

Communicating the climate: an analysis of Greenpeace's environmental discourse

L.L.A. SIJNESAEL

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Communicating the climate: an analysis of Greenpeace's environmental discourse

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Lara L.A. Sijnesael
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Author:

Lara Louise Antonia Sijnesael

Student number: 1007443

Master Environment and Society Studies

Specialisation: Global Environment and Sustainability

E-mail: Larasijnesael@gmail.com

Telephone: +31 (0) 6 533 97 083

Wordcount: 31.233

Supervisor I:

1st reader: prof. dr. P. Leroy (Pieter)

Radboud University Nijmegen

E-mail: p.leroy@fm.ru.nl

2nd reader: dr. D.F. Boezeman

Supervisor II:

Mr. Kees Kodde

Greenpeace Nederland

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Summary

Climate change is an incredibly complex phenomenon that threatens the future of life on Earth. Despite major political and scientific accomplishment, organisations like the IPCC warn that collectively, we are still not doing enough to prevent dangerous climate change. Despite awareness and knowledge on climate change increasing throughout the years, research suggests that people (especially those from countries in the Global North) are not engaged enough with the issue to change their behaviour or to demand green policy from government despite the costs.

Communicating the reality of climate change is hugely important to get people from being aware of climate change, to caring about climate change. Psychological barriers block people from engaging with climate change cognitively, affectively and behaviourally. Research has suggested that storytelling might be able to overcome these barriers.

Currently, climate change communication is made up of several dominant environmental discourses, the most pervasive of which emphasizes the possibly apocalyptic consequences of climate change. Environmental organisations like Greenpeace have historically played a significant role in putting climate change on the public agenda. Greenpeace International's story guide advises on how their environmental stories should be told. The organisation describes seven shifts they want Greenpeace to go through in the coming years. One of these shifts is the shift from reinforcing old stories to building new ones.

The current research examined the environmental discourse of both Greenpeace International's stories and the local office Greenpeace Netherlands' articles. By looking at the different elements that made up the discourses, the current research deconstructed said discourses and compared both with dominant discourses about climate change and to one another. The ontology, assumptions about natural relationships were examined together with their use of framing, metaphors and visual images.

The current research found that both Greenpeace International as well as Greenpeace Netherlands tell the story of climate change apocalypse that threatens the world. Though Greenpeace International places more emphasis on climate justice, Greenpeace Netherlands highlights the concept of culpability in the climate issue. Greenpeace International's stories were found to be more personal, immersive and hopeful than Greenpeace Netherlands' very matter of factual articles.

Preface

Before you lies the Master thesis ‘Communicating the climate: an analysis of Greenpeace’s environmental discourse’ which was first and foremost written to fulfil the graduation requirements of the master degree ‘Environment and Society Studies, at Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherland. Secondly, the current research was conducted because of my personal interest in science communication and work by non-governmental organisations like Greenpeace. My previous research has inspired me to continue on the course of climate change communication and how some ways of communicating climate change has the potential to encourage engagement.

Once I heard that I had to get an internship and carry out the research there, I decided that there was only one place where I wanted to do this: Greenpeace. For a long time I had felt inspired by their campaigns and their self-assigned duty to create a greener and more peaceful world. A combination of luck and perseverance led me to Greenpeace Netherlands where I carried out the current research. Combining the internship with writing the thesis was challenging to say the least, but I can honestly say that I would do it all over again if I had to. My time at Greenpeace Netherlands has been extremely educational, rewarding and just plain fun.

I would like to thank Greenpeace Netherlands for the giving me an internship that I could only have dreamed of a few months ago. I also wish to thank my many colleagues at Greenpeace Netherlands who have welcomed me with open arms and treated me like an equal.

I would also like to thank my supervisor prof. dr. Pieter Leroy. His counsel and words of encouragement served me well, and inspired me to dig deep and give this thesis my all. I feel very lucky to have had him as my supervisor.

Finally I would like to thank my family and friends who were always understanding of my lack of time, helped me deal with the stress of it all and encouraged me to deliver the best work that I could. My parents and partner deserve a special word of thanks as they always expressed their pride and love of me and kept me inspired.

I hope you enjoy the read.

Lara Sijnesael

‘s-Hertogenbosch, June 25, 2019

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1. Introduction

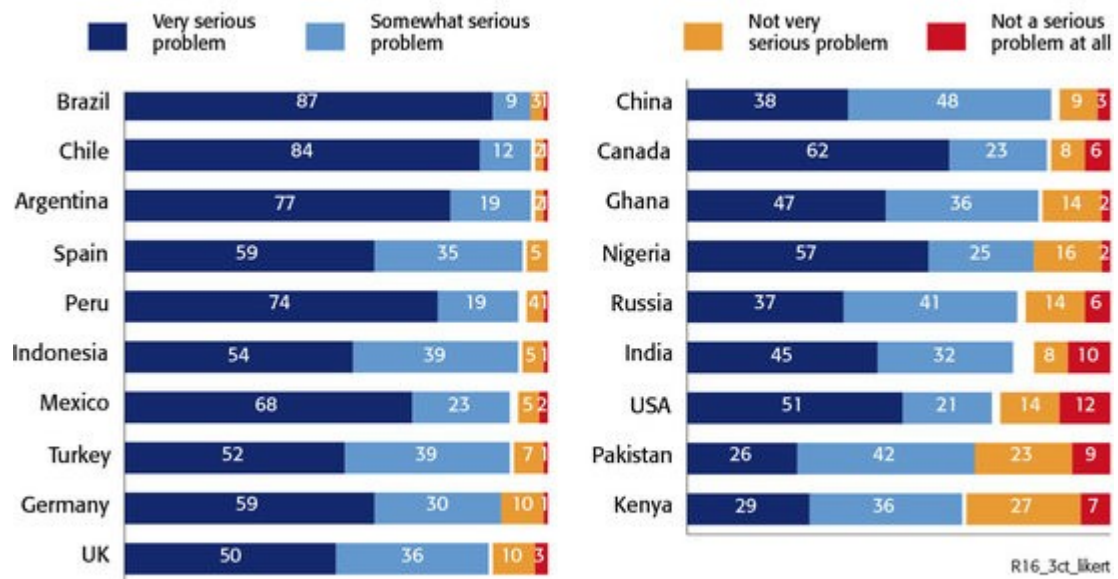
Ban Ki-Moon, former UN Secretary-General once said that climate change is “simply the greatest collective challenge we face as a human family” (as cited in Swain, 2009). Threatening warnings about climate change like these, have dominated news on climate change for quite some time now. During the State of the Union Address in 2015, former US president Barack Obama warned that “No challenge—no challenge—poses a greater threat to future generations than climate change” (as cited in Jacobson, 2015). At the 2018 Katowice conference in Poland sir David Attenborough expressed a similar sentiment: “Right now, we are facing a man-made disaster of global scale. Our greatest threat in thousands of years. Climate change” (as cited in McGrath, 2018).

In 2018, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released the special report ‘Global Warming of 1.5 °C’. Its conclusion is alarming: humanity only has 12 years left to limit the warming to 1.5°C (IPCC, 2018). “One of the key messages that comes out very strongly from this report is that we are already seeing the consequences of 1°C of global warming through more extreme weather, rising sea levels and diminishing Arctic sea ice, among other changes” (Zhai as cited in IPCC, 2018). Many hoped that this report would be a wake-up call for peoples and governments around the world. Roberts, a co-chair of the working group on impacts said: “[t]his is the largest clarion bell from the science community and I hope it mobilises people and dents the mood of complacency” (Watts, 2018, par. 4). Despite threatening messages about climate change like these, Roberts is right to refer to a “mood of complacency” (Watts, 2018, par. 4).

Previous research on climate change perceptions suggests that, in Western countries, climate change is generally perceived as a distant threat, both in time and space (Brügger, 2015; O’Neill, Nicholson-Cole, 2009; Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Cole & Whitmarsh, 2007). According to Wolf and Moser (2011), perceptions are: “views and interpretations based on beliefs and understanding” (p. 2). Perceptions refer to the affective, cognitive and evaluative dimensions of the way in which people internally represent the issue of climate change (Wolf & Moser, 2011). This includes knowledge about climate change, personal views and beliefs about climate change and the way in which people perceive the risks of climate change (Wolf & Moser, 2011). Perception of climate change is important as emphasized by Clayton et al. (2015): “[u]nless we examine how people perceive climate change, what factors influence mitigation and adaptation behaviours and how climate change will affect human well-being, we will be unable to respond effectively as a society” (p. 640). As Chapstick et al. (2015) stated: “[t]he ways in which individuals, societies, and politics respond to climate change are in many cases contingent on public perceptions of its causes, consequences, and wider implications” (p. 35).

Though the last three decades have been marked by an increase in awareness and self-reported knowledge about climate change (Whitmarsh & Capstick, 2018), in recent years, public scepticism has grown (Capstick et al., 2015). Recent data suggests that in the US, some 13% of people do not believe climate change is happening, overall, about 55% of people acknowledge anthropogenic climate change (Leiserowitz et al., 2017). In a meta-review by Capstick et al. (2015) the international trends in public perceptions of climate change since the 1980s to the present were mapped and revealed four main timescales with corresponding trends: the 1980s to early 1990s were characterized by increasing knowledge on climate change as well as increasing awareness; the mid-1990s to mid-2000s saw both a growth as well as a fluctuation in level of concern about climate change worldwide; the mid-2000s to late-2000s were marked by an increase in scepticism and polarization; finally, the late 2000s to the early 2010s saw a continuation of cross-national divergences in public opinion. Data by Globescan shows that at a global level, concern has decreased since 2009 and was “at record lows” (Globescan, 2013). 2016 data reveals that the countries where climate action is needed most, are least concerned about the issue. This can be seen in the following chart.

Seriousness of Climate Change By Country, 2016



Source: GlobeScan Radar 2016

Q. How serious a problem do you consider each of the following issues to be? (chart shows percentages)

Figure 1: Concern about climate change per country, Globescan (2016).

As Whitemarsh & Capstick (2018) argue: “[u]nderstanding public perceptions of climate change is critical in order to develop effective communication strategies, democratic policies and socially robust technologies” (p. 95). Bushell, Buisson, Workman and Colley (2017) argue that there exists a gap between “the globally accepted targets for limiting global temperature rise to “safe” levels (2 °C target, 1.5 °C ambition) [2] and the sum of the contributions by individual countries” (p. 39), which they call the ‘action-gap’. In order to bridge the gap, they argue that there is a need for effective communication which they define as “a unifying strategic narrative” (Bushell, Buisson, Workman and Colley, 2017, p. 39). According to them, communication is key.

There is “a need for widespread public engagement with climate change” (O’Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009, p. 2). As will be argued throughout the current research, climate change communication has the potential to foster such engagement, and, in turn bridge the action gap. What is needed is a reconfiguration of the traditional way in which climate change is communicated to the general public. This will be elaborated on in section 2.2.

2. Literature review

Here we are, the most clever species ever to have lived. So how is it we can destroy the only planet we have? – Jane Goodall

2.1 The ontology of climate change

Related to the way in which people perceive climate change is the ontological status of the issue.

Carolan (2004) states that

The *is* of environmental problems remains relatively unexplored. Yes, socio-environmental scholars have found value in examining the social relations of knowledge at work in environmental debates. But what if knowledge is not the only thing being contested in such instances of contestation? What if that which knowledge represents – reality – is also (at times) conflicting? (p. 498).

What makes climate change such an inherently complicated issue has to do with its epistemological distance and its complexity. Carolan (2004) points out that the ontology of environmental issues remain largely unexplored. He posits that “[w]hat if multiple knowledges reflect not only varying positions but, in certain situations, a multiple ontology?” (p. 498). The notion of epistemological distance relates to the matter that individuals are epistemologically closer to some environmental issues, than to others. Take for example the difference between plastic waste on the street and the plastic soup floating around in the ocean. The waste on the street is relatively accessible to us. If necessary, one can use all senses to know the object. The plastic soup floating in the island has a greater epistemological distance. Though, through other mediums, one can see the plastic. There are also things “that are not as readily seen (p. 502), such as the microplastics that get absorbed by marine life, entering its way in an entire food chain through the process of biomagnification.

Environmental issues also vary in their complexity. Some issues, like litter, are not very complex. To use Carolan’s (2004) own example: “you can either pick it up or leave it, and while it may be un-aesthetically pleasing to the eye, by itself, it is cause for little immediate social, political, and ecological concern” (p. 501).

Carolan (2004) argues that these two concepts – epistemological distance and complexity – are related to ontological multiplicity: “as epistemological and complexity increase, so too does the multiplicity of the object” (p. 499). Carolan (2004) used the concepts to “serve as the foundation for a conceptual model through which we will examine, categorise and ultimately ‘map’ a handful of environmental problems. The resulting map can be seen below.

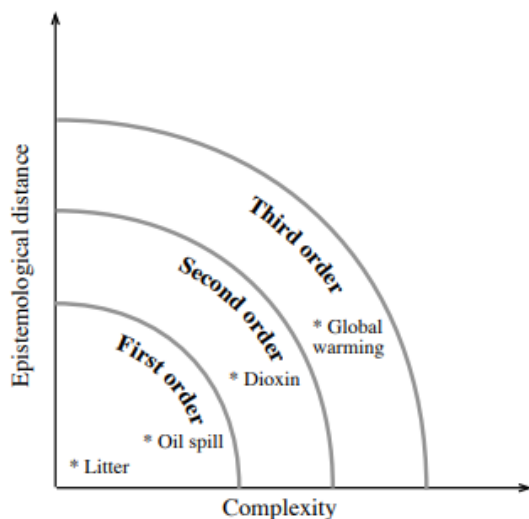


Figure 2: the ontological order of environmental problems, Carolan (2004).

Each order is one higher in abstraction than the other. Problems of the first order can be seen through our senses directly. Other environmental issues, those of the second order, can be seen only through other instruments that “do our seeing, smelling and feeling” (p. 502), which is a phenomenon Carolan calls translation. At the highest level of abstraction are issues of the third order. These are built up off of various facts represented in the second order. Carolan (2004) argues:

[t]here are, however, no such comparable instruments or machines that can do our seeing of the object ‘global warming’ for us. Rather, we look for indications of the object’s (global warming) presence in our attempts to ‘see’ it. We look at sea levels, carbon emissions, global mean atmospheric temperatures, and glacial thickness in our attempts to ‘experience’ this phenomenon—this thing—we refer to as ‘global warming’. But are these things, in isolation or collectively, the object ‘global warming’? (p. 502)

Esbjörn-Hargens (2010) has adapted Carolan’s (2004) diagram and added a third axis that represents ‘methodological variety. He argues that “the more epistemological distance and ontological complexity increase, the more methodological variety will increase” (p. 162). Meaning that the more multiple an object becomes “the more methods and disciplines you will need to study and make sense of it, and the more perspectives there will be on what is or is not the nature of that object” (p. 162).

It is important to conceive climate change as an ontological plurality since viewing climate change as a single and independent object “has not proved very successful in coordinating, mobilizing, and responding to the urgency of the situation” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2010, p. 163). To acknowledge that climate change is complex and comprises many problems, is to acknowledge that there is not one solution or perspective. Looking at the ontology of climate change helps explain why, at this point in time, there is still so much discussion and confusion surrounding climate change.

2.2 Climate change engagement

Climate change communication has, traditionally, employed the information-deficit model (Moser, 2010; Moser and Dilling, 2011). The information-deficit model postulates that the more knowledge and information people gain about an issue, the more they will care about the issue. One of the biggest flaws of the information-deficit model is that it assumes that knowledge travels in a linear fashion from experts to the people receiving the information (Nerlich, Koteyko & Brown, 2010). This is rarely the case as “communication is usually grounded in dialogue and contextual understanding” (Nerlich, Koteyko & Brown, 2010, p. 3) The ‘deficit model’ assumes that “the public are ‘empty vessels’ waiting to be filled with useful information upon which they will then rationally act” (p. 4). This view of audiences, is rather simplistic. In fact, several studies found no correlation between the amount of knowledge and information given on climate change and climate related attitude or the willingness to change personal habits. A study by Kellstedt, Zahran and Vedlitz (2008) found that respondents with higher levels of knowledge on global warming, exhibited less concern for global warming. Furthermore, these respondents regarded themselves as having less responsibility than others. Bord, Connor and Fisher (2008) argued that “more accurate knowledge may not be necessary to stimulate concern or support for pro-environmental actions and policies” (p. 206). Survey data from 2001 - 2008 show that in America, concern about climate change is less correlated with knowledge and understanding, and more with partisanship (McCrigh, 2008). Instead, it is thought that interpretations of science by the public “are mediated by societal values, personal experience, and other contextual factors” (Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Coleb and Whitmarsh, 2007, p. 446).

According to Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Coleb and Whitmarsh (2007) in order to create engagement, defined as “a personal state of connection with the issue of climate change” (p. 446), people need to know about climate change, care about it, and do something about it. “In other words, it is not enough for people to know about climate change in order to be engaged; they also need to care

about it, be motivated and able to take action” (Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Coleb and Whitmarsh, 2007, p. 446). Engagement is thus about heads, hearts and hands. Whitmarsh, O’Neill and Lorenzoni (2013) state that the relationship between these three aspects of climate change are complicated: “for example, behaviour change may precede, as well as follow attitude change” (p. 3). However, insights from social psychology suggest that “behaviour change will not occur without both cognitive engagement (people need to understand the issue) and affective (or emotional) engagement (people need to care about the issue)” (Burke, Ockwell & Whitmarsh, 2017, p. 2). Other research has even suggested that affective engagement is likely to be more significant than cognitive engagement (O’Neill, Boykoff, Niermeyer & Day, 2013; Pallett & Chilvers, 2013; Loewenstein, Weber, Hsee & Welch, 2001).

There is still much discussion about how to create engagement that encompasses the head, heart and hands. Wolf and Moser (2011) rightly contend that to creating deeper affective engagement with an issue is “difficult to achieve through one-way communication, and even harder to sustain, much less to control from the outside” (p. 4). Wolf and Moser (2011) state that affective engagement “requires further research” (p. 16). They also argue, however, that one thing is clear: “negative emotions such as fear—unmitigated by communication on how to translate worry and concern into effective remedial action—are more likely to disengage individuals, while positive emotions help inspire and motivate people” (p. 16). Their findings were in line with the hypothesis that the information-deficit model is not sufficient to inspire long-term engagement. That is not to say that the information-deficit model should become an affective-deficit model. Wolf and Moser (2011) contend that it is about a balance between the three levels of engagement: “Individuals can be engaged on three levels: with their minds, hearts, and hands. By implication, these ways of engagement can be achieved through rational cognitive and affective means and practical actions” (p. 4). Knowledge of is thus only one part of the puzzle. Stoknes (2014) argues in a similar vein that “it is not sufficient to simply blame the one-to-many model of information campaigns or poor communication models such as the information deficit model. There are additional and deeper psychological barriers that impair our reaction to the unsettling facts of climate change” (p. 2). These barriers will be discussed in the next section.

2.3 Psychological barriers to engagement

As stated before, despite widespread awareness of the issue of climate change, only some individuals and organisations are doing what is necessary to decrease their environmental footprint while the majority of people “continue to produce massive quantities of greenhouse gasses that will further drive climate change” (Gifford, 2011, p. 290). Though there are structural barriers to climate change action, such as “climate-averse infrastructure” (Gifford, 2011, p. 290), in recent years, many scholars have attempted to elucidate the different psychological barriers to climate change engagement. It is important to note that the identification of psychological barriers has been largely based on the reactions people from developed countries from the Global North have exhibited. For many people living in the Global South (besides the fact that, on average, their ecological footprint is much smaller than those from the Global North), behavioural change with relation to climate change is hindered by structural barriers, rather than psychological barriers. Structural barriers can also play a role in the Global North, but to a lesser extent. Gifford (2011) described the psychological barriers as what happens in the attitude-behaviour gap. The attitude-behaviour gap refers to the phenomenon in which individuals are aware of climate change, and even literate on the subject, but still do not change their behaviour environment-wise: “I agree this is the best course of action ... but I am not doing it” (Gifford, 2011, p. 290).

As stated in the previous section, traditionally, climate change communication has relied on the information-deficit model which means that “most policy efforts ... have focussed on achieving cognitive engagement” (p. 2), instead of also promoting affective engagement. Kollmuss & Agyeman (2002) devote some time to the relationship between knowledge and awareness on the one hand, and emotional investment in the other. They contend that the relationship between the two is non-linear; lack of knowledge or awareness about climate change can lead to emotional non-involvement, however, “this does not mean that just providing this knowledge would be sufficient to create such emotional involvement” (p. 254). They also state that affective engagement (which they call emotional reactions) might still not lead to acts of pro-environmental behaviour when the emotions that are evoked are negative such as “fear, sadness/pain, anger, and guilt” (p. 255). They argue that these emotional reactions are distressing and will cause “secondary psychological responses aimed at relieving us from these negative feelings” (p. 255). These psychological responses take the form of a psychological defence mechanism that creates a divide between the subject and the issue, acting as barriers. These include “denial, rational distancing, apathy, and delegation” (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002, p. 255). This is in line with an influential theory from social and evolutionary psychology: terror management theory (TMT). TMT postulates that humans naturally have a self-preservation instinct while simultaneously being aware that their own demise is inevitable and unpredictable; the conflict between these two produces terror (Greenberg, Pyszczynski & Solomon, 1986). Pyszczynski et al. (1999) theorize that the mind, when confronted with this terror, will use proximal and distal terror management defences in order to suppress or lessen the thought of death. Dickinson (2009) states that “[p]roximal defences use rational thinking and deploy immediately after conscious thoughts of death are triggered; they involve both active suppression and cognitive distortions that relegate the problem of death to the distant future” (par. 14). Concerning climate change, Dickinson (2009) argues that proximal defences will likely manifest in three ways:

- (1) denial of climate change, i.e., climate sceptics; (2) denial that humans are the cause of climate change; and (3) a tendency to minimize or project the impacts of climate change far into the future, where they no longer represent a personal danger (par. 14).

