, talking about the benefits of new activities and ways of life, information shifts from the abstract plane to the concrete. In particular, one of the ideas promoted in this way is that 'going back to normal' is not an alternative any longer: each person should learn to live in a changed physical and social environment. Credibility of news is enhanced by including links to reliable sources and images.

Visual images found on *Ukrinform* are photographs of people (portraits and groups), landscapes and cityscapes, aerial photos, eloquent details (close-ups), scans of documents, etc. No images reprinted from other outlets have been registered in our corpus, which can be accounted for by the limited funding of journalism in Ukraine. The share of posed photographs of politicians is not great, though they are present. However, visuals of real people doing real things (Figure 6) prevail; thus, the concept of people collaborating is reinforced.
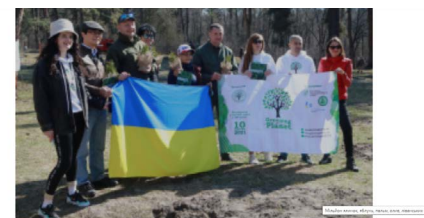
Figure 6: A photo on Ukrinform reinforcing the idea of people's collaboration
Source: SHEVCHENKO, V.: One Million of Fir-Trees, Apple Trees, Palms, Olives and Lebanese Cedars. Released on 12th April 2021. [online]. [2021-09-09]. Available at: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/3225966-miljon-alinok-ablun-palm-oliv-livanskih-kedriv.html>.

Visual images capture attention immediately, providing a particular tonality right away. They can intensify the modality of the text (resonate with it) or contradict it. Quite often, images symbolise the entity or event described in the text. An important function of a symbolic image is making invisible things (e.g., revolting smell) visually perceptible (e.g., smoking factory pipes which pollute the air, oozing sewage, etc.). Being an abstract concept, the environment is represented metonymically, as forest, soil, water, or sky. Similarly, COVID-19 has *"yielded remarkably little powerful photography"*,[22] and in our sample it is represented by metonymic images of people, hospital wards, face masks or even bats.

5 Conclusion

Ukrainian people, like all people around the world, have experienced both the negatives (health risk, economic recession, financial problems) and positives (reduced carbon footprint, smaller air and water pollution) of lockdowns. This experience has given them an awareness of the risks of a consumerist attitude to nature and the benefits of sustainable living.

The analysis of our data has shown that during the coronavirus pandemic the issue of environmental protection in Ukraine has remained topical, though the salience of different environmental challenges has changed. The biggest challenges in the time of the coronavirus pandemic are the environmental pollution problem and climate change. Meeting these challenges envisages three main groups of responsibility: 1) state and regional administration (acting in accord, enacting laws and regulations, financing); 2) businesses; 3) individuals. It applies to measures to reduce air and water pollution, and changes in public administration through the introduction of environmental norms and standards.

Ukrinform selects the events to be covered not just automatically following state guidance, but selecting them according to the principle of closeness to the readers' interests. Readers actively participate in making sense of the information they get via different channels. Though the style of news is mostly neutral, creating the atmosphere of objectivity and lack of bias, an experienced reader is capable of recognising the author's stance (selecting the events and supporting details as well as the visual component). The outlet focuses on constructive materials, reducing the share of emotive and evaluative judgements in order not to cause growth of panic and fear. Taking into account that in the time of an acute crisis – the coronavirus pandemic – people become more open to changing their everyday choices, their lifestyle on the whole, *Ukrinform* propagates new framings of pro-environmental behaviour: the resilience and pragmatism of individuals, their collaboration and mutual support and their collective efficacy in bringing positive environmental changes.

20   PANASENKO, N. et al.: COVID-19 as a Media-Cum-Language Event: Cognitive, Communicative, and Cross-Cultural Aspects. In *Lege Artis. Language Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 2020, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 160.
21   KÖVECSES, Z.: Metaphor in Media Language and Cognition: A Perspective from Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In *Lege Artis. Language Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 2018, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 128.
22   See: WEBSTER, A. et al.: *Communicating Climate Change during the COVID-19 Crisis: What the Evidence Says.* Oxford : Climate Outreach, 2020. [online]. [2021-10-12]. Available at: <https://climateoutreach.org/reports/communicating-climate-during-covid-19/>.

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