Distal defences work in a dissimilar fashion to proximal defences: “[t]hey are thought to be activated when the accessibility of death thoughts increases, although these thoughts still remain unconscious” (par. 15). These defences, with regards to climate change, are said by Dickinson (2009) to lead to: idealization taking the form of blind following of charismatic leaders without “rational criticism” (par. 16); “increased striving for self-esteem”, which in Western society often means “increases in status-driven consumerism” (par. 16); “increased outgroup antagonism” (par. 16); and finally, bolstering of one’s current worldview “even if it is not sustainable” (par. 16).

The five D’s

This section will provide an exploration of some psychological defence mechanisms. Mental defence mechanisms have, of course, a useful evolutionary purpose: “to reduce subjective distress” (Doherty & Clayton, 2011). These barriers act to prevent effective climate change behavioural engagement. The question that now remains is what is meant by effective climate change engagement. The current paper, in line with O’Neill and Hulme (2009), argues that effective engagement refers “to how an individual understands the issue through an emotional connection” (p. 18). This thus ties together cognitive engagement (understanding) and affective engagement (emotional connection). In order to inspire behavioural change, the barriers must be taken down. A successful communication attempt in this respect is thus one that succeeds in bypassing the barriers. The following section will describe Per Espen Stoknes’ conception of the psychological barriers and his conception of bypassing them. Psychologist Per Espen Stoknes has combined evolutionary psychology with three other schools of psychology, social, cognitive and the psychology of identity, to identify five main barriers to effective

communication. Stoknes (2015) describes the issue of climate change as follows: “[t]here has never been a more accurate and consistent understanding of how serious climate change is ... [h]owever, public concern and prioritization is declining” (p. 1). This is what he calls the ‘climate paradox’, as individuals seem easily swayed by messages of doubt and disbelief even in the face of abundant scientific fact. Stoknes (2015) argues that the reason why there is this inner tendency to doubt can be answered using psychology. He argues that “over the last twenty years, the messengers have encountered not only vicious counter-attacks but also what seem to be impenetrable walls of psychological backlash or indifference” (p. 81). The impenetrable walls or barriers “block the messages from leading to meaningful response and action (p. 82). In total, Stoknes (2015) describes five main barriers which he calls the five D’s: Distance, Doom, Dissonance, Denial and iDentity.

The first barrier, distance, corresponds somewhat to Gifford’s (2011) ‘limited cognition’ barrier. Stoknes (2015) argues that “the climate issue remains remote for the majority of us” since the issue is not directly visible in many person’s direct environment, since the issue currently mostly happens in countries far removed from Western countries and since the more severe impacts are “far off in time” (p. 82).

Doom refers to the doomsday scenarios about climate change with which many people are confronted almost every day: “[w]hen climate change is framed as an encroaching disaster that can only be addressed by loss, cost, and sacrifice, it creates a wish to avoid the topic ... [w]ith a lack of practical solutions, helplessness grows and the fear message backfires” (p. 82). This barrier is especially prominent in climate change communication as messages are often framed in terms of the disastrous consequences of climate change.

Dissonance is the third of the barriers and one widely recorded in social science. Festinger (1957), who was the original theorist on dissonance, characterizes it as follows: “[t]wo opinions, or beliefs, or items of knowledge are dissonant with each other if they do not fit together – that is, if they are inconsistent, or if, considering only the particular two items, one does not follow from the other” (p. 35). Though Gifford (2011) also mentioned dissonance, he did not characterize it as a barrier. Stoknes (2015) however states that “[i]f what we know ... conflicts with what we do ... then dissonance sets in ... by downplaying what we know ... we can feel better about how we live” (p. 82). It incorporates Gifford’s (2011) ‘ideologies’ and ‘comparison to other people’ as Stoknes (2015) states that “actual behaviour and social relations determine the attitude in the long run” (p. 82).

The fourth barrier, denial, can take an active or a passive form. One can actively deny climate change for the sake of mental comfort: “when we negate, ignore, or otherwise avoid acknowledging the unsettling facts about climate change, we find refuge from fear and guilt” (p. 82). Passive denial relates to indifference: “[y]ou may know climate change exists, but prefer not to care much about it” (p. 17). Stoknes (2015) makes an important point about denial: “denial is based in self-defence, not ignorance, intelligence, or lack of information” (p. 82).

The final barrier is identity. Information on climate change are filtered through “our professional and cultural identity” (p. 82). People selectively filter information that “confirms our existing values and notions, and filter away what challenges them” (p. 82). Hulme (2009) makes a similar argument: “[w]hen scientific assessments clash with deeply held values or outlooks, it may not always be science that triumphs” (p. 208). What Stoknes (2015) attempts to demonstrate, is that rather than ignorance, inaction occurs because of an individual’s psychological defence system.

2.4 Climate change communication

In order to curb climate change, especially in the Global North, environmental policies need to be created and executed which means that the general public in democratic nations will have to be involved, informed and supportive. As Stoknes (2014) contends: “[u]nderstanding individual and

social responses to climate change is clearly becoming just as important as understanding physical climate change itself. Public support is needed in democracies for efficient and sufficient polities to be legislated” (p. 2). Communicating climate change, in this respect, becomes paramount. However, as DiFrancesco and Young (2011) state: “while awareness of the issue among the general public is high, the urgency of the problem is not always recognized” (p. 518). Despite people being generally aware of the problem, it is highly abstract, technical and many disagree on the exact effects climate change will have (DiFrancesco & Young, 2011). What complicates matters even further is the fact that climate change will have different regional effects, with some countries experiencing effects worse than others, and it will still take time before people experience the full extent of climate change. Though the bigger polluting countries are generally from rich Global North countries, nations in the Global South are the first to suffer from the effects of climate change. As Toynbee (2015) contends “Climate change is background noise, the slow roll of distant thunder” (par. 5).

In recent years, following the increasing criticism on the information-deficit model, scholars have attempted to formulate different perspectives on climate change communication: “confronted by the limits of the information deficit approach, many in the field of environmental communication have called for a more creative, ambitious and even experimental perspective on climate change communication” (Hackett, Forde, Gunster & Foxwell-Norton, 2017, p. 110). One that involves composites of the cognitive and/or affective factors that “explicitly strives to produce deeper forms of engagement” (Hackett, Forde, Gunster & Foxwell-Norton, 2017, p. 110). Many have theorized that storytelling might be able to do just that (Dahlstrom, 2014; Stoknes, 2014; Stoknes, 2015; Bushell, Buisso, Workman & Colley, 2017; Moezzi, Janda, & Rotmann, 2017).

2.4.1 Framing

Within climate change communication, certain ways to tell the story of climate change are more dominant than others. Climate change is framed in multiple ways. According to Tucker (1998), frames are “familiar and highly ritualized symbolic structures [which] organize the content and serve to close off specific pathways of meaning while promoting others” (p. 143). Frames subsequently influence how people perceive and think about an issue. Stoknes (2014) states that “[t]he concept of framing refers to the unseen, often subconscious frame around concepts and discussions that affect how an issue is perceived. Through the metaphors used, different words and concepts evoke different frames” (p. 4). According to Stoknes (2014), within the climate discourse, three frames dominate: apocalypse, uncertainty, and losses or high costs.

The most persuasive and dominant frame is the climate change apocalypse frame (Stoknes, 2014; 2015). This frame has been discussed many times in climate change communication. The consequences of climate change are emphasized and the discourse evolves around fear and danger. Swyngedouw (2013) argues that:

[t]he discursive matrix through which the contemporary meaning of the environmental condition is woven is one quilted by the invocation of fear and danger, and the spectre of ecological annihilation or at least seriously distressed socio-ecological conditions for many people in the near future (p. 3).

The problem with apocalyptic frames, according to both Stoknes (2015) and Swyngedouw (2010; 2013) is that they are purely negative frames without solutions nor hope. Stoknes (2014) argues that these frames have “used up the emotional capacity to respond to apocalypse and doom” (p. 5). Swyngedouw (2010) writes that “[t]he environmentally apocalyptic future, forever postpones, neither promises redemption nor does it possess a name; it is pure negativity” (p. 219).

Swyngedouw (2013) additionally argues that the dominance of the apocalypse frame has led to a reinforcement of the status quo. Swyngedouw (2013) laments the fact that because environmental issues have entered the political sphere, re-shaping the environment is mostly discussed within the

terms of the neoliberal system: [d]ifficulties and problems ... need to be dealt with through compromise, operating nonetheless within a given neoliberal order that remains beyond political dispute” (p. 5). The apocalyptic framing of climate change is so “decidedly populist” (p. 3) that they defy the traditional political framing which produces a depoliticized imagery; “one that does not revolve around choosing one trajectory rather than another, one that is not articulated with specific political programs or socio-ecological projects or revolutions” (Swyngedouw, 2010, p. 219). Added to the message ‘we need to change radically’ is ‘within the existing system’. Sustaining and feeding into apocalyptic imaginaries then “is an integral and vital part of the new cultural politics of capitalism ... for which the management of fear is a central leitmotif” (Swyngedouw, 2010, p. 219). The apocalyptic framing works in such a way that it puts emphasis on a universalisation of humanity. *We* are suffering from climate change; humanity as a whole is awaiting imminent environmental destruction. The populist nature of this type of frame then, like “populism’s fundamental fantasy” (Swyngedouw, 2010, p. 222), creates an externalised enemy; an antagonist. Swyngedouw (2010) argues that CO₂ becomes this enemy: “CO₂ stand here as the classic example of a fetishized and externalized foe that requires dealing with if sustainable climate futures are to be attained” (p. 222). Antagonizing CO₂ then becomes a distraction from the actual problem within the functional system of which the apocalyptic frame has become part: “[p]roblems therefore are not the result of the ‘system’, of unevenly distributed power relations, of the networks of control and influence, of rampant injustices, or of a fatal flaw inscribed in the system, but are blamed on an outsider” (Swyngedouw, 2010, p. 222).

The other two dominant frames, of uncertainty and costs similarly are used in order to keep the status quo alive. Stoknes (2015) writes that “[f]or scientists it’s easy to fall into the uncertainty frame, since climate change is about long-term impacts on rainfall, glaciers, storms, and so on” (p. 110). Others then take this information and translate this uncertainty of severity of effects and timeframe to uncertainty in anthropogenic climate change period; another reason to stick to business as usual. The cost frame can take on multiple dimensions. It can concern loss of species, or ecosystems, or forests etc. In other words, it will cost us parts of this earth. It can also take a more puritan approach in which individuals are told that they will lose part of their freedom in form of losing “the possibility to travel where we want, eat meat, or shop freely” (p. 111). Another cost related frame is for example ‘the polluter should pay the true cost’, or ‘CO₂-emissions need to be taxed’. According to Stoknes (2014), all this does is give the impression to individuals that pro-environmental behaviour is too costly: “many perceive that we cannot afford to implement an ambitious climate policy” (p. 4).

Stoknes (2015) argues that these dominant frames are often negative, which, from a psychological perspective, just is not an effective way to engage people with climate change: negative frames rarely work to motivate people, and have so far certainly not shifted the public to support more ambitious policies. They may be good for selling news and magazines, but ... they tend to boomerang, spawning gloomy emotions and causing people to avoid the topic (p. 111).

Instead, Stoknes (2015) argues for the usage of more positive frames. As Lakoff (2010) explains: “One of the major results in the cognitive and brain sciences is that we think in terms of typically unconscious structures called ‘frames’”, since this is done unconsciously and systematically “a single word typically activates not only its defining frame, but also much of the system its defining frame is in” (p. 71-2). The question, according to Lakoff (2010) becomes what frames are being activated in the public brains. By negating frames from climate change opponents, you end up reinforcing them. Instead, Stoknes (2015) argues that communication strategies should take a positive approach: “Whatever we do should be inspiring, be engaging, and stimulate community. A solution works so much better when people want it, like it, love it rather than when they implement it by duty, guilt, rule,

or fear of punishment” (p. 90). Besides changing frames, Stoknes (2015) also suggests a change in format and points to the inclusion of more story-like elements as a way to engage and inform people.

2.4.2 Communication through stories

To lift the psychological barriers Stoknes (2015) argues for a story-based approach to climate change communication. He argues that “[b]etter storytelling can overcome our deepest barriers” (p. 149). To back up his claim, he argues that the human brain has a preference for stories: “[a]s humans we create meaning in our lives through stories” (2015, p. 132). The brain’s affinity for stories is well-documented within cognitive neuro-science. Research has repeatedly demonstrated that individuals are more susceptible to opinions and attitudes expressed in stories. (Armstrong, 2013; Green & Brock, 2000; Prentice, Gerrig & Bailis, 1997). Cognitive neuroscientist Raymond Mar (2004) contends that “our interactions with fictional narratives should not be viewed as frivolous; stories have the power to change our beliefs about the real world” (p. 1414). A study by Zak (2015) attempted to uncover the reason behind the story’s ability to cause attitudinal and behavioural shifts. He found that the brain produces a neurochemical called oxytocin when individuals read (or watch) an emotionally engaging story, which “makes people want to help others in costly and tangible ways” (p. 6).

Stoknes (2015) does contend that there is not one master story capable of engaging the masses: “I don’t think there is just *one* right type of climate story to tell to get people to understand the urgency of the issue and move them to action”, instead he argues that “a plurality of stories is needed, each creating meaning and engagement for different groups of people” (p. 132). Stoknes (2015) also gives his recommendation for elements that can make a story engaging: “[i]n this work there must be room for humor, emotion, visualization, point of view, climax, surprise, plot, drama. Above all, make it personal and personified” (p. 148).

2.5 Greenpeace

2.5.1 Greenpeace’s communication

The current research will examine the way in which the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) Greenpeace communicates climate change on their website. It Greenpeace is an organisation that “uses non-violent creative action to pave the way towards a greener, more peaceful world, and to confront the systems that threaten our environment” (<http://greenpeace.org>). Greenpeace is often cited as one of the most prolific environmental NGO worldwide (Lee, 2018; Zelko, 2017; Susanto, 2007). Oftentimes, Greenpeace aims to “expose undesirable conduct pertaining to the environment committed by corporations and governments alike” (Lee, 2018, p. 230). Currently Greenpeace is comprised of 27 “independent national/regional organisations” (<http://greenpeace.org>) spread across more than 55 countries around the world. Its headquarters, Greenpeace International, is based in Amsterdam. The regional offices of Greenpeace work independently, under supervision of Greenpeace International.

Greenpeace has a long history with climate change. In 1993, they became one of the first organisations to devise a sustainable development scenario regarding climate change mitigation (Lazarus et al., 1993). In 1995, sociologists Mormont and Dasnoy wrote that, regarding climate change, Greenpeace has “played a significant role in formulating the problem” (p. 55-6), and that they also played a big part is information diffusion amongst the general public. One of the first actions on climate change by Greenpeace already took place in 1990 in Ostrich, where Greenpeace urged members of parliament to commit to a global CO₂ reduction goals of 30% before the year 2000 (Knappe, 1993). Another climate related action took place in 1992, on the last day of the Rio-conference. Greenpeace has, since 1997, organised trips to the Antarctic and the North-Pole to document the effects of climate change through images of retreating glaciers. In fact, Greenpeace is hailed as one of the frontrunners concerning visual campaigns on climate change. Doyle (2007) writes that Greenpeace has been “instrumental” (p. 129) in documenting the impacts of climate change

through film and photography, specifically referring to the images of melting glaciers which have come to “dominate the pictorial language of climate change, powerful symbols of a fragile earth at risk from the impacts of climate change” (p. 129).

Greenpeace formulates their vision as follows: “we believe optimism is a form of courage. We believe that a billion acts of courage can spark a brighter tomorrow ... [a] green and peaceful future is our quest. The heroes of our story are all of us who believe that better world is not only within reach, but being built today”. There arrows are mostly pointed at industry, corporations and politics. Their message puts an emphasis on ‘people power’, the belief “[t]here is no single way to ‘save the planet’. From marching side by side on the halls of power to replanting a forest, we thrive when we cooperate.” (<https://www.greenpeace.org/international/>).

2.5.2 Greenpeace’s storytelling

Greenpeace themselves highlight the importance stories have in climate change communication: “Stories hold incredible power because they shape how we understand ‘reality’ and our place within it. Stories have the power to influence how we think, what we believe to be true and possible, and how we act” (Greenpeace, 2016b, slide 2). Greenpeace acknowledges that the usual apocalyptic discourses no longer suffice: “[o]ur job, however, is no longer only to yell about how broken the world is” (2016a, p. 18). In 2016 Greenpeace International appointed a story team who went on to formulate seven shifts that have since been internalised and which “give us a common map to steer by” (<http://moon.greenpeace.org/workshopinabox/index.html>). It is stated that the shifts are “directions rather than destinations” and that “different offices and different projects will be at different stages of living these” (Greenpeace, 2016b, slide 4). One of these seven shifts include the shift from reinforcing old stories to building new ones: “every time we put a price on a rainforest, we reinforce the idea that everything on this planet can be reduced to money. While this story might help us to engage with an economist in the short term, in the long-term it further cements a broken myth, and makes it harder for us to amplify the idea that some things in this world are simply priceless” (Greenpeace, 2016b, slide 10). Instead, Greenpeace aims to create new stories “of hope, empathy, courage and connectedness to each other and nature. Stories that reinforce our individual and collective agency. Stories that celebrate the power of participation, the strength of diversity and the value of community” (Greenpeace, 2016b, slide 10).

In their brand guide, under the section ‘myths gaps’ Greenpeace brings attention to some of the dominant stories that they have deemed to be destructive for individual engagement. They call these “crumbling myths” (2016a, p. 18), or discourses, that “are making less and less sense” (p. 18). Instead Greenpeace aims to construct new ‘myths’, “more compelling ones [that] will make our brand far more appealing and culturally relevant” (2016a, p. 18). These crumbling myths are in essence dominant discourses within our current society: “You are what you own”, “Economic growth is good”, “Military power is safety”, “Technology will solve all the problems humanity creates”, “Someone else will solve our problems” and “Humans are bad” (2016a, p. 19-24). In chapter 3 on the theoretical framework for the current research, these myths are linked to the discourses that were identified as a guide for the current thesis.

In their communication guide Greenpeace offers several storytelling tactics for creating a ‘good’ story; a story which, according to Greenpeace, will be able to guide human behaviour. Greenpeace states that: “[o]ur brand must connect with our audiences’ hearts, not just their heads. Use these tools to bring your stories to life” (2016a, p. 38). These tactics are in line with much research on what constitutes effective storytelling; one that has the potential to inspire behavioural change. The first tactic is to “[i]nclude a powerful image or metaphor that makes your concepts easy to grasp” (2016a, p. 39). This recommendation is in line with the research discussed on climate change imagery and metaphors within climate change communication. In line with research on the different types of

engagement, the second tactic entails generating emotion through the story: “[e]levate emotional engagement to be as important as rational engagement” (2016a, p. 40). It goes on to say that evoking positive emotions is important rather than evoking negative emotions, which is also in line with O’Neill and Nicholson-Cole’s (2009) research on promoting engagement with climate change. Stoknes (2015) recommends that climate change stories should be made “personal and concrete” (2016a, p. 149), this is in line with Greenpeace’s third storytelling tactic: “[g]ive audiences a clear protagonist with whom they can identify” (2016a, p. 41) and the fifth tactic: “[p]rovide who, what, where, when ... [p]opulate your story with real people in conflict with each other” (2016a, p. 43). The fourth tactic, “give the audience the feeling that they are there, immersed in the action” also corresponds Stoknes’ (2015) recommendation to make stories “vivid” (2016a, p. 149).

2.6 Similar studies

The current research will look at the climate change discourse created by both Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands. Though it is the first of its kind to look at multiple elements in the discourse, it is not the first to examine Greenpeace’s discourse, or climate change discourses overall.

Doyle (2007) examined the visual discourse constructed by Greenpeace International in their campaigns. She analysed the issues inherent in communicating climate change, a temporal environmental issue, “by analysing the history of climate change communication produced by Greenpeace since the early 1990s” (p. 130). Doyle (2007) argues that Greenpeace has been committed to spreading awareness on climate change since the 1990s and that they have used photography as “a privileged form of environmental documentation and communication” (p. 146). Doyle (2007) states that there are five representational stages of Greenpeace framing climate change in a certain way in order to create deeper engagement among the public: phase one: “immanent and inevitable destruction from a warming planet” (p. 135), phase two: “identifying causes, present impacts and future solutions – dirty oil versus pristine inhabitants” (p. 138), phase three: “glacial impacts and renewable solutions” (p. 140), phase four: “dirty oil, dirty politics” (p. 142) and finally, phase five: “the ‘here and now’ of climate change” (p. 144). Doyle (2007) concludes that Greenpeace has always sought to portray climate change as a current reality and threat but she remains sceptical of the use of pictures to create a discourse of truth and argues that “rather than proving that climate change is real through visible means, it might be more useful for environmental NGOs, and environmental scientists, to persuade the public that not all environmental problems can be seen” (p. 147).

Taylor (2013) argues that climate change has been portrayed in various ways throughout the years and that “[t]hese representations have enacted their own discursive formations” (p. 17). Taylor (2013) presents an overview of the discursive climate change discourses in his paper: climate change as a threat, climate change as a statistical average, the discourse of limits to growth, the discourse of sustainable development and finally the discourse of liberal environmentalism. Taylor (2013) argues that these discourses “have made climate change an object of knowledge that can be governed or managed in specific ways” (p. 24). Because an “ensemble of institutions, descriptions, procedures, calculations and tactics” have been formed, which take on complex arrangements of power, it has become a governmentality (Taylor, 2013, p. 24).

Difrancesco and Young (2011) examined how which kinds of images and metaphors were used by Canadian newspapers to construct the dominant discourse on climate change. They argue that images have a special kind of power which “comes from their ability to blend fact and emotion to engage viewers as ‘witnesses’ rather than as detached consumers of information and claims” (p. 531). However, in their research they found an irreconcilable divergence between textual claims and visual images: “[i]n our view, the dearth of clear imagery around global climate change makes it more

difficult for ordinary citizens to visualize potential impacts and consequences, and to link ... abstract language claims to real world and to everyday life” (p. 531). They argue that at least in the Canadian news-paper context, the disjuncture between images and language is the norm, and indicates a potential for communication to reach more effectiveness if image and language are in accordance with one another.

2.7 Research relevance

Scientific relevance

Climate change is a larger-than-life issue; it transcends time and space. Time, because the problem will be felt across generations. In fact, those affected by climate change will not be contemporaries of those who caused the problem. It transcends space in the same vain: no matter which countries contribute the most to climate change, the effects will eventually be felt across the globe. Because climate change is such a complex issue, besides time and space, it also transcends single disciplines. The current research thus proposes an interdisciplinary approach to climate change communication as the issue is simply too big for a single discipline to be involved: “[i]nterdisciplinary research might become necessary because problems lie beyond the margins of existing disciplines or because they are much larger than any one discipline” (Baerwald, 2010, p. 495).

Many scholars have conducted research on climate change communication and climate discourses. What separates the current study is that it breaks down several elements of a discourse such as framing, metaphor use, and visual imagery and analyses them separately. All elements of the text are stripped bare to gain access to the basic assumptions underneath. This thesis thus deconstructs the discourse in a way other research has not. The current thesis does not only attempt to uncover Greenpeace’s discourse, it will measure this discourse up against existing ones and link them to research on psychological barriers and engagement to attempt to establish how the discourse should be constructed in order to have the potential to be an effective tool in inspiring social engagement. Finally, since communication of climate change is such a debated issue and research points out that public concern is varying while scepticism is thriving. The academic field would benefit from a deeper understanding of the discourse employed by large NGO’s like Greenpeace, and a communication strategy recommendation informed by multiple disciplines.

Societal relevance

As is established by many scholars and emphasized in almost every publication concerning climate change: climate change is arguably the biggest problem facing humanity. NGO’s like Greenpeace play an important role in supplying information about climate change to the general public. Examining the way in which they communicate climate change by looking at both textual and pictorial facets could aid in uncovering what can be improved, or what needs no improving. Besides that, organisations like Greenpeace are mostly dependent on donations from supporters. How they communicate climate change to these supporters is of importance as it also partly determines how they view Greenpeace and whether or not they themselves are involved in the fight against climate change. The greatest strength of the current research, however, lies in the recommendations made at the end about more effective approaches to communicating climate change.

2.8 Research objectives

The current research has multiple aims. The first objective is to uncover the discourse used by Greenpeace Nederland and Greenpeace International when communicating climate change. The current research aims to deconstruct the discourse employed by Greenpeace by analysing separate elements from the discourse. The research also hopes to uncover the relationship these elements and

how they then form a particular discourse on climate change. Furthermore, the research will also examine whether or not the discourse Greenpeace International employs in their stories on climate change, will match the discourse used in Greenpeace Netherlands' articles on climate change. In case of a discrepancy between discourses, the current research will attempt to explain the difference. Another aim of the current research is to combine the knowledge from multiple fields in order to create a communication strategy which has the potential to create genuine engagement with climate change and will therefore be a helpful blueprint in the field of climate change communication. Finally, the academic landscape would benefit from an interdisciplinary approach when it comes to climate change communication. Part of the aim of this research is therefore also to normalise and promote the use of theories from multiple fields to create an approach that is interdisciplinary in order to truly contribute to the academic field of research.

2.9 Research questions

The current research refers to the phrase “effective communication” multiple times in the previous sections. As explained in section 2.3, this research views effective communication as one that is able to reach cognitive and affective engagement, bypassing psychological barriers so that the message has the potential to inspire behavioural change. It is, however, outside the scope of the current research to examine whether or not Greenpeace's communication inspires actual pro-environmental behavioural adjustments. As Stoknes (2014; 2015) states there exist a multitude of frames that activate psychological barriers and therefore block meaningful engagement; instead causing ‘apocalypse fatigue’. The current research will look at the discourse that Greenpeace creates through linguistic tools such as metaphors, and frames and pictorial tools. Rather than examining if the messages inspire behavioural change, the current research will examine how the discourse is created and how it measures up against suggestions of communication that within the scientific field have been demonstrated to be effective in creating engagement. Besides that, the research will examine the differences in the discourses created by Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands, and in case of differences, shall attempt to elucidate the reason why they differ from one another. This brings us to the following research questions that the current research will answer:

How does Greenpeace frame climate change in their online content to construct a discourse on climate change?

- How is climate change portrayed throughout the communication, and how does it fit into a discourse on climate change?
- How do Greenpeace Netherlands and Greenpeace International use metaphors and other imagery in their climate communication and what can explain the prevalence of some over others?
- Which frames do Greenpeace Netherlands employ in their online articles, and Greenpeace International in their online stories and why are some frames more dominant than others?
- What is the relationship between the textual elements and pictorial elements in Greenpeace Netherlands' articles and Greenpeace International's stories; how can the relationship be explained through scientific findings?

How do Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands differ in their climate change communication?

- How do Greenpeace International's stories differ from Greenpeace Netherlands' articles and how can these differences be explained?

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Relevant frameworks

3.1.1 Discourse theory

The current research builds on the discourse theory established by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) which is a merger of the Foucauldian view of discourse, the Marxist idea of hegemony and finally the poststructuralist writings of Derrida. They fused these traditions “into a single poststructuralist theory in which the whole social field is understood as a web of processes in which meaning is created” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 26). In the Foucauldian sense, discourse is a coherent set of statements and assumptions that when combined, construct a social representation of the world. In other words, “discourse is a system for producing, interpreting, framing, knowing, and attributing meaning to reality and truth, or more specifically a particular subject or event like climate change” (Keller, 2012, p. 11). Statements here are not merely “cluster[s] of sentences addressing a common theme” (Keller, 2012, p. 12) but encompass utterances, visual imagery, gestures and ways of behaving that is cultivated by an arrangement of internal rules (Foucault, 1969). As Schou (2016) aptly summarizes: “Discourse theory stresses the fixation of meaning into particular regimes as the outcome of continuous and contingent discursive struggles taking place over time” (p. 292).

Discourse theory implies that people concentrate on the particular expressions in their competency as articulations, in other words, the way in which different elements are positioned in a specific exchange with each other and what meanings are thereby excluded. The goal of discourse analysis then, is “is to map out the processes in which we struggle about the way in which the meaning of signs is to be fixed, and the processes by which some fixations of meaning become so conventionalized that we think of them as natural” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 27). This is where the Marxist idea of hegemony comes in to play. Since discourse provides “a set of possible statements about a given arena, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about” (Kress, 1985, p. 7), it shapes realities and thus provides “descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual action” (Kress, 1985, p. 7). According to discourse theory language constructs, sustains and has the ability to shift power balances. Rather than mirroring reality, language shapes individual realities. Dominant discourse then reveal the division of power and discourse analysis can “help to expose how society is shaped by and through discursive interaction” (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 182).

Finally, Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory is poststructuralist. Poststructuralism rests on the notion that language is not a mere impression of a fixed essence but occupies a central position in the arrangement and composition of social meaning and the reality people experience. As Harré, Brockmeier & Mühlhäusler (1999) argue: “[l]anguage not only reflects and records but also shapes, distorts and even creates realities” (p. ix) In post-structuralism, a plurality of meaning is accentuated, which means that there are no fixed meanings or one system of truth. Applied to the proposed research, this means that signifiers such as ‘climate change’, while the signifier does connote to the earth’s climatic system, do not have one fixed meaning. Instead, it can be elucidated and constructed in many different ways. This is where the different discourses come into play. Climate change can be understood as an uncertainty and therefore non-issue, it can be understood and constructed as an impending apocalypse, or as a distant threat. In short, meanings are shifting; they are not static but dynamic.

Since the current research attempts analyses the environmental discourses as constructed by Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands, it is important to distinguish between the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘framing’ and as these notions are “often used interchangeably and in a noncritical way” (Fløttum & Gjerstad, 2017, p. 2). The current research employs the same definition as Minsky (1975), who argued that a “discourse assembles a network of instantiated frames and subframes” (p.

237). Framing refers to the strategic selection of “language features for a particular purpose” (Fløttum & Gjerstad, 2017, p. 2). This, combined with other textual elements is what contributes to the overall discourse.

3.1.2 Ecolinguistics

In essence, the current research investigates the way in which both Greenpeace International as well as Greenpeace Netherlands construct their story of climate change or environmental conservation. Ecolinguistics entails “questioning the stories that underpin our current unsustainable civilization, exposing those stories that are clearly not working, that are leading to ecological destruction and social injustice, and finding new stories that work better in the conditions of the world that we face.” (Stibbe, 2014, p. 118). Stibbe (2014) uses the word stories here not to denote conventional stories that have narrative elements but rather to denote discourses: “[t]hese are not stories in the traditional sense of narrative, however, but rather discourses ... clusters of linguistic features that come together to convey particular worldviews” (2014, p. 118). Replacing old stories with new stories is one of the seven shifts discussed by Greenpeace. The current research will question the discourse presented by Greenpeace and measure it against their own recommendations of what constitutes a ‘good’ story.

Stibbe (2014) argues that a discourse always reflects the common sense assumptions of a certain community and thus reveals a “cultural code” ... “[a]n example is the pervasive code that sees unlimited economic growth as both a possible and a desirable goal for human societies” (Stibbe, 2014, p. 118). An ecolinguistics approach to discourse analysis measures the discourses against a chosen ecological philosophy:

[t]he criteria that worldviews are judged by are derived from an explicit or implicit ecological philosophy (or ecosophy). An ecosophy is informed by both a scientific understanding of how organisms (including humans) depend on interactions with other organisms and a physical environment to survive and flourish, and also an ethical framework to decide why survival and flourishing matters and whose survival and flourishing matters (Stibbe, 2014, p. 119).

In their research, Heinz, Hsin-I and Inuzuka (2007) found a fragmentation of the environmental discourses presented by three Greenpeace webpages and that the way in which Greenpeace International represented nature or the earth did not correspond with how the individual offices represented it. As stated before “Greenpeace ... faces the challenge of communicating what is envisioned as a shared goal in a public sphere that is global in reach but local in policy” (2009, p. 17). Since the current research adopts an ecolinguistics approach to discourse analysis, it will postulate that for an international organization like Greenpeace to be successful in communicating climate change, their ecosophy should be homogenous across the different localized organisations. This is also implied by Greenpeace themselves as they write: “Greenpeace exists because this fragile earth deserves a voice” (<https://www.greenpeace.org/international/explore/about/>). Important to note here is that the noun voice is not pluralized which implies that Greenpeace as a whole is one voice, not several voices.

Because “global concepts of environment and environmental change are always localized in particular socio-political and cultural contexts” (Burningham & O’Brien, 1994, p. 914), the current research expects to find differences between the environmental discourse constructed by Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands. In line with this study by Burningham and O’Brien (1994), I expect to find that while Greenpeace International will construct a discourse of hope and opportunity, as was recommended in the Greenpeace brand guide, Greenpeace Netherlands will rather than deconstructing old stories, be reinforcing them. Based on the observation that Greenpeace International uses the format of stories instead of articles, metaphor use is expected to be more frequent in Greenpeace International’s content.

3.2 Research design

In various ways, the current research builds on previous studies which have been discussed in the literature review. The sub questions are guided specifically at metaphor use, framing, and visual imagery which form the overall discourse of Greenpeace. Conceptually, the current research employs methodological choices from several studies. Specifically; Nisbet (2009); DiFrancesco and Young (2011); Fleming, Vanclay, Hiller and Wilson (2014); Manzo (2009); Doulton and Brown (2009); Harré, Brockmeier and Mühlhäusler (1999); and Heinz, Hsin-I and Inuzuka (2007).

The current research adopts and adapts the analytical framework presented by Doulton & Brown (2009). In their study, they attempted to uncover the climate change discourses. Their analytical framework is subdivided into several readings. Their original analytic framework contains 6 different steps: surface descriptors; basic entities recognised or constructed, so, in other words, the ontology of the discourse: “how climate change phenomena are understood” (p. 193); assumptions about natural relationships; Agents and their motives; key metaphors and other rhetorical devices; and finally, normative judgements. Since the current research similarly adapted and added to Doulton & Brown’s (2009) characterisation of the different discourses. It made sense to adopt and extend their analytical framework in a similar fashion. Since the original research by Doulton & Brown (2009) concerned multiple different newspapers, the agents and their motives step within their framework is of importance. However, since the current research only looks at the creation of discourse from Greenpeace’s perspective, it seemed less relevant in the current analysis since Greenpeace’s ethos is clear in that they target big companies, industries and governments. Furthermore, also due to the scope of the current research, this dimension was scrapped from the framework. Since this study is also interested in the visual aspects as well as the different uses of frames in the texts, these dimensions were added to the framework. Like Heinz, Cheng & Inuzuka (2007), the current analysis is subdivided into several different readings. The analysis is similar to Heinz et al. (2007) as the reading was conducted in different steps. The framework was eventually adjusted in the following way:

1. Surface descriptors. This concerns the title, main subject, and wordcount of the story/article.
2. The ontology of the climate discourse, or, “[h]ow climate change phenomena are understood” (Doulton & Brown, 2009, p. 193).
3. Assumptions about natural relationships: “[t]he likely impacts of climate change in different parts of the world; where, when and how effects will be experienced; degree of uncertainty; possible solutions” (Doulton & Brown, 2009, p. 193).
4. Normative judgements: “[w]hat should be done, and by whom, to solve climate change and international development issues, and the extent to which these issues should be a priority”
5. Key metaphors and other imagery. Since this discourse analysis will examine metaphors from two different languages, no list of metaphors was created beforehand. The metaphors were thus inductively derived during the coding process.
6. As Broadbent et al. (2016) aptly state: “[f]or a society to become earnestly engaged in the needed global effort, some social orientations or frames are more conducive than others” (p. 3-4). Some frames attribute to the notion that climate change is a dangerous issue that must be dealt with, while others work to construe it as a non-issue; rejecting the urgency of the problem. The current analysis uses the typology of frames by Nisbet (2009). This typology can be found in appendix I.
7. Visual imagery will be analysed using DiFrancesco and Young’s (2011) content analysis of images in which they subdivide between image subject (human, nature or industry/technology) and theme per subject. A table of their visual analysis can be found in appendix II.

The first four according to Doulton and Brown (2009) are “the key components of different discourses” (p. 192). Use of framing, metaphors and visual imagery further informs the discourse that is created by the key components.

3.2.1 Frames

Everything on the above-mentioned list except framing will be derived inductively. The frames that will be used in the coding process are described below.

Social progress

This frame characterizes solving the issue climate change as a way to improve social progress, specifically as a “means of improving quality of life”, solving problems or, “to be in harmony with nature instead of mastering it” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18).

Economic development and competitiveness

In this framing structure, solving climate change is portrayed as an economic investment, as a “market benefit or risk; or a point of local, national or global competitiveness” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). This frame is interesting because it can, and has been used both ways. First and foremost, opponents of climate change action have used the economic development and competitiveness frame as a reason not to act on climate change. Citing the risk of investing in solving climate change for the economy and referring to the high costs. Many have attempted to turn this frame on its head by “recasting climate change as an opportunity to grow the economy” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 20). This frame corresponds to one of the dominant frames identified by Stoknes (2014): losses or high costs.

Morality and ethics

The framing structure captures solving climate change as a matter of right or wrong; “or of respect or disrespect for limits, thresholds, or boundaries” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). This frame hopes to recast solving climate change as a shared moral obligation.

Scientific and technical uncertainty

This structure can also be used both ways. Climate change sceptics have used the uncertainty of the exact effects of climate change and have translated it to uncertainty about climate change in general. This frame characterizes climate change as either uncertain, unproven or a hype. Using the same frame, proponents of climate action frame climate change as a certainty, emphasize the scientific consensus and its ‘confirmed’ status. This frame corresponds with one of Stoknes’ (2014) identified dominant frames: uncertainty.

Pandora’s Box

This frame refers to the precautionary principle when it comes to climate change and emphasizes its “possible catastrophe” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). This frame corresponds to what Stoknes (2014) argues is the most dominant of all climate change framings, and the least effective one: the apocalypse frame. The frame puts emphasis on the “out-of-control consequences” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). A reversal of the frame can characterize climate change as “fatalism, where there is no way to avoid the consequences or chosen path” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18), as if to say ‘so why bother?’

Public accountability and governance

As Nisbet (2009) argues: “[m]any environmental advocates and scientists have focused on public accountability as an additional call-to-arms on climate change, [accusing political figures] of putting politics ahead of science” (p. 20). It refers to the political inaction in the climate change debate.

Middle way/alternative path

This frame is used to describe neutral government approaches that refer to “a third way between conflicting or polarized views or options” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). This can, for example, mean highlighting approaches such as nuclear energy or geo-engineering. The frame may also focus on governmental decision-making.

Conflict and strategy

This frame puts emphasis on polarization of the climate debate. It refers to the issue of climate change as a game “among elites” (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). It is expected that this frame will not be encountered as Nisbet characterizes it as a predominantly “journalist-driven interpretation” in which parties are said to either win or lose the debate on climate change (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18).

National security

This frame highlights the national security threat of climate change and prioritizes the “potential benefits to health of adaptation and mitigation-related actions” (Myers, Nisbet, Maibach & Leiserowitz, 2012, p. 1107-8). It refers to predicted global impacts that threaten the safety of the public such as wars for resources, the displacements of climate refugees and the overdependence on fossil fuels from foreign countries.

Public health

Finally, the public health frame “stresses the health risks associated with climate change and the potential benefits to health of adaptation and mitigation-related actions” (Myers, Nisbet, Maibach & Leiserowitz, 2012, p. 1108). Nisbet (2009) argues that this frame stresses “the potential to increase the incidence of infectious diseases, asthma, allergies, heat stroke and other salient health problems” (p. 22), especially among vulnerable groups within societies such as elderly, children and the poor.

3.2.2 Discourses

Integrating discourse typologies from Fleming, Vanclay, Hiller and Wilson (2014); Manzo (2009); and Doulton and Brown (2009), a list of 9 discourses was made, each showing the basic entities that are recognised, the assumptions about natural relationships, and normative judgements. Added to this list are the relevant frames that are connected with the particular discourses based on the typology by Nisbet (2009). Finally, inspired by Fleming et al. (2014), the list also includes the barriers to engagement by Gifford (2011) that are associated with each discourse.

Discourse	Basic entities	Assumptions	Normative judgements	Relevant frames	Risk of barriers
Logical-action/rationalism	Climate change might be harmful Need for additional information Need for better understanding of the science and information	Action is necessary when the costs outweigh the benefits. Need for personal capacity	Out of precaution, people should lessen CO ₂ emissions and find solutions. No need to worry about climate change yet; responsive action is only necessary when an issue arises and when there is adequate personal capacity to act.	- Economic development and competitiveness, - scientific and technical uncertainty, - conflict and strategy	Denial, uncertainty, temporal discounting, sunk costs, mistrust, perceived risk
Optimism/complexity	Climate change is uncertain The climate has always changed Climate change is not catastrophic but beneficial	Science is far removed from public Scientific information is unreliable Climate change will be beneficial in the end	Climate change is complex and not easy to translate to the general public. There is no need to worry about climate change because projections are fabricated or exaggerated; scientists are lying.	- Scientific and technical understanding, - public accountability and governance, - conflict and strategy	Optimism bias, denial, uncertainty, mistrust, reactance
Culture of consumption	Climate change is an issue induced by materialism and consumerism	Humans act as an exhaustive force on the earth	Our current society is only focussed on wealth and growth. This should be	- Social progress, - economic development and competitiveness,	Worldviews, System justification Denial

	<p>driven by capitalism</p> <p>The earth is being depleted.</p>	<p>Capitalism and economic growth are destructive forces</p> <p>Current culture is unsustainable</p>	<p>stopped in order to stop climate change. This responsibility lies with both consumers and companies.</p>	<p>- public accountability and governance</p>	<p>Social comparison</p> <p>Behavioural Momentum</p> <p>Lack of perceived behavioural control</p> <p>Lack of self-efficacy</p>
Whole earth	<p>Climate change is a global issue</p> <p>The earth is vulnerable and fragile</p> <p>Global danger of climate change</p>	<p>The earth is a global unity; live together, die together</p> <p>Humans are connected</p>	<p>Climate change is a global problem and thus requires a global solution; only when we come together can we solve it.</p> <p>All nations should do their part; if not, why should we?</p>	<p>- Social progress, - pandora's box, - conflict and strategy</p>	<p>Ancient brain, environmental numbness, spatial discounting, self-efficacy</p>
Climate Justice/ethical mitigation	<p>Climate change is an issue of injustice</p> <p>Climate change is already affecting parts of the globe</p>	<p>Developing countries are at risk</p> <p>Unfair distribution of resources</p>	<p>It is unfair that the poorest, least responsible nations will be hit hardest. Climate change is a human rights issue. There is a need for equity. It is our moral duty to solve climate change</p>	<p>- Social progress, - morality and ethics, - public accountability and governance - national security, - human health</p>	<p>System justification, ancient brain, spatial discounting</p>
Disaster/crisis	<p>Climate change is already here and therefore urgent</p> <p>Climate change is threatening our existence</p> <p>Climate change is a disaster waiting to happen</p>	<p>Natural boundaries have already been crossed</p> <p>Models are accurate</p> <p>Climate change will affect us all, and it already affects the poor, who are dying as a result</p>	<p>Climate change is already happening; there is only very little time left to avoid a complete catastrophe.</p> <p>We must not forsake future generations</p>	<p>- Scientific and technical uncertainty, - pandora's box - national security - human health</p>	<p>Ancient brain, environmental numbness, spatial discounting, perceived behavioural control</p>
Technical salvation	<p>Climate change is not necessarily disastrous</p> <p>Climate change is an issue of innovation and technology</p>	<p>Human ingenuity can save us</p> <p>Humans stand above nature</p>	<p>Humans are ingenious; we have faced problems before and solved them using technology. In the future, technology will solve climate change.</p>	<p>- Economic development and competitiveness, - middle way/alternative path</p>	<p>Technosalvation, tokenism, the rebound effect.</p>
Opportunity/ hope and courage	<p>Climate change is a symptom of the problem; not the problem itself</p> <p>There is still hope, still time to limit the negative effects</p>	<p>Everything is connected</p> <p>Nature has value on its own and is beautiful</p>	<p>The earth is beautiful and precious, let's encourage one another and act together to build the world we dream of.</p>	<p>- Social progress, - morality and ethics, - public accountability and governance,</p>	

Figure 3. Typology of environmental discourses. Doulton and Brown (2009); Fleming, Vanclay, Hiller and Wilson (2014); Gifford (2011); Manzo (2009); and Nisbet (2009).

This typology of environmental discourses will be used in the analysis and conclusions to argue which discourse Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands employ most. Some of these discourses are expected to be more relevant than others, the logical action/rationalism and optimism/complexity discourse, for example, are expected to be virtually absent in Greenpeace's online communication because they argue that climate change is not certain enough yet to take action, or that climate change will have positive effects.

The ontology on climate change, assumptions about natural relationships and normative judgements are largely taken from Doulton and Brown's environmental discourses. Some of the discourses on the list are merged. Doulton and Brown's (2009) rationalism discourse is merged with Fleming, Vanclay, Hiller and Wilson's (2014) logical action discourse. Similarly, Doulton and Brown's (2009) optimism discourse is merged with Fleming et al.'s (2014) complexity discourse. This choice was made because the discourses were of a similar nature and together they presented a more in-depth understanding of each discourse.

Fleming et al.'s (2014) culture of consumption discourse was added to the existing typology because there was not a discourse like it in the original typology, yet it is a highly relevant one as it relates to the more recent argument that climate change can only be avoided if we break free from the economic system in which money trumps environmental protection. NGO's like Greenpeace have been known to argue in favour of system change.

The whole earth discourse was taken from Manzo's (2009) research and was added because it relates the ethical elements of the climate justice discourse to the earth itself. While both the whole earth discourse and the climate justice/ethical mitigation discourse argue in favour of environmental protection on the basis of morality, the climate justice discourse stresses that climate change needs to be stopped because of the otherwise devastating impacts on certain groups within our global society. The whole earth discourse puts the emphasis on the intrinsic value of other species, nature and the earth itself. Unlike climate justice, it is less focused on notions such as responsibility and culpability.

The disaster/crisis discourse is a combination of Doulton and Brown's (2009) three apocalypse-like discourses and merged because the subtle differences between these discourses were not relevant enough to all be concluded in the current thesis. Instead, the choice was made to create one disaster discourse, which corresponds more closely to other research in the climate change communication field as they often refer to the 'apocalypse discourse' that encompasses elements from the three disaster like discourse from the Doulton and Brown (2009) paper.

Finally, Doulton and Brown's (2009) opportunity discourse was supplemented by Greenpeace's vision of the story they want to tell which is one of hope and courage as is described in section 2.6.2. Since this is the discourse that Greenpeace in their own words strive for, the current research expects to find elements of this discourse in Greenpeace's communication. However, since the story team is a team within Greenpeace International and not Greenpeace Netherlands, the current thesis expects to find that this message of hope and courage will be more present in Greenpeace International's communication.

Each discourse is accompanied by relevant frames and barriers that are related to the each discourse. This choice was made so that the current thesis can relate research on discourses to research on framing and to the psychological research on climate change barriers. Hobson (2003) states that there are a "plethora of barriers to action" which prevent wholesome individual engagement. In his paper, 'the dragons of inaction', Robert Gifford (2011) elucidates seven overarching barriers or 'dragons' which he divides into 29 'species'. His taxidermy of barriers is to date one of the most elaborate and incorporates other "tentative starts" in the formulation of climate change related barriers such as the ones formulated by Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) and Lorenzoni Nicholson-Cole and Whitmarsh (2007). The seven categories include: limited cognition, ideologies, comparisons with others, sunk

costs, discredence, perceived risks and limited behaviour. Only the barriers that are mentioned in the discourses that will be discussed shall be explained. An overview of all Gifford's (2011) barriers can be found in appendix III Information on frames and barriers are presented together to reveal how certain discourses may prevent rather than promote engagement with climate change. What follows is an overview of the five discourses that are expected to be most relevant to Greenpeace's communication and how the difference frames and barriers relate to them.

Culture of consumption

The culture of consumption discourse understands climate change as an issue relating to our current society and the way in which climate change is "highly linked to current social attitudes about lifestyles, consumption habits and environmental values" (Fleming, Vanclay, Hiller and Wilson, 2014, p. 17). Since it argues for system change, the frame social progress is relevant as this frame in this context implies that a change of system will mean social progress.

Since this discourse is an argument against the values of our current economic system, the economic development frame is automatically involved as information is presented in such a way that discounts economic development as the discourse attempts to argue that economic growth does not equal development.

The public accountability and governance frame is also relevant to the discourse since this "extreme change to society ... is difficult for individuals to implement alone" (Fleming, Vanclay, Hiller and Wilson, 2014, p. 8). The question 'who' will have to change this system is important for the discourse and thus involves some variant of the public accountability frame.

As Fleming et al. (2014) state, "[w]ithin this discourse, addressing climate change presents a threat to the ideology of consumerism and will be resisted" (p. 18).

Finally, since the culture of consumption challenges the current dominant cultural beliefs, one expects the barriers 'worldviews' and 'system justification' to develop. Both belong to the category 'ideologies'. Gifford (2011) argues that worldviews relate to how an individual understands the world. This can be a barrier to engagement: "strong belief in free-enterprise capitalism tends to include the belief that the natural world is free to exploit as much as one desires or is able" (<http://www.dragonsofinaction.com/ideologies/>). 'System justification' is the "tendency to defend and justify the societal status quo" (p. 293) and is thus a likely barrier to occur. As Fleming et al. (2014) argue, "[b]ecause people don't want to accept personal responsibility for climate change, and/or do not want to experience guilt" other barriers that can occur are: denial, which would entail denying one's personal responsibility; social comparison, because "individuals in their failure to accept personal responsibility ... can blame others who consume even more"; 'behavioural momentum', since the culture needs to change, so need individual habits and as Gifford (2011) argues "many habitual behaviours are extremely resistant to permanent change" (p. 294); and finally, 'A lack of perceived behavioural control and of self-efficacy' which refers to the tendency for individuals to believe that individual actions do not matter with a global problem such as climate change: "stated in psychological language, people sometimes do not act because they perceive that they have little behavioural control over the outcome" (Gifford, 2011, p. 293).

Whole earth

The whole earth discourse understands climate change as a problem relating to natural disconnect. It emphasises the fragility of the earth and its intrinsic value. Framing wise, it entails the frame social progress as the discourse argues for more unity, which would involve social progress as people would have to come together to solve the issue. Since the discourse also highlights the fragility of the earth, presenting this information could entail a Pandora's box type of frame that emphasizes danger and

risk. Finally, the conflict and strategy frame puts emphasis on the polarization of the climate debate. One can imagine that this frame could be used to argue for connection instead of polarization to drive the point home that the world needs to come together to solve climate change.

Since the discourse stresses the need for a global solution the barrier category limited cognition is important. Gifford (2011) describes that our “ancient brain” (p. 291), is mainly concerned with immediate dangers and therefore ill-equipped to deal with distant issues such as climate change. Highlighting the globality of the issue can therefore be a trigger. Because the discourse still has this emphasis on global danger, the barrier environmental numbness might also rear its head: individuals are so hyperaware of climate change because the information is presented to them so many times that it leads to a “numbness to the message” (p. 292). Despite climate change being characterized as a global issue in this discourse, many parts of the world remain relatively unaffected, such as rich Western nations. Therefore, another barrier that could emerge in the minds of readers from the global North is ‘spatial discounting’ which “[o]ccurs when individuals presume that climate change or environmental problems are worse in other places than their own, so that they need not take personal responsibility now” (<http://www.dragonsofinaction.com/limited-cognition/>). Finally, again because this discourse stresses a global solution a lack of self-efficacy is a relevant barrier as people are reminded that in the global scheme of things, they are only small, thus fearing their actions will not make a difference.

Climate justice/ethical mitigation

The climate justice discourse is one that describes climate change as an issue of injustice. There is a focus on future generations and peoples from the Global South. The most obvious of the frames that fit in with this discourse is morality and ethics as the climate justice discourse is, overall, an appeal to one’s morality. This is closely tied to the social progress frame as the discourse is an argument for respecting human rights, instead of violating them. The focus on the effects that climate change will have on human populations relates to the national security frame and the human health frame. National security frame in this context is likely to be used to argue that by pursuing climate justice, we will be able to avoid or slow down phenomena such as climate refugees. The human health frame is a likely frame to appear in this discourse as it emphasizes the health effects of climate change. Finally, since the discourse involves a division between victims and perpetrators, the frame public accountability and governance is a logical frame to include as it can pertain to concepts as culpability.

One of the more pervasive barriers for this discourse may be ‘ancient brain’. Gifford writes that “we tend to think in terms of immediately providing for ourselves, our families and our friends, rather than the more distant or future task...” (<https://www.dragonsofinaction.com/limited-cognition>). Since the impacted groups in the climate justice discourse are usually future generations of communities from the Global South, from a Global North perspective, this barrier might well emerge. This is related to the spatial discounting and temporal discounting barriers as these are triggered by the same things. Finally, since the current global system is unjust in that the many products from the Global North, for example, are assembled, farmed or obtained from Global South countries for less than a liveable wage, it is very hard for citizens in the Global North to avoid indirectly paying and thus reinforcing this injustice. A barrier that is linked to the “tendency to defend and justify the societal status quo” (Gifford, 2011, p. 293) is system justification and thus likely to occur.

Disaster/crisis

The disaster discourse is one that conceives of climate change a threatening phenomenon that has the potential to wipe mankind from the planet. This discourse involves framing information in such a way that the dangerousness and threat of climate change shines through, which is what the Pandora’s Box frame does. The frame scientific and technical uncertainty is also closely related to the disaster

discourse as the emphasis is placed on the uncertainty of what will happen when we pass environmental thresholds. It thus reinforces the frame that is usually used to argue against acting on climate change with the hopes of sounding as a logical argument for the precautionary principle: if we do not know what will happen after we cross environmental boundaries, then we should avoid crossing these boundaries at all costs. Finally, the national security and human health frame are also highly relevant for the discourse. National security because of the apocalypse like consequences that are highlighted in the discourse. The human health frame is known to have been used to argue that climate change will mean the global spread of infectious diseases such as Malaria (Foust, 2009).

According to Stoknes (2014; 2015) describing climate change as a doom scenario only triggers apocalypse fatigue as this discourse is so pervasive throughout climate change communication. This corresponds to Gifford's (2011) environmental numbness barrier. Similarly, the 'ancient brain' barrier that has already been explained plays a role as an impending apocalypse is on such a grand scale, it is too much to comprehend. The 'lack of perceived behavioural control/efficacy' are also connected to the discourse: "[w]hen climate change is framed as an encroaching disaster that can only be addressed by loss, cost, and sacrifice, it creates a wish to avoid the topic ... [w]ith a lack of practical solutions, helplessness grows and the fear message backfires" (Stoknes, 2015, p. 82).

Opportunity/hope and courage

This final discourse is a combination of Doulton and Brown's (2009) opportunity discourse and Greenpeace's vision of the story they want to tell. In Greenpeace's brand guide states that they mean to create stories that emphasize social progress, which is why this frame is connected to the discourses. Since this discourse emphasizes connectedness and the intrinsic value of nature, the morality and ethics frame is also linked to this discourse. Finally, since the discourse emphasizes what the world could look like if people stand up for a brighter future, it entails the public accountability as 'standing up to' suggests responsibility and culpability.

No barriers were added to this discourse. That is not to say that there cannot be any, but that if the discourse is successful in communicating climate change by evoking "hope, empathy, courage and connectedness to each other and nature" (Greenpeace 2016b, slide 10), then no barriers are expected to occur since they are all born out of despair, apathy, fear and disconnectedness to the place where one lives, the earth, people from other countries and nature.

3.3 Operationalization of theory

The current thesis utilizes several theories. Textual devices such as framing an metaphor use combined with visual imagery make up a discourse. The way the discourse is analysed in the current thesis is based on several overarching theories such as discourse theory, frame theory, ecolinguistics and the theory of psychological barriers.

Climate change communication always entails the construction of a particular discourse on climate change. An environmental discourse is made up out of key components such as ontology, assumptions about natural relationships and normative judgements. Use of framing, metaphors and visual imagery reinforces the created discourse. Discourse has a discursive power and thus influences the way in which people come to think about climate change. In order to create individual engagement with an abstract and complex issue such as climate change, the discourse will have to be constructed in such a way that rather than evoking, it resolves psychological barriers that people often experience in climate change communication attempts. According to previous research, storytelling elements might enable a discourse to bypass psychological barriers. The conceptual model for this argument looks as follows:

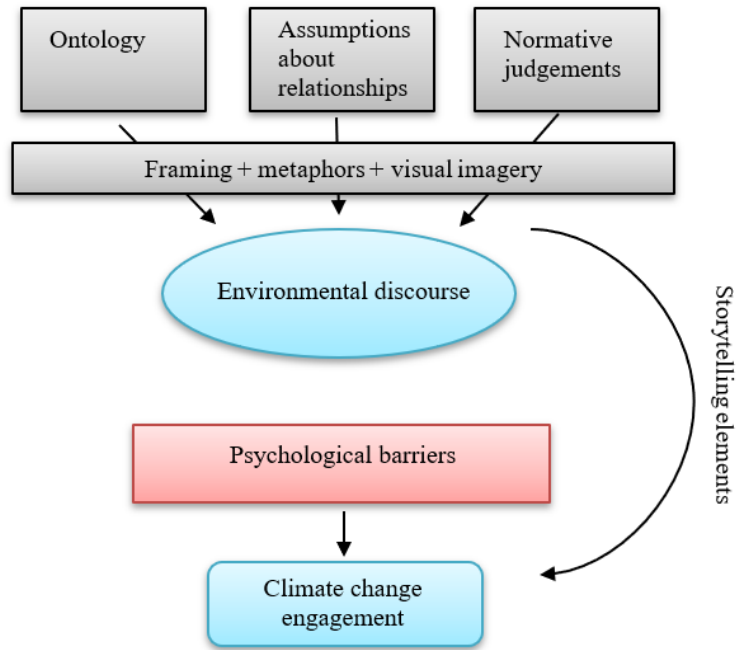


Figure 4: conceptual model

When the mentioned theories are combined, the current thesis expects them to show 1) how they form an environmental discourse, 2) to which degree this discourse matches other dominant discourses, and 3) which discourses have the potential to bypass psychological barriers and thus inspire engagement. It is outside the scope of this research to determine which barriers are evoked in audiences for certain discourses. Using a wealth of research, however, this study has attempted to map which features of certain discourses are said to evoke certain barriers. These barriers serve as an explanation of why these dominant discourses are unlikely to foster deep engagement.

4. Method

4.1 Research strategy

Fairclough (1992) constructed a three-dimensional model for executing a discourse analysis, which can be seen pictures below:

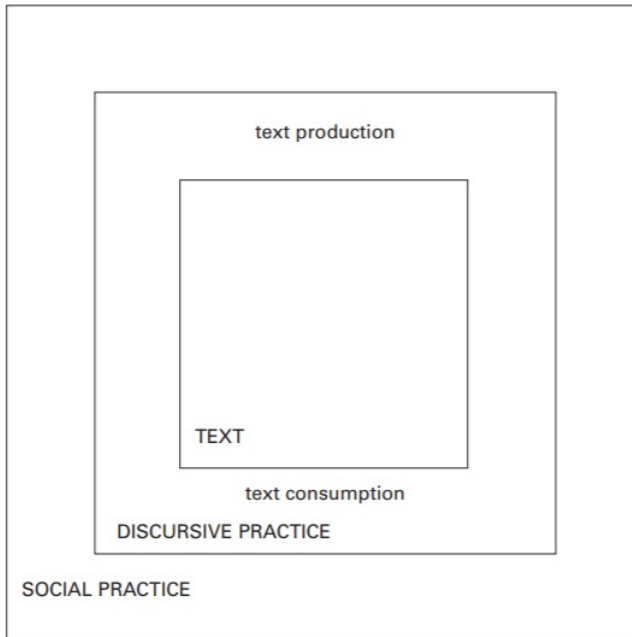


Figure 5: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (1992).

According to Fairclough, every communicative occurrence consists of these three dimensions:

- it is a text (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these);
- it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts; and
- it is a social practice (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 68).

The proposed research will analyse these three levels.

Like Heinz, Cheng & Inuzuka (2007), the current analysis is subdivided into 7 different readings, each step in the research design another reading as is described in section 3.2.

In Atlas.Ti the findings from the readings were converted into codes; the metaphor use was coded inductively as was the use of overall themes and topics, while the use of framing and visual imagery were coded using Nisbet's (2009) typology of frames and DiFrancesco and Young's (2011) visual themes. The codes were then analysed and interpreted.

4.2 Research methods

4.2.1 Case study

The current research analyses web-content from the Greenpeace International as well as Greenpeace Netherlands. Both Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands (hereafter GPI and GPNL) work with the website design Planet 4. This particular website design does not include an overview of the content that can be found on it on the front page. Rather, the websites sorts its content by several categories. For GPI these different categories include 'issue', 'campaign', 'category' and 'content type'. For GPNL these different categories include 'campaign', 'type' and 'content type'. The category 'issue', which only occurs at GPI, is subdivided into 4 other sections. Namely: 'Energy', 'Nature', 'People' and 'Ships'. For both GPI and GPNL, the category 'campaign' consists of various hashtags, which is the main way in which one can navigate from one article to other relevant articles.

GPI and GPNL both have different hashtags though some overlap. The following table shows the hashtags used on the GPI website as well as those used on the GPNL website.

Greenpeace International	Frequency	Greenpeace Netherlands	Frequency
About us	10	Amazone About us	11
ArcticSunrise	5	Antartica	6
Climate	95	Arctic Sunrise	2
Coal	30	Bijen	5
Consumption	40	Bossen	33
EnergyRevolution	54	Brief	5
Esperanza	10	Consumptie	9
Food	13	Dieren	25
Forests	64	Doneren	7
Health	12	Duurzaamheid	48
Oceans	63	Educatie	9
Oil	42	Esperanza	5
Peace	7	ForestFriends	3
RainbowWarrior	5	Gas	5
		GroeneStroom	22
		Ijsbeer	2
		Jaarverslag	0
		JoinTheForce	11
		Kernenergie	3
		Klimaataakkoord	18
		Klimaatmars	4
		Kolen	9
		Landbouw	40
		Luchtvaart	17
		MyGreenpeace	1
		Nalaten	1
		Nationale Postcode Loterij	1
		Noordpool	1
		Noordzee	2
		Oceanen	29
		Olie	27
		Oplossingen	6
		Orang-oetan	5
		Organisatie	23
		Palmolie	19
		Pinguin	4
		Plastic	28
		Politiek	27
		Postcodeloterij	1
		RainbowWarrior	6
		Shell	7
		Successen	11
		SumatraanseTijger	0
		Vacatures	7
		Vervuiling	17
		Vlees	26
		Walvis	4
		Zuidpool	6
		Klimaat	1
		Vleeskoorts	14

Figure 5, GPI and GPNL content sorted by hashtag as of 01-04-2019.

GPI works with 14 hashtags while GPNL works with 50 hashtags. For GPI 'category' is subdivided in 'Press Release', 'Publication', and 'Story'. GPNL's 'type', which corresponds with GPI's 'category' consists of articles, press releases, publication and vacancies.

Greenpeace International

As can be seen in figure 4, there are 93 different types of content for the hashtag 'climate'. For this hashtag, the website lists three different category types: 'press release', 'publication', and 'story'. This research will examine all stories available under the hashtag 'climate' from GPI, which amounts to 41 stories.

Greenpeace Netherlands

GPNL has a corresponding hashtag to climate, which is 'klimaat'. However this hashtag is only used once. Planet 4 works in such a way that by selecting one article, other relevant content types to the hashtag under which the article is categories will be recommended. The one article that is filed under the hashtag climate, was however, also filed under the hashtag 'aviation' which means that the recommended section mostly concerned aviation specifically. Instead, a selection of articles was made that in the url were stored under <https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/klimaatverandering>. Of these articles, the relevant articles that were published during the same timeframe as the GPI stories were selected. This timeframe spanned from May 2018 to March 2019. The earliest GPI story under the hashtag climate marked the beginning of the data set.

4.2.2 Atlas.Ti

Based on the adapted framework, 7 code groups were established: ontology, assumptions, judgements, imagery, framing, visual and story. The following pre-established codes were used in the analysis. Ontology_, Assumptions_What Assumptions_Where, Assumptions_When, Assumptions_How, Assumptions_Certainty, Assumptions_Solutions, Assumptions_WhoSuffers, Judgements_What, Judgements_ByWhom, Judgments_Priority, Judgement_WhoSuffers, Imagery_, Frame_SocialProgress, Frame_EconomicDevelopment, Frame_Morality, Frame_ScientificUncertainty, Frame_Pandora'sBox, Frame_PublicAccountability, Frame_MiddleWay, Frame_ConflicAndStrategy, Frame_NationalSecurity, Frame_PublicHealth, Visual_Human, Visual_Nature, Visual_Industry and Story_.

The ontology, assumptions about natural relationships and normative judgement codes will be used to discuss the discourse typologies and which fits best with GPI and GPNL and, like the imagery, frame and visual codes, will be used to answer the sub-questions to the current thesis. Together the codes form the overall discourse. The information gathered from the coding process will be used to interpret and ultimately answer the main research question.

GPI and GPNL's analyses were done in separate Atlas.Ti files, to ensure that one analysis would not guide the other through the codes that were established for each along the way. GPI's analysis was performed first, GPNL's second. After both analyses, code networks were created for both GPI and GPNL's codes, in which the relationships between the different codes was explicated. To give an example, the code 'Ontology_HumansPartOfNature' which was code assigned to the sentences such as "[s]ince human society is a subsystem within Earth's ecological system" (3:42), belongs to the general group 'ontology', but is also a property of the frame morality and ethics. It contradicts another code, namely 'Assumptions_What_HumansAreDestructive. Below is the full network for the code.

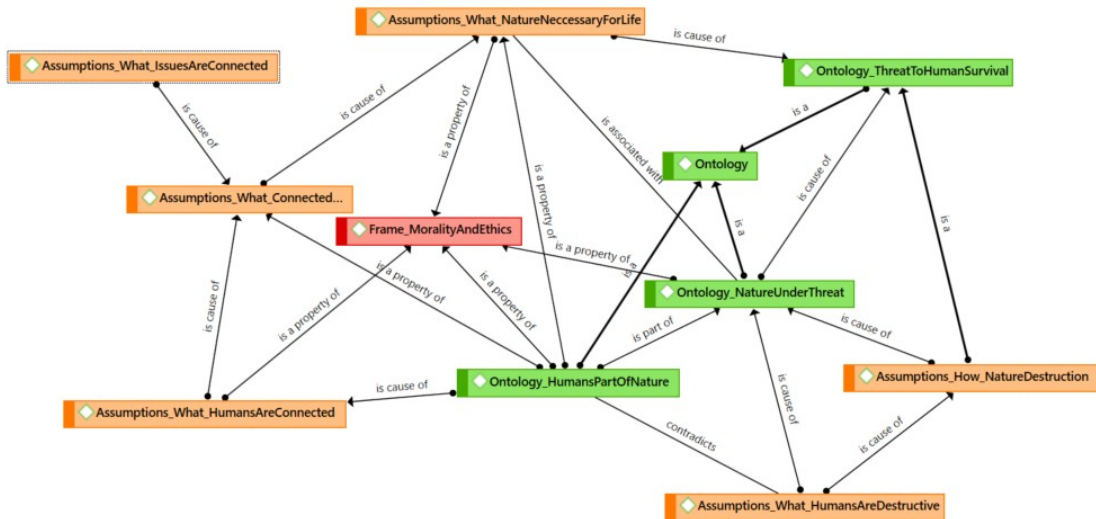


Figure 6, code network 'Ontology_HumansPartOfNature' GPI.

All codes for both GPI as well as GPNL have been connected in a code network. Due to their size, they have been included in appendix IV (GPI) and V (GPNL) as screenshots.

4.3 Validity and reliability

The current research has a somewhat strange relationship to validity as a discourse analysis cannot be performed objectively since the method is almost entirely based on the interpretations of the researcher. However, as Jørgensen & Phillips (2002) state “[a]lthough discourse analysis does not accept objectivism’s scientific demands of reliability and validity, this does not mean that all demands for validity are dismissed” (p. 117). A discourse analysis is always an interpretative exercise which increases the risk of biases to make their way into the analysis. According to Bryman (2001), consistency is a necessity to safeguard the reliability of a research. Every article/story that was examined was subjected to the same criteria and therefore ensures a measure of consistency. Moreover, rather than the analysis taking place behind closed doors as it were, the progress of each criteria was coded using Atlas.Ti.

Though there are no concrete rules for a discourse analysis, the proposed research will follow the three rules of thumb suggested by Jørgensen & Phillips (2002):

- The analysis should be solid. It is best if interpretation is based on a range of different textual features rather than just one feature.
- The analysis should be comprehensive ... the questions posed to the text should be answered fully and any textual features that conflict with the analysis should be accounted for.
- the analysis should be presented in a transparent way, allowing the reader, as far as possible, to ‘test’ the claims made. This can be achieved by documenting the interpretations made and by giving the reader access to the empirical material or at least by reproducing longer extracts in the presentation of the analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 173).

5. Analyses & Results

5.1 Greenpeace International

Coding results

The analysis of GPI's 41 stories began with a total seven pre-coded categories: ontology, assumptions, judgements, imagery, framing, visual and story. For each of these category, some codes were established as explained in section 4.2.2. In total, 26 codes were established before the analysis had begun.

At the end of the analysis of GPI's stories, 166 codes were established, divided across the original seven code-categories. The following table represents the amount of codes per category for GPI's stories.

Group	Codes
<i>Assumption</i>	24
<i>Framing</i>	11
<i>Imagery</i>	39
<i>Judgements</i>	22
<i>Ontology</i>	16
<i>Story</i>	22
<i>Visual</i>	32

Figure 7, GPI's codes

A full list of all codes, the amount of times they appear in the text, their density in the code network and their corresponding groups can be found in appendix VI. Included below is a table representing the fifteen most frequently used codes throughout the text.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Grounded</i>	<i>Groups</i>
<i>Frame_PublicAccountabilityAndGovernance</i>	74	Framing
<i>Frame_Pandora'sBox</i>	55	Framing
<i>Imagery_ExtendedMetaphor_War</i>	49	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_ActionNecessary</i>	47	Judgements
<i>Frame_MoralityAndEthics</i>	45	Framing
<i>Story_PeoplePower</i>	44	Story
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_FutureGenerations</i>	41	Judgements
<i>Frame_ScientificAndTechnicalUncertainty</i>	39	Framing
<i>Story_Emotion_Hope</i>	36	Story
<i>Ontology_ClimateJusticeIssue</i>	35	Ontology
<i>Ontology_ClimateCrisis</i>	34	Ontology
<i>Judgements_Priority_Urgent</i>	34	Judgements
<i>Visual_Human_Citizen</i>	34	Visual
<i>Story_Villain_GreedyCooperations</i>	31	Story
<i>Ontology_ClimateChangeIsThreat</i>	31	Ontology

Figure 8, GPI's 15 most frequently used codes.

Surface descriptors

The first step in the analysis was a general read, with close attention to the surface descriptors such as the title, word count and the main subject.

	Date	Title	Main subject	Word count
1	22-03-2019	Waking up to Idai. When extreme weather hits home	Climate change consequences	522
2	19-03-2019	Our favorite photos from the student climate strike	Student climate strike	518

3	17-03-2019	Failed Economics	System change	1632
4	28-02-2019	10 things you've always wanted to ask the students skipping school to fight climate change	Student climate strike	1226
5	22-02-2019	School strikes take off as legacy from 'grandfather of climate science'	Student climate strike	797
6	30-01-2019	Two incredible, little-known reefs	Nature conservation	1196
7	25-01-2019	EU elections are coming up in may – here's why you should care	Politics	634
8	04-01-2019	The youth have seen enough	The youth movement	1541
9	21-12-2018	2018: In difficult times, hope is an act of courage	Hope	1116
10	20-12-2018	5 young activists who inspired us this year	The youth movement	1224
11	14-12-2018	"My friends think I'm crazy" – Why I'm taking a stand against coal in Poland	Activism	1167
12	12-12-2018	We're exploring the Great Southern Reef to save it from Big Oil	Nature conservation	556
13	11-12-2018	Feminism and environmentalism go hand in hand – it's gender day at the global climate talks	Feminism	482
14	11-12-2018	Why the world's smallest nations are making the loudest noise for the climate	Climate justice	1313
15	10-12-2018	Learning to look climate change In the eyes	Climate justice	1217
16	10-12-2018	What does climate change have to do with human rights?	Climate justice	1354
17	29-11-2018	This is what a UN climate conference looks like. And why we need YOUR voice heard!	Climate change politics	912
18	22-11-2018	The world's first online climate summit kicks off today. Here's why you should care	Climate justice	490
19	07-11-2018	Meet the women taking on some of the world's biggest climate polluters	Feminism	1001
20	31-10-2018	On track for disaster – how the Arctic Railway will affect you and the climate	Climate change consequences	730
21	12-10-2018	What a difference a week makes	Climate change politics	934
22	11-10-2018	Think we can't win on climate change? This victory by Dutch citizens will change your mind	Victory	931
23	09-10-2018	A super-charged typhoon took my family away. It can happen to you too	Climate change consequences	1682
24	04-10-2018	I made 1000 people walk out of school. All in the name of climate change.	Student climate strike	1692
25	02-10-2018	5 reasons your city should go car-free	Climate mitigation	576
26	01-10-2018	The courage of climate hope	Hope	725
27	27-09-2018	10 things you've always wanted to ask an environmental lawyer	Climate justice	1330
28	20-09-2018	We've got 10 years to ditch fossil fuel cars – or it's game over for the climate	Climate mitigation	1148
29	14-09-2018	Hothouse earth	Current situation	1658
30	24-08-2018	From fires to floods, this is what extreme weather looks like	Climate change consequences	455
31	17-08-2018	World Photography Day through the lens of Greenpeace	Photography	603
32	09-08-	Plastics aren't just polluting our oceans they're	Nature conservation	455

	2018	releasing greenhouse gases		
33	08-08-2018	Let's talk about climate change	Current situation	743
34	27-07-2018	What does the burning of the Great Northern Forest mean for us?	Climate change consequences	498
35	19-07-2018	What a green and peaceful future could look like	Hope	1064
36	18-06-2018	Energy Transfer Partners' attacks on human rights, free speech and the environment have officially gone too far	Climate justice	1198
37	15-06-2018	These banks are still funding dangerous oil pipelines — here's how you can stop them	Financial sector	640
38	12-06-2018	5 ways people are standing up to oil pipeline companies	Activism	956
39	01-06-2018	One year on and we are still moving ahead	Current situation	803
40	25-05-2018	These four climate cases are changing how we can tackle climate change	Climate justice	918
41	09-05-2018	Wildfires are out of control – and they're affecting the entire planet	Climate change consequences	717

Figure 9, overview of GPI's stories

The average word count of the GPI stories is 960 words. The most frequent subject matter was climate justice, followed by climate change consequences and the student strikes. Greenpeace International operates globally, so it is of little surprise that climate justice was the most frequent subject that appeared in their stories. When one clicks on the hashtags climate, they are taken to a page in which GPI offers its view on climate change. The first sentence on this page: “[o]ur climate is sick but we have the power to heal it and ourselves, and create a greener more equal world” (<https://www.greenpeace.org/international/tag/climate/>). Equality is emphasized on their webpage. While some communication focusses on consumer behaviour, GPI aims their arrows rather at politics and companies. They argue that “[p]eople have rights. States have duties. Companies have responsibilities” (<https://www.greenpeace.org/international/act/climate-justice/>). Climate change in this way, becomes an infringement of people's rights, especially those who are hit hardest by its impacts.

The ontology of the climate discourse

The corresponding Atlas.Ti code for the climate change ontology was ‘Ontology_’. According to Doulton and Brown (2009), this includes the basic entities that are recognised or constructed. It pertains to how “climate change phenomena are understood [and], the authority given to different sources of information” (p. 193). In total, the Ontology group contains 16 codes that were uncovered throughout the stories. The most frequently used Ontology code is the code ‘Ontology_ClimateJusticeIssue’ which is not surprising compared to the most frequently discussed main subject of climate justice. This code was coded every time a particular phrase or sentence described climate change as a justice issue. If climate justice was described as a solution to climate change, it was coded as ‘Judgements_What_ClimateJustice’. The ‘ClimateJusticeIssue’ code was coded a total of 35 times throughout 16 different stories.

Throughout the different stories, it is emphasized that those who contributed most to climate change, will not be the ones that suffer its consequences: “[t]he people who are the least responsible for climate change are the most vulnerable” (10:9) and “[c]limate change has a greater impact on those parts of the population that depend the most on natural resources for their livelihoods and who have the least capacity to respond to environmental disasters” (13:13). Besides explaining why climate change is an equality issue, GPI also lets those that are already affected speak. In story 10 GPI describes

the stories of young activists, among whom Marinel Ubaldo from the Philippines who says: “[m]y story is only one of many, and I’m here to speak on behalf of the vulnerable and the marginalized communities” (10:25).

The second most frequently coded ontology was the ‘Ontology_ClimateCrisis’ which was coded a total of 34 times throughout 18 different stories. This code was assigned when climate change was referred to as a crisis, or a catastrophe, or if this was implied. Instead of the phrase ‘climate change’, the change was often substituted for words that connoted to a looming apocalypse: “she’s done waiting for adults to save her generation from the climate crisis” (4:24), “[c]rucially it also means the preservation of the world’s forests as natural solutions to climate catastrophe” (20:15) and, “many of us who understand the science of climate change have developed a protective mechanism that keeps us from constantly despairing about our unfolding climate tragedy” (26:6). Sometimes, the crisis was implied by various descriptions: “... the terrible impacts of climate change – from droughts to wild fires, from floods to violent storms and rising sea levels” (7:25), “Flooding in Japan, unprecedented monsoons in India ... Africa is seeing deadly droughts...” (9:3) “[e]urope is burning” (34:1).

The code ‘Ontology_ClimateChangeThreat’ which was coded 31 times throughout 18 different stories is related to the climate crisis code in that it too refers to climate change as something inherently dangerous and catastrophic. The threatening messages about climate change mostly referenced the younger generations: “[m]y generation, the millennials, will never know a time when climate change wasn’t a grave threat” (29:25) or to vulnerable communities “[c]limate change is the single greatest existential threat to the Pacific islands” (14:31). Which thus ties back into GPI’s understanding of climate change as a climate justice issue. It also relates to other codes such as ‘Ontology_ThreatToHumanSurvival’, which was coded 19 times throughout 14 stories; and ‘Ontology_ClimateChangeAlreadyHere’, which was coded 14 times in 12 stories. The Climate Change Threat ontology code relates closely to the ‘Threat To Human Survival’ code, the biggest difference being that the first reference points to the threatening elements of climate change, while the latter specifically references that climate change is a threat to human lives. Some overlap exists between the categories. The connection that follows from these three code categories is that climate change is represented as a threat to future generations and people from the Global South who are already experiencing its effects.

Other noteworthy codes include the code ‘Ontology_TheScienceIsClear’ which refers to the general emphasis GPI puts on the consensus on climate change within the academic community specifically referencing the IPCC multiple times as a credible source of scientific information. The following quote is exemplary for this code: “[c]limate change is the greatest threat humanity has faced and the urgency of action has never been greater. Last October, the UN’s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) warned that we have just 12 years left to save the climate” (9:11). This code links to ‘Ontology_TimeIsRunningOut’, which was coded 20 times in 12 different stories.

To conclude, GPI recognizes the following basic entities regarding climate change:

- Climate change is a social justice issue, with events disproportionately affecting those in more vulnerable places in the world such as developing countries and future generations who will inherit the burden.
- Climate change is a catastrophic event that is already happening in various parts of the world, threatening human survival and nature.
- The science on climate change is crystal clear, and warns us that time is running out.

Assumptions about natural relationships

In total, 24 codes were created under the code group Assumptions. The different categories within the group are Assumptions_Certainty, Assumptions_How, Assumptions_What, Assumptions_When and Assumptions_Where.

The most coded assumption between natural relationships pertains to humanity itself. The code Assumptions_What_HumansAreConnected was coded 21 times throughout 15 different stories. Throughout the stories GPI paints the picture of humans as being connected to one another which is accompanied by the silent argument that if some communities suffer from climate change, we all suffer. It is often done to establish a sense of unity for the reader: “[h]undreds and hundreds of cases are being brought all over the world in many instances by people like me, and possibly you; human beings who are saying “enough” (15:24), “[b]ut the thing is, this is an issue that concerns every single one of us” (17:8) and “I am the daughter of all those who came before me and I am following the paths my ancestors created for me” (20:3). This code is closely tied to the code ‘Assumptions_Where_Globally’ which was coded every time the text referenced that climate change will affect the planet as a whole. It was coded a total of 13 quotations in 10 of the stories. The quote “[b]ut climate change is a global problem and it needs a global solution” (14:22) is exemplary of this particular code. The argument that is being created here is that since humans are all connected, climate change is a global problem. Both of these codes can be linked to the code ‘Assumptions_What_ConnectedNature’ which was coded for 16 quotations spread over 9 stories. In these quotations GPI depicts the earth/nature as a system with different parts, all of which are necessary for optimal functioning: “[w]e need to ask ourselves, as a species and as part of a global and interconnected planetary ecosystem; what is our role in all of this?” (9:12) and “status quo economists ignore the way dynamic living systems actually function. Biological growth in living ecological system necessarily encounters complex interactions, resource depletion, population limits, waste recycling, feedbacks, and system-changing tipping points” (3:36). This thus reinforces the notion that climate change is a global problem as opposed to thinking of climate change as something that only creates certain regional issues. Also, if nature as well as humans are connected, and humans are part of nature, as is part of GPI’s ontology, that means that these regional occurrences become part of a bigger global issue, which is thus exactly what GPI suggests with these different elements in their discourse.

Throughout the stories, the beauty of nature was often emphasized. The code ‘Assumptions_What_NatureIsBeautiful’ was created and was used for quotations such as “magical reefs” (6:30), “... to protect this stunning area [Amazon Reef] from the ravages of the oil industry” (6:41) and “[i]f you saw how beautiful they were, you would agree that logging them to turn into toilet paper to sell in China should be a crime” (20:8). It is the second most coded assumption about natural relationships as it is grounded in 17 quotations. Besides its beauty, GPI accentuates nature’s necessity for life: “[an oil spill] would be devastating not only to the marine life that calls the Reef home, but also to the fishing, tourism and recreation industries, and the thriving coastal communities who depend on these reefs for their way of life” (12:16)

Finally, another frequently coded relevant code included ‘Assumptions_What_IncompetentLeaders’. Though leadership might not be an obvious code in a category that revolves around natural relationships, GPI paints a picture of leadership as being, in its natural state, in our current economic system, as incapable of responding to the global challenge of climate change: “[y]ou are not mature enough to tell it like it is. Even that burden you leave to us children. But I don’t care about being popular. I care about climate justice and the living planet” (10:48) and “[r]ight now, they aren’t doing it. They aren’t listening, they aren’t being bold, they aren’t showing the political commitment” (14:46).

In conclusion, GPI makes the following assumptions about natural relationships:

- Human beings are connected as we are part of the connectivity of nature itself; a hit to one part of the system will be felt in the system as a whole. Climate change is an issue that is felt globally.
- Nature is a beautiful part of this earthly system, yet it is also necessary for the survival of its subsystems. Since humans are part of nature, a threat to nature, is a threat to us as well.
- In its current form, the relationship between leadership and the protection of our natural resources/ the response to climate change is either non-existent or ineffective.

Normative judgements

The normative judgements were coded under the code name Judgements_ of which there were several pre-established categories: Judgements_What, Judgments_WhoSuffers, Judgements_Priority, Judgements_ByWhom and Judgements_Solutions. Together these codes answer the question of what GPI thinks should be done about climate change, who suffers from climate change, how big of a priority it is, by whom it should be solved and how they can solve it.

The most frequently coded judgement with 47 quotations throughout 25 of the different stories is the code 'Judgements_What_ActionNecessary'. This code is quite broad which is due to the way in which GPI refers to what should be done on climate change, which is: act. Oftentimes it is left vague what is precisely by act: "and it's angering to know that this is something that leadership ... can take action on" (1:62), "[w]e need someone who is going to do something" (4:34) and "[t]here is still time to avert chaos, but it requires the world's politicians and corporations to accept and embrace the responsibility of action" (5:61). Other times the Paris Agreement is mentioned as something to act on: "[t]he world needs to urgently act on its commitment to the Paris Agreement" (1:61). It is, however, often suggested that taking action on climate change is irreconcilable with the current 'system': "[t]he necessary changes require a 'fundamental reorientation of human values'" (29:29). GPI even uses one of Einstein's famous quotes to open story 35 which revolves around what the future could look if we take 'action': "[w]e cannot solve problems with the same kind of thinking that created them" (35:1). In another story, GPI writes that: "Thunberg pointed out that 'if solutions within the system are so impossible to find, maybe we should change the system itself'" (8:25).

The abovementioned code links to the code 'Judgements_EconomicGrowthIncompatible'. This code was created for the many instances in the text in which economic growth is portrayed as something that is currently halting the 'action' on climate change: "recent studies show that 'green' or 'sustainable' growth are delusions" (8:86), "[t]he politicians and people in power talk a lot about climate change but when they make decisions, it's still not as important as making money" (24:26) and "[t]here's a discernible disconnect between the infinite growth imperative and the finite resources of planet Earth" (35:2). The 'system' that is implied to need changes in order for action to come is thus capitalism, in which economic growth is the imperative.

The second most coded code is 'Judgements_WhoSuffers_FutureGeneration' which was coded 41 times throughout 13 stories. The emphasis throughout different stories is on the fact that people who are now contributing most to climate change, will not be contemporaries of those that will suffer the harshest consequences: "[i]f we valued future generations equally to ourselves, we would assume a discount rate of zero" (3:78), "[i]t must not be left to the young to clean up the climate mess older generations have created" (5:59) and "[t]he people who are the least responsible for climate change are the most vulnerable. This is something that those living in the Pacific Islands know all too well, and for young people, this is all they'll ever know" (10:9). This connects to another frequently coded code: 'Judgements_What_ClimateJustice'. This is coded for quotations that refer to climate justice is a necessary part of the solution of climate change such as: "[a]s the window of time available to us to make a difference narrows we must find ways to make lasting global change. The answer is Climate Justice" (16:20).

Other noteworthy mentions include the code ‘Judgements_Priority_Urgent’ which was coded a total of 34 times in 22 stories. All quotations in this category describe climate change as something that is in need of urgent ‘action’. The responsibility for solving climate change is placed in the hands of three different parties: governments or rich/Global North nations, leadership, and companies. Each have a corresponding code category. Interestingly, a code that was added because of the frequency with which the concept is expressed throughout the stories, is the code ‘Judgements_Culpability’. The quotations of this code category place emphasis on the culpability issue of governments and companies in the climate issue as “for a growing community of people around the world, there is no plan(et) B ... [t]his means holding governments and companies accountable and urging them to take responsibility for the growing climate crisis” (27:13). This code is thus closely connected to climate justice codes as well.

In conclusion, GPI expresses the following normative judgements on climate change in their discourse:

- Action is required to solve climate change. This action is not being taken because of the emphasis in our current society on economic growth. If action is impossible in the current system, then it should be concluded that rather than the action not being urgent, the system is not functioning.
- Governments, leadership and companies need to take responsibility about climate change and act in accordance with the urgency of the climate change issue.
- The ones that will suffer most are future generations who are born with the burden of climate change. It is for them and vulnerable communities across the globe that climate justice is necessary.

Key metaphors and other imagery

The next step in the coding process concerns the use of imagery with a specific focus on metaphors. From the analysis follows that GPI uses a wealth of imagery as can be seen from the fact that in total, the imagery category contains 38 different codes. Though imagery was plentiful, true metaphors were less so. The stories also did not contain a single explanatory metaphor.

The most frequently coded imagery category was ‘Imagery_ExtendedMetaphor_War’. This was by far the number one instance of metaphor use throughout the stories. It was coded 49 times throughout 20 stories. The quotations in it represent climate change as a war with opposing sides. Rather than a single metaphor, the pervasiveness of the imagery makes it an extended metaphor. Several different elements and phrases make it an extended metaphor. For instance, people who do something against climate change are said to ‘fight’ it: “a new approach to fighting climate change” (16:3), “I believe we can change the course and win the climate fight if governments of developed countries show more political will to raise their climate ambitions”, “and “the day on which Trump chose the wrong side of history and turned his back on the global fight against climate change” (39:6). The countries already experiencing the effects of climate change are said to be at the ‘front lines’: “the mothers, daughters, fathers, grandparents – living on the frontlines of the climate crisis” (19:8), “[t]he Pacific, which includes numerous vulnerable nations, is leading from the front lines” (14:21) and “[m]ore than anything I feel very inspired and hopeful that a community also considered to be vulnerable to climate impacts is on the frontlines of taking action against climate change” (23:3). There is talk of a battle: “[i]t’s a daily uphill battle trying to protect this pale blue dot we call home” (19:6), “it’s now clear that Germany has become a major battleground for Europe’s response to climate change” (21:2) and the battle to save the climate continues” (39:2). People who are doing something against climate change are characterized as fighting figures: “I’m fortunate to be surrounded by warrior like Marielle” (19:2). The opponents in this global battle is often the fossil fuel industry. The code ‘Imagery_PowerAsGiants’ contains quotations that render the fossil fuel industry

powerful and giant with phrases like: “multinational oil giants” (6:57), “Big Oil” (12:1) and “is it possible for one person to stand up to these giants alone?” (27:2). This is striking because if climate change is a battle with opponents and proponents, then the opponents are made to be more menacingly by portraying them as a giant enemy.

What is striking is that there is no other use of imagery that is as pervasive as the extended war metaphor. The second most coded use of imagery was ‘Imagery_Metaphor_HothouseEarth’ in which quotations appear like: “[e]arth has not experienced such a hothouse state ... since the Cretaceous period, 100-million years ago” (29:5). The metaphor was coded 11 times, but only in 3 of the stories. One of the stories contains a report which is called the Hothouse Earth report, which thus increased the instance of this metaphor’s appearance in the text.

Some metaphor codes were more connected than others. Three codes can be linked together: ‘Imagery_Clean/Dirty’, with 7 quotations spread across 5 stories; ‘Imagery_Sick/Healthy’, with 6 quotations in 4 stories; and ‘Imagery_Metaphor_FossilFuelAddiction’ with 2 quotations in 2 stories. The clean/dirty imagery refers to renewable energy as clean: “[w]e’re for clean energy and better ways of getting around that don’t rely on climate-wrecking, air-polluting fossil fuels” (6:66), while referring to fossil fuels as dirty: “[o]il pipeline companies are constructing dirty pipelines that threaten our water” (37:10). This juxtaposition can also be seen in the sick/healthy code, in which climate change is imagined as a sickness: “... they are not immune to climate change” (14:66) and refer to measures now being taken as “band-aid solutions” (27:21). The ultimate goal is then a planet that is not plagued by the sickness of climate change: “protect people’s rights to a stable climate and healthy environment!” (40:8). This ties in with the fossil fuel addiction metaphor that explains the sickness as being caused by an addiction to fossil fuels: “[r]enewable energy can and will solve our global addiction to fossil fuels” (9:23). These fossil fuels are like other drugs conflated with the idea of being dirty, which thus links it to the clean/dirty imagery.

Finally, the code ‘Imagery_StoneAge’ which was coded 6 times in 5 stories, is an interesting one. In it, the quotations extend the connotations of the phrase ‘fossil fuel’ to create an extended metaphor. Fossil fuel is of course a very literal term denoting the fact that oil and gas are literal fossils. This connotes another age which was long ago. This connotation is used to present fossil fuels as belonging to another age, and not belonging in this one. For example, the switch to renewable energy is portrayed as an evolution: “the renewable energy evolution is happening in surprising places” (9:52). The fossil fuel industry is portrayed as belonging to the Jurassic age: “the alliance between dinosaur industries and politicians is not dead yet” (21:3). Finally, GPI literally refers to fossil fuels as belonging in a different age: “[t]he age of fossil fuel vehicles must come to an end” (25:2).

In conclusion, the following picture is created using imagery throughout GPI’s stories:

- Climate change is portrayed as an epic battle between the people and the fossil fuel industry. On the front lines are the vulnerable nations who have been fighting for a long time. Their opponents are giants whose goal is to destroy the planet.
- The planet is sick and dirtied with fossil fuels. The addiction to fossil fuel is putting the chance of a healthy planet on the line.
- Fossil fuels are just that: fossils. They belong to another age when the dinosaurs still roamed the earth. It is time for a different age: the age of renewables.

Frames

The current thesis uses the ten frames from Nisbet’s 2009 typology. Each frame is a different code which means that there are substantive 10 codes in the category. All of the frames were used in the stories. However, some were used throughout most stories, while others appeared in a handful.

The most coded frame which has 74 quotations throughout 29 stories is the public accountability and governance frame. This frame refers either to public accountability for the inaction

on climate change or political accountability. As expected, the text does not refer to the accountability of the general public. The stories do not aim their arrows at individual inaction. Instead, as said before, GPI writes that “[p]eople have rights. States have duties. Companies have responsibilities” (<https://www.greenpeace.org/international/act/climate-justice/>). This is carried out through GPI’s discourse as they argue that part of the problem is the political inaction: “[t]alk and political inaction has followed in the two decades since, while temperatures have continued to rise” (5:48) referring to the political process as “deplorable” (8:5). GPI uses Greta Thunberg’s exemplary quote: “[w]e’ve had thirty years of pep-talking and selling positive ideas,’ she said in Stockholm prior to departing for Poland, ‘And I’m sorry, but it doesn’t work” (8:29). The overabundance of talk is emphasised: “[a]nd yet, politicians and delegates travel around the world, stay in luxury hotels, and dither about our children’s future, as carbon emissions rise, species blink from existence, rivers run dry, and ancient forests burn” (8:72). GPI even quite literally state that the fact that CO² emissions have grown from 1979 is due to governmental inaction: “[m]eanwhile, CO² concentration in the atmosphere has grown by 22%, from 337 parts per million (ppm) in 1979 to over 412 ppm today. These results represent an enormous failure on the part of world governments” (8:85).

The second most used frame is the Pandora’s box frame which was identified in 55 quotations throughout 21 stories. In these quotations, climate change is presented as a looming disaster, crisis, catastrophe etc. The category often contained messages about dangerous warming: “[t]he last time Earth sustained an average temperature 6°C higher than today, **no humans existed on Earth**” (3:48, text originally bold), “global temperatures are high and will continue to rise for decades to come due to greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) produced from human activity” (16:7) and “with a heating of 3 or 4°C, Earth’s ‘self-reinforcing feedbacks’ — wildfires, methane release, forest dieback, and so forth — can drive the temperature even higher, toward runaway heating, a ‘nonlinear process’ that no amount of human intervention can control” (29:40). Other times, messages in the text refer to the already apocalypse like consequences: “Europe is burning” (34:6), “[o]ur planet’s climate continues to change ... It’s worrying to know that this will not be the last time an event like this occurs at home” (1:50) and “[t]his year has kicked off where 2018 ended, with extreme weather in many parts of the world – record heat, wildfires and rainfall in South America and Australasia, dangerous and extreme cold in North America and heavy snowfall in the Alps and Himalayas” (5:53). Time warnings are also in abundance which is particularly characteristic of the apocalypse framing: “[t]here are just over ten years left to avoid climate chaos” (7:21), “[w]ith the warning that we only have 12 years to save the planet” (10:6) and “[w]e’ve got 10 years to ditch fossil fuel cars – or it’s game over for the climate” (28:21).

The scientific and technical uncertainty frame is closely tied to the Pandora’s box frame in that it puts an emphasis on the notion that time is running out. GPI refers to scientists, mostly IPCC information as crystal clear which could also be seen from the code ‘Ontology_TheScienceIsClear’. This framing code appears a total of 39 times in 18 different stories. The general scientific consensus is highlighted: “There are also denialists even though 97% or more of scientists agree that the Earth’s temperature is rising and human activity plays a central role” (15:10). Scientists are portrayed as a valuable source of credible information: “[t]he world’s top climate scientists had just released one of the most important climate science reports ever” (21:21) and “[t]he science is clear: UN experts say we have just over a decade to make serious changes to avoid a climate catastrophe” (7:23).

Another frequently used frame was the morality and ethics frame which was grounded in 45 quotations spread across 18 stories. In some quotations the intrinsic value of nature or other species was highlighted: “[f]urthermore, these economists discount the entire biosphere — insects, birds, whales, forests, rivers, and dying coral reefs. The thousands of species that go extinct each year due to human activity don’t matter since they were not, allegedly, adding anything to human economics or wellbeing” (3:32), “[t]hese forests are not just made up of trees, they are the backbone of our culture

and identity” (20:8) and “the Amazon River region is home to endangered pink dolphins, often known as boto” (6:23). However, the morality frame was specifically attended to the future generations and in a lesser sense vulnerable communities from developing countries. These quotations are similar to the climate justice coded quotations since climate justice is an inherent call on morality and ethics. An exemplary quote in this respect is: “[c]ountries burning fossil fuels are blinded by the profits and as a result their moral compass has eroded” (14:24).

The economic development and competitiveness, social progress and human health were scattered over the discourse, neither one appearing many times. Though the economic development frame was coded 21 times, it only appeared in 8 stories. One story having a heavy hand in these numbers as the frame appeared 8 times in this particular story which was about economics. The social progress frame was identified for quotes that expressed things like “[w]e want a new way of existing in harmony with the planet and each other” (16:31) and [w]e have a vision for future cities that are clean, connected, and community-focused” (25:9). Implied in the quotations for this code is a vision of the earth becoming a better and fairer place if climate change is solved. The human health frame included quotes such as “[c]limate change also poses a major threat to human life causing threats to physical health” (16:9).

The national security, conflict and strategy and middle way frame were virtually absent in GPI’s discourse. The national security frame was coded 7 times in 5 stories, conflict and strategy framing only appears in 3 quotations in 2 stories, the middle way framing is similarly coded 3 times, and only appears in one of the stories.

To conclude, GPI uses every frame in their discourse, though some appear more significant than others:

- Climate change is framed mostly as an issue of governmental accountability. The issue has only grown to these proportions because of political inaction. Political action then becomes the main way to solve the issue.
- Climate change is framed as a looming disaster waiting to happen: the science is clear that time is running out. Scientists should be trusted and tell us that the warming is out of control causing apocalypse like consequences already which will only become worse over time.
- Climate change is framed as an issue that requires attention from a moral standpoint. Not only do plants and animals have inherent value, it is unethical to spoil the planet for future generations and vulnerable communities.

Visual themes

Finally, there are a lot of visuals throughout GPI’s stories. Every single article came accompanied by a picture. In total the whole dataset contains 179 images, with an average of 4,4 images per story. 32 codes were created for this visual code group. The current visual analysis is based on DiFrancesco and Young’s (2011). The precoded categories include ‘Visual_Nature’, ‘Visual_Human’ and ‘Visual_Industry’. Of these categories, most codes were of the nature ‘Visual_Human’ with 12 different codes. For ‘Visual_Nature’ 10 codes were created and for ‘Visual_Industry’ 2. The most frequently coded one was ‘Visual_Human_Citizen’ which was coded for images where normal people (meaning not celebrities, politicians etc) appeared in the image. Sometimes as the focal point, however, usually as just one element in the image. It was coded 34 times in images in 20 different stories. More often than not, the ‘citizen’s’ in the images are involved in some form of activism. Only 7 times out of 34, the citizens in the photo are either onlookers of some form of devastation, or mourning victims of climate change related disasters.

In most pictures, activism in some form or other was the main theme of the images. Therefore, several significant categories were created despite them not being included in DiFrancesco and Young’s (2011) paper. These coding categories include: ‘Visual_GreenpeaceAction’, grounded in 28

images spread across 18 stories and ‘Visual_Human_March/Strike’, which was coded 26 times across 18 different stories. The Greenpeace action category included images in which Greenpeace branded activism can be seen, while the march/strike category contains images in which either students strike or people walk in a general climate march.

Other noteworthy code categories include ‘Visual_Nature_Destruction’ and ‘Visual_GretaThunberg’. The destruction visual was linked to the consequences of climate change, with a specific emphasis on wildfires and droughts. In total, there were 7 images with Greta Thunberg on it spread across 6 stories. It was decided to make this a different category since she did not only appear in the images as its focal point on multiple occasions, she was also featured in the accompanying stories which wrote about the youth movement and climate justice for future generations.

In conclusion, GPI includes many images with their stories with the following themes:

- In line with the focus on activism and people power, many images feature normal citizens who are standing up for their rights.
- Greenpeace activism is an important part of the people power movement and is thus featured prominently throughout the stories. Other forms of activism such as the climate strikes and climate marches are part of the worldwide activism which GPI encourages. As the forerunner of the climate youth movement, Greta Thunberg is pictured multiple times.

5.2 Conclusion Greenpeace International

The first main research question asks how Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands construct a discourse on climate change. Before answering this question for Greenpeace International, the sub-questions will be addressed.

5.2.1 How is climate change portrayed throughout the communication, and how does it fit into a discourse on climate change?

In its ontology, climate change was portrayed mostly in terms of its threat to humanity. Specifically, to groups within our population that are more vulnerable to climate change, that already experience the worsening effects of it, or those that will have to deal with it in the future. Climate change is understood as a crisis which was the second most frequently coded ontology. In fact, if one were to treat the top ten most coded codes as phrases, they would form the following sentences: fundamentally, climate change is a justice issue. The climate crisis is threatening the world, of that the science is clear; time is running out and climate change continues to presents a threat to human survival. Climate change is already here and since humans are a part of nature, and nature is under threat it follows that humans, like the rest of this world, are going to experience the negative effects of climate change unless we limit the warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius (Ontology_ClimateJusticeIssue, Ontology_ClimateCrisis, Ontology_ClimateChangeIsThreat, Ontology_TheScienceIsClear, Ontology_TimeIsRunningOut, Ontology_ThreatToHumanSurvival, Ontology_ClimateChangeAlreadyHere, Ontology_HumansPartOfNature, Ontology_NatureUnderThreat and Ontology_Limit1.5). Essentially, this is the story that GPI tells about climate change.

The codes within the ontology group are highly connected to the assumptions and judgements group in which is revealed how GPI views the connections between natural relationships relating to climate change and how their judgement of the problem and who should solve it. GPI’s assumptions about natural relationships relate to the different ways in which everything is connected, further strengthening the argument that climate change not only means a threat to the world ‘out there’ but to

us as well since humans are a part of nature. Our natural relationship is one of connectivity, not only to the earth but to each other as well. This connectivity is threatened by ‘incompetent leaders’ and powerful polluters. This sentiment is expressed throughout the stories and coded not only in the assumption group, but also in the judgements group. The codes in this group also present a clear story by combining the codes into sentences: climate action is necessary if we want to prevent the suffering of future generations and vulnerable communities. Governments and companies carry a moral culpability for climate change and should therefore be the ones to change their ways. Economic growth is no longer compatible with prosperity (Judgements_What_ActionNecessary, _WhoSuffers_FutureGenerations, _WhoSuffers_Vulnerable, _What_ClimateJustice, _ByWhom_Governments, _ByWhom_Companies, _Culpability and _What_EconomicGrowthIncompatible).

All in all, the way in which climate change is portrayed throughout the discourse is in terms of its severity, urgency and danger to mankind. To a lesser extent, emphasis is placed on the fact that effects will not be experienced equally. Though climate justice usually involves vulnerable communities in the Global South, in GPI’s communication, future generations receive more prominence. The discourse with almost identical views on the ontology of climate change as presented in GPI’s stories is the disaster/crisis discourse which is a merger of Doulton and Brown’s (2009) disaster strikes discourse, their potential catastrophe discourse and the crisis discourse. In its ontology, these discourses stress that “climate change [is] already here” and that “imminent environmental collapse is possible” (p. 196-7). The assumptions about natural relationships expressed in GPI’s stories similarly match the disaster discourse: “[c]limate change is and will be disaster for the poor ... a problem for the present” (p. 196). To a lesser extent, the assumptions expressed in GPI’s discourse also match with the whole earth discourse which “stresses the globe’s organic unity ... shared risk and collective threat” (Manzo, 2009, p. 6). However, the research also found elements of the whole earth discourse as besides the danger, unity is a reoccurring concept throughout the stories. Finally, the judgements too, seem most consistent with either the disaster discourse which argues that “responsibility lies with developed countries ... we must not betray future generations” (Doulton & Brown, 2009, p. 197), or the whole-earth discourse that calls for global societies to come together to stop climate change. However, the prevalence of threat and danger throughout the rest of the discourse elements, such as the Pandora’s box frame and the extended war metaphor ultimately make the discourse conform more closely to the disaster discourse.

5.2.2 How are metaphors and other imagery used in the communication, why are some more prevalent than others?

Militaristic imagery gestating the prevention of or solution to climate change as a war with allies and enemies occupies a fundamental place in GPI’s discourse. The extended war metaphor was pervasive through the stories as it was found in half of them. It was the only coded use of imagery that was so pervasive throughout the discourse. The war metaphor is one that is used frequently in climate change discourse, in fact, many find the metaphor worn. Mangat and Dalby (2018) state that the war metaphor is “overused” (p. 1), and Flusberg, Matlock and Thibodeau (2017) highlight that the metaphor is “extremely common in public discourse in a variety of domains (e.g. the war on terror, the war on crime...)” (p. 771). As Cohen (2011) argues, “World War II appropriately continues to maintain a tight hold on the popular imagination in many parts of the world” (p. 206). The cultural resonance is one explanation for its prevalence in the GPI discourse. It might also be explained by its prevalence in the overall climate change discourse since frequently used lexical devices tend to subconsciously be adopted and copied.

The war metaphor itself can be effective in increasing sense of urgency felt by its readers (Flusberg, Matlock & Thibodeau, 2017), however, in order for the metaphor to be an effective part of an overall discourse the opponents, allies and end-goal must be clear (Ereaut & Segnit, 2006). Otherwise, it merely contributes to the alarmist or apocalyptic discourse in which environmental destruction is imminent. As Mangat and Dalby (2018) state: “If climate change is a crisis, one serious enough to get top priority in human affairs, then it is not surprising that it is frequently discussed as analogous to war” (p. 1). The ‘fight’ that is part of the extended metaphor in GPI’s discourse is sometimes aimed at climate change while other times, it is the “fight against global warming” (5:43) and sometimes it concern the fight against big industry players such as the pipeline industry that “use warzone tactics against peaceful protesters” (38:1). The exact fight against is plural, rather than uniform. In some instances, governments are portrayed as allies that could help win the fight, while other times, they are the ones that are fought against. Thus making it unclear what allies there are.

More importantly, the “battle to save the climate” (39:2) is not portrayed as a battle that we’re on the winning side of. In one of the stories, it is even called a “David and Goliath type battle” (27:3). The villains in the story, and the enemies in the fight against global warming are the ‘GreedyCorperations’ that want to “exploit our land” (20:16); “blinded by profits” (14:24). They have already pillaged “coastal populations” (9:9), “bullied the Earth”, and attacked “human rights and free speech” (36:9). Another frequent use of imagery was the imagery of the powerful giants. The opponent in this war is thus talked up in the discourse and portrayed as figurative giants. The soldiers on the forefront are said to be people from “developing countries” (18:2) who mostly try to “defend their land and culture” (14:28) and “save [their] home” (11:26). The stories, however, show that they are losing this battle. That the greedy corporations just take what they want, so much so, that legal measures are necessary. Combined with the story code ‘PeoplePower’ the metaphor almost seems like a way to draft new allies or soldiers among the people in the Global North. Yet, portraying the battle as a losing one might not be the best drafting strategy; who would want to join a battle that they know they’re going to lose. Even more so, if the battle’s forefronts are described to be in developed nations, far away from Western countries, would it not be easier to ignore the battle all together? If the forefronts are moving slowly, would it not be easier to start to worry about it when they get closer? And this is thus where the different barriers come into play.

If GPI aims to construct the positive ‘opportunity/hope and courage’ discourse, then the war metaphor might not be the best fit. As Asplund (2011) argues: “war metaphors ... highlight negative impacts of climate change” (p. 1). The war metaphor is deeply connected with the disaster/crisis discourse which emphasizes the alarming consequences and highlights the urgency of the issue. The frame ‘Pandora’sBox’ which was also very prevalent throughout the discourse becomes linked to the war imagery, as it frames climate change as a losing battle which is precisely the reason why psychologists such as Stoknes (2015) emphasize its ineffectiveness to foster climate change engagement.

5.2.3 Which frames are employed, why are some more dominant than others?

As stated in the analysis, GPI uses every frame from Nisbet’s (2009) typology. Four of the identified frames, are more relevant than the others because of their ubiquity in GPI’s discourse. The public accountability and governance frame was coded most of all other frames and appears in 71% of the stories. The pervasiveness of the public accountability frame was expected from the information in the ‘about us’ section on the GPI website. It says: “[a]round the globe, we are standing up for our communities, and we are holding governments and corporations accountable” (<https://www.greenpeace.org/international/explore/about/>). Throughout the discourse, GPI demands more action from both governments and to a lesser extent companies. People are portrayed as the

victims of the whims of incompetent governments and greedy corporations. In the discourse the morality frame is linked to the accountability frame as there is an emphasis on the way in which companies and governments ignore and violate human rights. The rights of future generations, indigenous people and local communities from the Global South is highlighted. Though climate justice is usually focussed on marginalised communities often from the Global South, the GPI discourse put the younger generation front and centre. This focus on younger generations coincides with the increasing media attention on the now 16 year old Greta Thunberg who stopped going to school out of protest on climate change. From August 2018, she has received more and more media attention and on 15 march 2019, 1.4 million students in 112 different countries joined her call to strike in the name of climate change (Carrington, 2019). Thunberg’s influence is so great, that media talks about the ‘Greta Thunberg-effect’ (Watts, 2019). It seemed that GPI has built on this momentum by merging the youth movement with the climate justice movement.

Though the Pandora’s box frame appears less than the public accountability and governance frame both in overall numbers as well as the fact that it was coded in 51% of the stories, it does carry more weight than the public accountability frame. After the coding process, all codes that were linked in some way had their relationship expressed in a network of all codes. While the public accountability code is connected to 8 other codes, Pandora’s box is connected to 24 codes, which is the most of any code category in GPI. This means that beside the frame itself, other categories also contribute to the overall apocalypse discourse. The figure below shows the full network of the Pandora’s box frame.

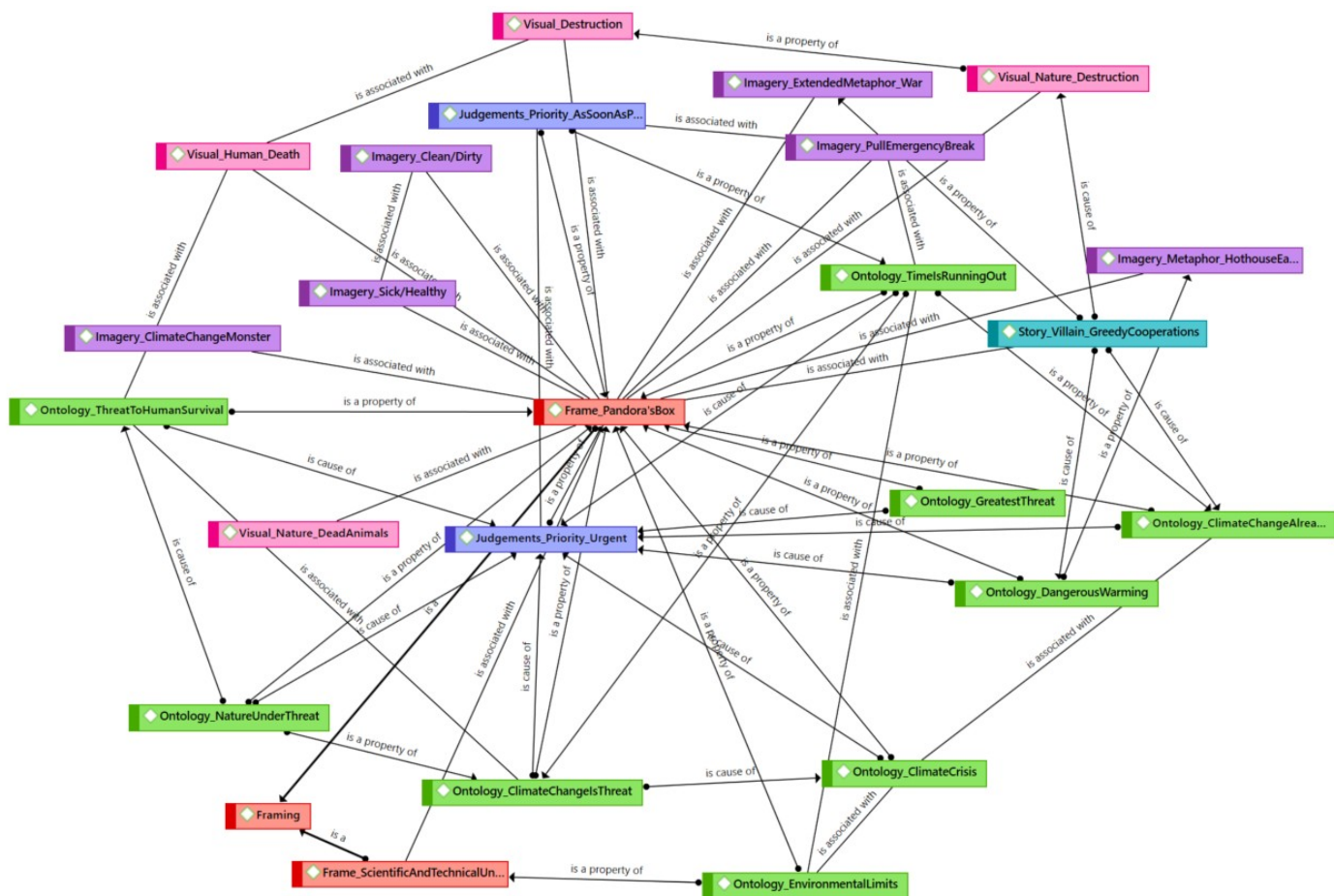


Figure 10, code network pandora’s box GPI.

The Pandora’s box frame is also linked to the scientific and technical uncertainty frame. GPI never expresses doubt on the science of climate change, but emphasizes the scientific consensus, thereby

reinforcing the uncertainty frame. In almost half of the stories, the facts on climate change serve as a basis for the apocalyptic warnings.

Like the war metaphor, the Pandora's box frame is one that is widely employed: "[t]his repertoire is seen everywhere and is used or drawn on from across the ideological spectrum, in broadsheets and tabloids, in popular magazines and in campaign literature from government initiatives and environmental groups" (Ereaut & Segnit, 2006). It is tempting to use this framing as it really plays into the urgency of the issue. As seen in the network, it is connected with the sentiment that time is running out, that climate change is already being felt in parts of the world and the fact that climate change poses a threat to human survival. This, paired with the frequently coded 'ActionNecessary' code perhaps explains why GPI still falls back on apocalyptic framing despite this being against the recommendations of their own climate communication guide.

Another reason for its prevalence in the discourse might have to do with GPI's audience. As an organisation whose core reason for existing has everything to do with the issue of climate change, making the audience understand the urgency of the issue is key not only for mobilisation but also in order to carry out their self-assigned duty: to create a greener and more peaceful world. GPI operates in a world in which climate change concern is declining in some areas; precisely those areas in the Global North (such as the United States, for example) that emit a majority share of all human emitted greenhouse gasses. Unfortunately, climate change belongs to the third level of abstraction in that it cannot be seen, smelled or touched directly. While the plastic issue can be shown by showing people pictures of plastic, climate change can only be viewed in the localized effects that are often devastating and claim human lives. By placing emphasis on the dangerousness of climate change, and framing it as such, GPI might hope to make climate change palpable for its audience.

5.2.4 *What is the relationship between textual and pictorial elements?*

In Greenpeace's brand guide, it says that Greenpeace as a brand wants to inspire people to be courageous and take action:

Courageous Citizens Everywhere The world we aspire to will not be created by a single organisation or by a handful of professional activists. Change depends on the individual and coordinated actions of millions. The true heroes of our story are the citizens we inspire to action (Greenpeace Brand Guide, 2016, p. 5).

The text supports this on many occasions, emphasizing people power, which was the most frequently coded story code and the assumption code 'change is coming'. As stated before, the discourse is littered with war imagery and therefore it also puts emphasis on the 'heroes' or the 'good guys'. The good guys in GPI's stories are all just regular citizens standing up against the 'villains' of the story which are corrupt and inactive governments and greedy corporations, both of which appear as codes in the story group. Whether they are students such as Isra Hirsi from story 4, climate activists such as Belgis from story 11 or environmental lawyers that attempt to protect vulnerable communities such as Sophie Marjanac from story 27, GPI puts emphasis on the 'ordinary' heroes among us, with an emphasis on Greta Thunberg as the shining beacon of hope and a reminder that no matter how small you are, you can always make a difference.

This view on courage and activism is supported by the visual images that accompany the text. As stated in the analysis, most visual images showed ordinary citizens standing up for what they believe is right. Greenpeace actions and strikes accompanied most stories. All in all, the text matched the visuals well. Articles that wrote about natural destruction due to extreme weather such as story 1, story 30 and story 41 came accompanied with photos of natural destruction, while stories that write about the intrinsic value of nature and the need for us to protect it, contain images of for example beautiful coral reefs in story 6 and story 12. In their research on which the current visual analysis is

based, DiFrancesco and Young (2011) found a “profound disjuncture between images and text in climate change coverage” (p. 517) in that the text and images often referred “to completely different dimensions of the climate change issue” (p. 532). The current research found the opposite: image and text corresponded well.

Doyle’s (2007) research of Greenpeace’s visual discourse found five distinct phases in their visual discourse on climate change and concluded that “Greenpeace has always sought to present climate change as a present threat” (p. 146). The current research found this to not be the case as the images did not speak of their own volition, but rather supported the text. Their visual communication is not focused on showing the photographic evidence of climate change (at least, not in their stories), but rather, is focused on the power of ordinary people who stand up for a better world.

5.2.5 Conclusion

In their brand guide, Greenpeace aims to achieve the following:

With this limited view of what’s possible, the future for those who dare consider it is a dreary place indeed. It is full of the invincible dragons of climate change, a dying planet and human greed. And the only logical thing to do is turn away. But we have a very different view. We are the Champions of the Impossible. And we smash culture’s debilitating stories, challenging our heroes to rethink possible (Greenpeace Brand Guide, 2016).

The current research found that rather than smashing the culture’s ‘debilitating stories’ and “no longer ... yell[ing] about how broken the world is” (2016a, p. 18), Greenpeace International does exactly that. Though big chunks of the discourse emphasize people power and that change is coming, almost every single story came accompanied with threatening warnings about the dangerousness and seriousness of climate change. In the battle against climate change, GPI shows us some courageous heroes but mostly focusses on their greedy villains, unwilling to change. Climate change was mostly framed as an issue of accountability and most stories highlighted the incapability of leaders to act according to the promises they made regarding climate change. The battle metaphor is pervasive but the picture that is painted with this imagery is not of a war that we’re winning. Fundamentally, GPI considers inactive governments and greedy corporations culpable in the climate change issue, and ultimately argues that they should take action, yet still highlighting their unwillingness to change in the process. What we are left with is a discourse in which the solution to the problem: governments should take action on climate change, is also the problem itself: governments fail to take action on climate change.

The discourse from the typology that has the closest fit is the disaster discourse, rather than the opportunity/hope and courage discourse. That is not to say that the opportunity discourse was absent entirely. In fact, reasons for hope were emphasised on multiple occasions, and people often took centre stage in the stories. The intrinsic value of nature was insisted a handful of times throughout the stories and it was emphasized that people should stand up for a better world. Yet, these stories of hope and courage were interrupted more often than not by the same threatening messages on climate change that GPI wanted to avoid.

5.3 Greenpeace Netherlands

Coding results

The analysis of GPNL's 25 articles began with the same pre-coded categories as GPI: ontology, assumptions, judgements, imagery, framing, visual and story. For each of these category, some codes were established as explained in section 4.2.2. In total, 26 codes were established before the analysis had begun.

At the end of the analysis of GPNL's articles, 89 codes were established, divided across the original seven code-categories. The following table represents the amount of codes per category for GPNL's articles.

Group	Codes
<i>Assumption</i>	11
<i>Framing</i>	1
<i>Imagery</i>	14
<i>Judgements</i>	23
<i>Ontology</i>	8
<i>Story</i>	9
<i>Visual</i>	13

Figure 11, GPNL's codes

A full list of all codes, the amount of times they appear in the text, their density in the code network and their corresponding groups can be found in appendix VII. Included below is a table representing the fifteen most frequently used codes throughout the text.

Name	Grounded	Groups
<i>Frame_PublicAccountabilityAndGovernance</i>	31	Framing
<i>Frame_Pandora'sBox</i>	27	Framing
<i>Judgements_Culpability</i>	20	Judgements
<i>Story_PeoplePower</i>	16	Story
<i>Judgements_What_MoneyWhereMouth</i>	16	Judgements
<i>Imagery_Clean/Dirty</i>	15	Imagery
<i>Ontology_Limit1.5</i>	14	Ontology
<i>Frame_ScientificAndTechnicalUncertainty</i>	14	Framing
<i>Frame_SocialProgress</i>	13	Framing
<i>Visual_GreenpeaceAction</i>	13	Visual
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Companies</i>	12	Judgements
<i>Story_Villain_GreedyCorporations</i>	12	Story
<i>Judgements_What_SystemChange</i>	12	Judgements
<i>Imagery_AlarmBell</i>	11	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_NotEnough</i>	11	Judgements

Figure 12, GPNL's 15 most frequently used codes.

Surface descriptors.

The first step in the analysis was a general read, with close attention to the surface descriptors such as the title, word count and the main subject.

	Date	Title	Main subject	Word count
1	14-03-2019	Greenpeace demonstreert op "100 jaar luchtvaart"-viering	Campaign (aviation)	123
2	13-03-2019	Inbreng milieubeweging voor Klimaatakkoord loont	Victory	261
3	08-03-	Hemwegcentrale eind dit jaar al dicht	Victory	251

	2019			
4	02-03-2019	Loop mee met de grootste Nederlandse klimaatmars ooit	Climate march	322
5	11-02-2019	Greenpeace publiceert zwartboek en voert actie tegen omstreden vee-financieringen Rabobank	Campaign (M&D)	295
6	12-02-2019	Greenpeace sluit zich aan bij klimaatzaak tegen Shell	Campaign (M&D)	397
7	13-02-2019	Wat de bankier niet kent, dat eet 'ie niet...	Campaign (M&D)	455
8	23-02-2019	Vrijwilligers gaan het gesprek aan met Raboklanten in het hele land	Campaign (M&D)	137
9	28-02-2019	Actievoerders Greenpeace in gesprek met medewerkers Rabobank in Utrecht	Campaign (M&D)	263
10	31-01-2019	Scholieren staken voor het klimaat	The youth movement	433
11	31-01-2019	Minister moet nu inzetten op krimp Schiphol	Campaign (aviation)	350
12	08-01-2019	Rabobank, genees van je #vleeskoorts en investeer in de toekomst	Campaign (M&D)	517
13	20-12-2018	'Ambitieloos en vaalgroen': dit klimaatakkoord steunen wij niet	Politics	269
14	17-12-2018	VN Klimaatop COP24 in Katowice: wereldleiders laten het klimaat in de steek	Politics	569
15	05-12-2018	Klimaatakkoord: milieuorganisaties trekken aan de bel	Politics	269
16	01-12-2018	Nederlanders luiden massaal de noodklok voor het klimaat	Activism	626
17	30-11-2018	Alles wat je moet weten over de VN klimaatop in Polen	Politics	636
18	09-10-2018	Greenpeace feliciteert Urgenda met geweldige overwinning voor het klimaat	Victory	256
19	08-10-2018	Opwarming van de aarde tot 1.5 graden beperken: het kan én het moet	Current situation	374
20	30-08-2018	Schendt Shell mensenrechten	Climate justice	412
21	31-07-2018	Geld beleggen in vieze olie? No way, ABP!	Financial sector	456
22	10-07-2018	Klimaatakkoord-column: pezen in de polder	Politics	760
23	03-07-2018	Lekkende oliepijpleiding voor Pensioenfonds Zorg & Welzijn	Financial sector	484
24	19-06-2018	Vijf verontrustende dingen die je moet weten over teerzanden in Canada	Current situation	498
25	13-06-2018	Gevaren grootschalige CO2 opslag in bodem van Noordzee	Climate mitigation	774

Figure 13: overview of GPNL's articles.

The average word count of the GPNL articles is 374 words which makes them much shorter on average than GPI's stories. The most frequent subject matter was 'campaign' which was used for the articles whose main subject matter included a running GPNL campaign. This was followed by politics and victory. GPNL is a national office so it would make sense that the bulk of their online communication would concern their various campaigns in the Netherlands.

The ontology of the climate discourse

The ontology group gives insight into how GPNL recognizes the basic entities of climate change. In total the ontology group contains 8 codes that were uncovered throughout the coding process.

Interestingly, the 4 most frequently coded ontology codes all pertain to the dangerousness and urgency of climate change.

The code most frequently coded within the ontology group is ‘Ontology_Limit1.5’. It was coded a total of 14 times throughout 6 articles. The code contains quotations that all put emphasis on the necessity to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius: “[n]oodzaak van 1.5 graad” (14:3), “[d]e wereldwijde ambities moeten worden opgeschroefd van maximal 2 graden, naar maximal 1.5 graad opwarming van onze aarde” (17:8) and “[o]p warming van de aarde tot 1.5 graden beperken: het kan én het moet” (19:1). In every instance, the 1.5 limit mention is followed by information about IPCC’s 1.5 degree report, thus inherently suggesting that the IPCC is not only a credible source of information of climate change, but that their findings should be followed.

The second most frequently coded code is the ‘Ontology_ClimateChangeIsThreat’. In total this code is grounded in 10 quotations spread over 7 different articles. All quotations coded under this code emphasize the dangerousness of climate change: “om rampzalige klimaatverandering te voorkomen...” (12:30), “de reële dreiging door klimaatverandering” (18:5) and “verwoestende gevolgen van klimaatverandering” (20:11). This code is linked to several other codes that emphasize the danger of climate change such as the code ‘Ontology_TimeIsRunningOut’ and ‘Ontology_ClimateCrisis’. In the code ‘Ontology_TimeIsRunningOut’ the temporal urgency of climate change is underscored: “[g]een uitstel meer, het klimaat wacht niet” (4:9), “[h]et is twee voor twaalf, opwarming aarde moet stoppen” (16:3) and “[d]e tijd dringt en er zijn onmiddellijk maatregelen nodig” (18:7). In total this code occurs 7 times throughout 6 articles. The code ‘Ontology_ClimateCrisis’ was coded a total of 5 times in 5 different articles and includes phrases such as “klimaatchaos” (1:4) and “wereldwijde klimaatcrisis”

In conclusion GPNL identifies climate change in the following way:

- Climate change pertains the dangerous warming of the planet that should be limited to 1.5 degrees of warming per recommendation of the IPCC
- Climate change is a threatening phenomenon as it is destructive and the time to do something about it is running out. If we do not limit the warming to 1.5 degrees, climate chaos will ensue.

Assumptions about natural relationships

In total 11 assumptions were created under the code group ‘Assumptions’. Notable is that the most coded assumption is only grounded in 10 quotations. Other codes in this category have very little occurrence in the text and are often limited to a spread across few articles.

The most frequent appearing code is the ‘Assumptions_Solution_LessLivestock’ code which was coded 10 times across 7 articles. The quotations belonging to this code express a need for less livestock in the Netherlands in order to curb national emissions. All articles in which this code was coded related to the recent campaign against the Rabobank which funds huge indoor feedlots. Quotations include: “[o]nze enorme veestapel draagt namelijk op grote schaal bij aan klimaatverandering” (5:10), “te veel dieren die schijten, scheten en boeren” (7:18) and “[z]o’n beetje alle deskundigen zijn het er over eens dat zulks alleen kan door krimp van de veestapel” (22:2). A less coded solution code was the code ‘Assumptions_Solution_LessFlights’ which was, however, only coded 4 times and only appeared in 1 article.

Another assumption about natural relationships is that our current society leads to the destruction of nature, which was coded as ‘Assumptions_How_NatureDestruction’. The code appears 8 times throughout 4 articles in quotes like: “[g]evolgen: ernstige milieuvuiling” (21:4). Yet the code is not connected to other assumption codes.

Concluding, GPNL has little coherence of the assumptions about natural relationships throughout the articles.

- Livestock in the Netherlands represent a big part of emissions and a shrinkage of livestock numbers is thus necessary.
- The way we currently use resources leads to the destruction of the natural world

Normative judgements

As mentioned in GPI's analysis, the code group 'Judgements' includes codes that involve the question of what GPNL thinks should be done about climate change, who suffers from climate change, how big of a priority it is, by whom it should be solved and how they can solve it. They thus form an important part of the discourse. In total the 'Judgements' code group contains 22 different codes.

One of the concepts that kept coming back throughout the articles was the idea of culpability. To this end, the code 'Judgments_Culpability' was created. It is the most frequently appearing code with 20 quotations spread across 10 articles. GPNL's communication is mostly focussed on the running campaigns. Though some articles talked about climate change in general, most focussed on actions and campaigns in which GPNL is involved. Their campaigns often target companies and the government. In their communications they use the concept of culpability as a substantiation of their target choice by highlighting the target's culpability in the climate change issue: "Shell heeft al decennia kennis over klimaatverandering. Door een intern document uit 1962 werd duidelijk dat Shell al bijna 60 jaar op de hoogte is van de schadelijke gevolgen van hun producten voor de opwarming van de aarde" (6:3) and "[de Rabobank stuurt aan op] verdere intensivering van de vlees- en zuivelindustrie. Terwijl juist het grote aantal veefabrieken in ons land zo schadelijk is voor ons klimaat" (7:10).

The second most frequently coded code is linked to the culpability code. This code 'Judgements_What_MoneyWhereMouth' contains quotations in which GPNL expresses the opinion that companies and governments often present green plans and say they'll act in accordance with international treaties on climate change, yet don't put their money where their mouth is. This code is grounded in 16 quotations in 10 articles. It is related to the previously discussed code in that it reminds companies and governments, beside the fact that they bear culpability in the climate issue, that they cannot just say that they are going to act on climate change, without actually doing so: "[h]et is nu zaak dat het cabinet doorpakt en het niet bij mooie woorden laat" (2:10), "[o]nze eis? Dat Shell in lijn met het klimaatakkoord van Parijs, wat zij zelf zeggen te ondersteunen, gaat handelen" (6:12) and "[d]e klimaatop in Polen is dus hét moment voor minister Wiebes en onze minister-president om de daad bij het woord te voegen" (17:16).

Interestingly, the codes 'Judgements_WhoSuffers_' are very low in the list of occurrences. Instead, the focus is on the 'ByWhom's' and the 'What' is necessary to solve climate change. The codes 'Judgements_ByWhom_Companies' and 'Judgements_ByWhom_Government'. The first is coded 12 times throughout 9 articles while the latter is coded 7 times throughout 6 articles. The 'Judgements_ByWhom_Companies' which includes quotes such as: "[w]ij willen dat Shell stopt met het veroorzaken van klimaatschade" (6:15), is also associated with the code 'Judgements_What_PolluterPays' in which GPNL expresses the sentiment that a fair way to distribute the costs of climate mitigation is to charge for pollution. The code occurs a few times throughout several articles with quotes such as: "[g]rote vervuilers ontspringen nog steeds de dans en een eerlijke verdeling van lusten en lasten blijft uit" (13:8). The 'Judgements_ByWhom_Government' includes quotes such as: "[s]amen zorgen we ervoor dat politici nog maar één ding kunnen doen: aan de bak met stevig klimaatbeleid. Het moet en kán anders!" (4:10).

Other noteworthy codes include 'Judgements_What_SystemChange' and 'Judgements_What_NotEnough'. The call for system change is coded 12 times throughout 8 articles. In the attached quotations, GPNL argues that if climate change is to be solved, it requires system change: "[d]it akkoord zorgt niet voor de transitie die we zo hard nodig hebben. We plakken pleisters

en komen met korte termijn schijnoplossingen zoals het opslaan van CO₂ onder de zeebodem en het gebruiken van biomassa” (13:10). With the ‘NotEnough’ code, GPNL argues that so far, little has been done to try and stop climate change: “[d]it [het verlagen van de uitstoot in 2017] is onvoldoende end it terwijl de overheid verplicht is om zorg te dragen voor een veilige samenleving” (18:3).

To conclude, GPNL expresses the following normative judgements on climate change in their discourse:

- Not enough is currently done about climate change. In the past, inaction has reigned which makes the companies and governments that are responsible for lots of CO₂ culpable in the climate change issue.
- Their culpability means that they bear the responsibility to do something about climate change and to stop investing and aiding in the burning of additional fossil fuels.
- System change is necessary. Governments and companies need to put their money where their mouths are which also means that they should bear a great deal of the financial burden; the polluter should pay.

Key metaphors and other imagery

The next step in the coding process concerned the use of imagery and metaphors. 14 different codes were created for the code group ‘Imagery’. There was little imagery found in GPNL’s articles and even less use of metaphors. There were no instances of explanatory metaphor use in the articles.

The most frequently coded imagery code was ‘Imagery_Clean/Dirty’. In this category, quotations refer to fossil fuel companies as polluters who soil the environment with phrases such as “de grootste vervuilers” (13:18) and “de ‘Vieze Vier’” (24:10). Unsustainable practices are similarly referred to as being dirty: “vieze en dure CCS” (25:8) and “vervuilende veefabrieken” (8:8). Meanwhile, renewable energy is characterized as clean: “[d]ie energie kun je beter inzetten voor schone en duurzame oplossingen” (25:14).

The second most frequently coded imagery was ‘Imagery_AlarmBell’ in which quotations refer to the limited time still left to prevent further climate change: “[d]e noodklok voor de aarde luidt” (19:7), “[d]e noodklok luidt” (19:10) and “[n]a ruim negen maanden onderhandelen over het Nederlandse klimaatakkoord trekt Greenpeace ... aan de bel” (15:2).

The third most frequently coded metaphor use is connected to the Rabobank campaign in which GPNL calls for the Rabobank to stop their “#vleeskoorts” (8:7). In another article, which is unrelated to any campaign, a planet without climate change is referred to as a healthy planet: “[o]m het belang van een gezonde planeet” (19:24). Climate change is thus portrayed as a sickness.

Though the stone age metaphor and the war imagery also appeared in the GPNL articles, they only appear a handful of times throughout. The stone age metaphor is more literal in GPNL’s articles as the phrase “kolentijdperk” is used twice. Other quotations include: “als Shell haar fossiele koers niet wil wijzigen” (6:2) and “fossiele bedrijven” (6:6). The war imagery is used only twice in 2 different stories: “in de strijd tegen klimaatverandering” (9:5) and “het besef dat we in de strijd tegen klimaatverandering ...” (22:1).

In conclusion, the following image is created using the imagery in GPNL’s articles:

- Unsustainable practices that are causing climate change are dirty; soiling the planet. A planet which does not suffer from climate change is not only a clean one, but a healthy one. Climate change is a sickness ailing our planet.
- People need to stand up and hear the alarm bell on climate change ringing loud and clear. It is time for a new age which will break with the victory of the climate change battle.

Frames

Unlike in GPI's stories, GPNL does not use every frame from Nisbet's (2009) typology. The conflict and strategy frame is absent from GPNL's discourse.

The frame that appeared most in the articles was the public accountability and governance frame. It was grounded in 31 quotations spread across 17 articles. The frame mostly focusses on governmental accountability, but does contain an instance of public accountability as well: "[d]enk jij na over investeringen van jouw bank? En weet jij eigenlijk wat er met je spaargeld gebeurt?" (8:1). Other quotations include: "[h]et kabinet moet zo snel mogelijk inzetten op verantwoorde krimp van de luchtvaart (11:1), "[h]et akkoord moet veel groener, socialer en ambitieuzer. Er moet een structureel antwoord komen op klimaatverandering" (13:9) and "[w]e roepen Minister Wiebes van Economische Zaken en Klimaat op tot klimaatactie" (16:8). The frame includes both calls for governmental accountability as well as the accountability of polluting companies. The frame is closely associated with the codes 'Judgements_Accountability', 'Judgements_ByWhom_Companies' and 'Judgements_ByWhom_Government'.

Like GPI, the second most used frame is the represented in the code 'Frame_Pandora'sBox' which contains threatening warnings about looming climate apocalypse such as: "[i]nvesteren in vee-industrie is rampzalig voor het klimaat" (12:5), "om nationale klimaatplannen zo snel mogelijk aan te passen om klimaatverandering te stoppen bij 1.5 graad. En dat laatste is nou juist van levensbelang voor ons klimaat" (14:8) and "... die ons klimaat de vernieling in aan het stoken is" (24:14). There are several temporal warnings about the fact that time is running out: "[h]et is 2 voor 12 voor het klimaat" (16:7), "[e]n een allerlaatste waarschuwing én kans om desastreuze opwarming van de aarde te beperken" (19:22) and "[d]e tijd dringt en er zijn onmiddellijk maatregelen nodig" (18:8). In total, the Pandora's box code occurs 27 times in 12 articles.

The frame 'scientific and technical uncertainty' is grounded in 14 quotations spread across 9 different articles and with that the third most frequently coded code. Like with GPI's stories, GPNL often refers to the IPCC as an expert source on climate change. The IPCC is portrayed as a credible authority on climate change: "[h]et rapport van het Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) van de Verenigde Naties laat zien dat het verschil tussen 1.5°C of 2°C opwarming van de aarde desastreuus is" (19:2). The scientific consensus on climate change is highlighted a few times throughout the articles: "[w]etenschappers zijn het er roerend over eens: om rampzalige klimaatverandering te voorkomen is de oplossing helder..." (12:11) and "[k]limaatwetenschappers zijn het erover eens dat dit nodig is om de wereldwijze klimaatcrisis een halt toe te roepen" (25:1).

The social progress frame is used 13 times in 7 articles and mostly occurs in articles on the meat and dairy campaign against the Rabobank. It describes the benefits of the alternative to intensive livestock production: "[v]at de koe bij de hoorns en begin met het stimuleren van innovatieve ecologische boerenbedrijven die gaan voor minder en beter" (7:8) and "[a]ls we onze mooie planeet willen sparen, moet de schadelijke vlees- en zuivelindustrie op de schop" (12:8). In some instances, the risks of certain climate unfriendly investments are highlighted, thus suggesting that sustainable investments would mean social progress: "beleggen in teerzandolie [is] niet alleen slecht voor het klimaat, maar ook een groot risico voor de pensioenen van 2,9 miljoen Nederlanders" (21:8) and "[e]xperts waarschuwen namelijk voor het grote (financiële) risico dat kleeft aan het steken van geld in een industrie die ver voorbij haar houdbaarheidsdatum is" (12:7).

The morality and ethics frame is only used a few times throughout the articles, and is interestingly not really focused on the 'victims' of climate change. There are, however, several references to ancient forests that will disappear, the implicit argument thus being that they should stay because of their inherent value: "[m]et als gevolg: ernstige milieuvervuiling en verwoesting van

eeuwenoude bossen” (24:4). There is a quick reference to indigenous people in relation to the forests: “[b]ovenop de teerzanden staat eeuwenoud bos dat in hoog tempo wordt verwoest. Deze bossen zijn van oudsher het thuis van inheemse volken” (21:11 and 23:6). Interestingly, this exact sentence appears in two separate articles.

The economic development and middle way are reinforced in some occasions in the articles. The economic development frame appears 9 times throughout 7 articles and contains quotations that mostly emphasize the risks to investments on unsustainable practices such as “[w]illen we de opwarming van de aarde beperken met maximal 1.5 graad zoals afgesproken in het klimaatakkoord van Parijs, dan moet deze olie in de grond blijven en zijn deze beleggingen straks waardeloos” (21:8) and “[k]ijkend naar het kostenplaatje lijkt CO2 opslaan onder de zeebodem duur” (25:7). It thus reinforces the economic development frame in which the argument from the opposing party often refers to the costs of acting on climate change. The middle way frame refers to the techniques mentioned in the articles such as CCS, which is the ultimate middle way technique as it allows for the burning of fossil fuels, without the addition of CO₂ in the atmosphere.

Finally, the human health and national security frame were virtually absent from the discourse with the human health frame only appearing 4 times in 4 different articles and the national security frame only appearing twice in two different articles.

To conclude, GPNL uses and reinforces many frames from Nisbet’s (2009) typology. Some are, however, used more than others:

- Companies and governments are culpable in the climate change issue and therefore bear a responsibility to undo their damage. They are to be held accountable.
- With time running out on reaching the climate change targets, climate change looms over the world, waiting to unleash its chaos upon it. Scientists like those from the IPCC are to be trusted and their advice should be followed. The science is clear that if quick action does not take place, the climate crisis will worsen.
- Pulling investments out of unsustainable practices will mean social progress. Not only do these pose risks, it is more expensive to do nothing than to do something about climate change.

Visual themes

The visuals in GPNL’s articles were a lot scarcer than those in GPI’s stories. Not every article was accompanied by an image, the word to image ratio was less than with GPI. In total, the whole dataset contains 31 images, which is an average of 1,2 images per article. In total, 12 visual categories were coded in the coding process.

Interestingly, the only visual code that was coded more than three times was the code ‘Visual_GreenpeaceAction’ which was coded 13 times throughout 11 articles. The second most coded visual the visual ‘Humans_March’ which was coded 3 times in 2 articles. These two codes together form the largest part of the total number of visuals. This thus means that most of the images included in GPNL’s communication centre around activism. There were no other noteworthy categories.

5.4 Conclusion Greenpeace Netherlands

The first main research question asks how Greenpeace International and Greenpeace Netherlands construct a discourse on climate change. Before answering this question for Greenpeace Netherlands, the sub-questions will be addressed.

5.4.1 *How is climate change portrayed throughout the communication, and how does it fit into a discourse on climate change?*

The basic entities that are recognized on climate change throughout GPNL's discourse are almost identical to those of GPI. Making a sentence out of the 5 most frequently coded codes would leave the following: We need to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees to avoid the threat of dangerous climate change. Time is running out while nature continues to be under threat from climate change.

Vulnerable communities and future generations will suffer from the consequences of climate change unfairly which means that fundamentally, climate change is an issue of justice (Ontology_Limit1.5, _ClimateChangeIsThreat, _TimeIsRunningOut, _NatureUnderThreat and _ClimateJusticeIssue). However, the last three codes carry a lot less weight than the first two, as they are not really prevalent throughout the articles, but are expressed in a few of them. The assumptions about natural relationships in GPNL's discourse were scarce and often not grounded in many quotations. They highlight the destructive force of climate change for the natural world and that polluters are powerful. The latter code is an important theme that reoccurs throughout the normative judgements on climate change. Using the same exercise as before, the top ten most coded codes would form the following argument: Climate change is deeply connected to the issue of culpability. Companies and governments have not done enough to avoid climate change while knowing the issue was happening and what caused it. Urgent action is needed and governments and companies should put their money where their mouths are. Those that have polluted the earth should also bear the responsibility of the costs that are now necessary to fix it. Global action is necessary as is system change (Judgements_Culpability, _What_MoneyWhereMouth, _ByWhom_Companies, _What_SystemChange, What_NotEnough, Priority_Urgent, ByWhom_Government, ByWhom_Leadership, What_PolluterPays and _What_Globally).

The discourse most fitting to the way in which GPNL portrays climate change is the disaster discourse which focusses on alarming projections and the urgency of the issue. In its ontology climate change is represented as a disaster. The assumptions about natural relationships puts emphasis on the destructive nature of climate change and normatively, GPNL considers companies and governments responsible and almost portrays them as evil parties, willingly and knowingly destroying the future of the planet. This also corresponds closely to the normative judgements as expressed in Doulton and Brown's (2009) for the crisis discourse: "The West is to blame, indeed their actions can be seen as malicious as the full consequences of fossil fuel consumption are well known, and they have racked up a huge ecological debt that makes a mockery of the current ideas of debtors and creditors at the global scale" (p. 195). The disaster/crisis discourse as adapted in the current research has merged some discourses that Doulton and Brown (2009) propose and made it into one discourse which represents the more widely known apocalypse discourse. In this discourse system change is explicitly mentioned as it is oftentimes throughout GPNL's articles. The world can be saved, but only with a change in systems. What this new system should look like did not become entirely clear from the discourse.

5.4.2 *How are metaphors and other imagery used in the communication, why are some more prevalent than others?*

The most prevalent use of linguistic imagery in GPNL's discourse is the group of metaphors that represents environmentally friendly as cleanliness while it represents unsustainability as being dirty. The use of imagery appeared in almost half of GPNL's articles and mostly focussed on the dirtiness of industry rather than the cleanliness of renewables. Out of the 15 quotations and phrases, only one invokes the image of cleanliness while the others only highlight the dirtiness of big industry, and to a lesser extend unsustainable techniques.

As Ritchie and Thomas (2015) suggest "[t]he *“clean/dirty”* ... metaphors are staples of environmentalist discourse ... and for many listeners are likely to activate complex schemas based on previous debates over air pollution, water pollution..." (p. 15). Though this is positive in that the inherent claim of the metaphor is one with which people will easily agree: dirty is bad, clean is good, it does run the risk of oversimplifying climate change. Pollution can be cleaned up and thus reversed, climate change, although it does concern, among other things, pollution, it cannot be simply cleaned up, and more importantly, it cannot be reversed. This confusion is common and the biggest example is the ozone layer depletion confusion. People still associate the hole in the ozone layer with climate change (Chang, Pascua & Ess, 2017; Huxster, Uribe-Zarain & Kempton, 2015), thus incorrectly equating the reversible ozone layer issue with irreversible climate change.

Imagery of clean vs. dirty are not uncommon in Western culture and has often been used in ethical matters. According to Kövecses (2002) the clean/dirty metaphor is a conceptual one in that it refers to morality and ethics: "[a]nother part of the meaning is motivated by the structural metaphor ethical is clean (which also shows up in a number of other linguistic expressions such as have blood on one's hand)" (p. 246). The metaphor is also associated with the frame social progress as dirty is undesirable while clean is equated with goodness. It is also closely tied to the sickness metaphor which was less pervasive throughout the discourse but relates to the clean/dirty metaphor as it uses the same concept: the thing that is bad is represented as a sickness, while the thing that is good is represented in terms of healthiness.

Though the metaphor can be tied to the morality and ethics frame as well as the social progress frame, it also has a place in the alarmist discourse. GPNL puts the focus on the dirty while the clean is almost absent. In the discourse, dirty is most associated with corporations: "[d]e vervuiler" (15:13) and "vieze vier" (24:10). The size of these companies is often emphasized as being big which thus not only carries the connotations of them being bad, but it also highlights the urgency. This is tied to another frequently used metaphor, that of the alarm bell. This metaphor use in which the sense of urgency is underscored belongs with the alarmist apocalyptic discourse. The big dirty companies are spreading their 'dirt' fast, destroying our otherwise good and clean earth.

5.4.3 *Which frames are employed, why are some more dominant than others?*

As stated in the analysis, GPNL used every frame but one in their discourse. Two framings stand apart from the rest because of the frequency with which they are used. The public accountability and governance frame was most pervasive throughout the discourse, appearing in 68% of the articles. Their accountability is mostly aimed at companies. This was to be expected from information available on their website. Under 'solutions', GPNL writes that "[s]amen luden we het einde in van het tijdperk van straffeloos handelen van grote bedrijven; meerdere malen wisten we misdaden tegen het milieu te stoppen en de verantwoordelijkheid bij de bedrijven te leggen" (<https://www.greenpeace.org/nl/oplossingen/>). Their public accountability frame not only frame

climate change as an issue of governmental or industrious responsibility but also refers to the responsibility normal citizens have as customers. For example, GPNL calls for people to leave the Rabobank because they use savers' money to fund large agricultural projects. They also call for people to make it known that they don't want their pension money invested in tar sands oil. The frame is closely connected to the incompetent leaders code in which governments are chastised for letting companies do whatever they want in pursuit of economic gains. On multiple occasions GPNL calls for companies as well as the Dutch government to put their money where their mouth is.

The accountability frame holds the same weight as the Pandora's box frame. Below is the network for the accountability frame, showing all 18 linked codes and their relationships.

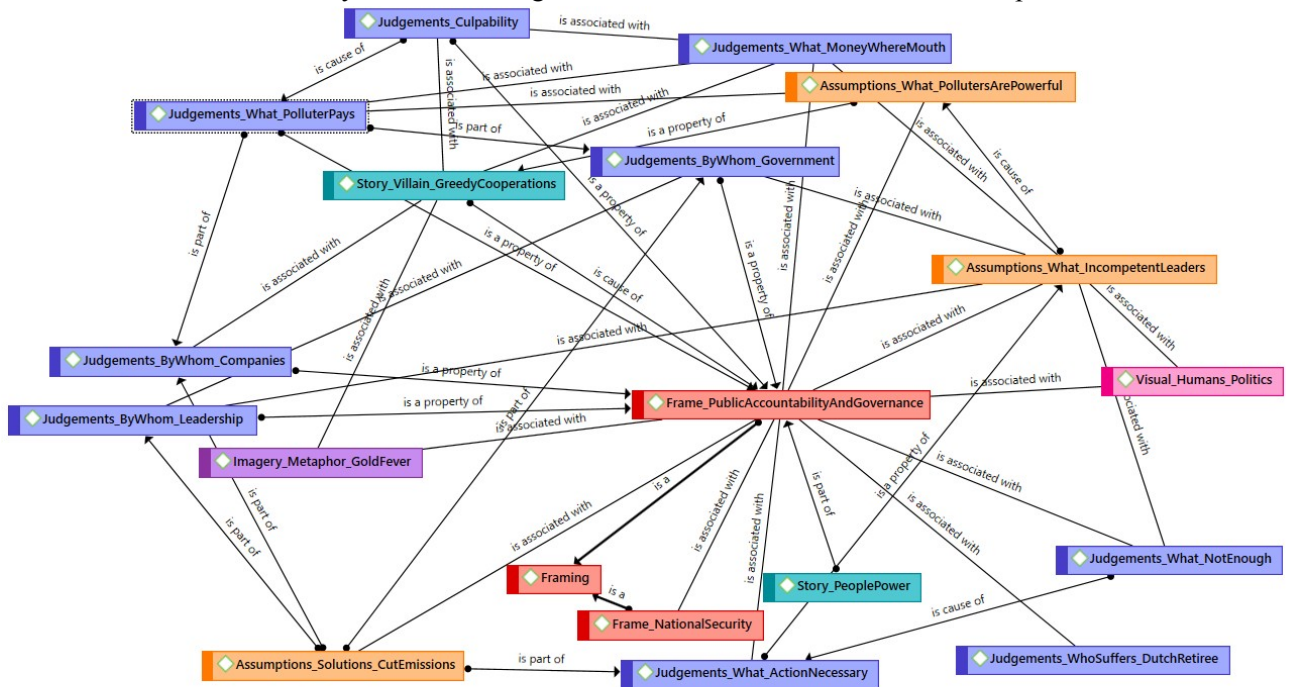


Figure 14, code network public accountability and governance, GPNL

The Pandora's box frame is coded in 48% of the articles. The emphasis throughout the stories is on the limited time there is left to solve climate change. Some articles are even devoted to the campaign 'noodklok voor het klimaat' which is a campaign that aims to call attention to the fact that time is running out. The frame has the same density in terms of linked codes as the accountability frame, but most of the linked codes are from the code group ontology. This means that the way in which GPNL views climate change; the basic entities that are recognised on climate change, all relate to the dangerousness and urgency of the issue. In other words, climate change is fundamentally understood as a looming disaster and therefore framed as such.

The prevalence of the Pandora's box frame might also be explained by looking at GPNL's current position in Dutch society. Most of the selected articles were written during important political events. GPNL was one of the parties present during the negotiations on the 'klimaatakkoord' in which the current government will lay down their plans to not only carry out the Urgenda verdict, but also to achieve a 49% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2030. As established in section 2.5, for political action to be carried out, democratic support is hugely important. As campaigners think about how they relay the urgency of climate change to the general public, they might think about ways to communicate their own worries to an audience of Dutch citizens that are increasingly voting for right-wing climate denying parties and thus settle for the presentation of the threatening consequences of climate change to scare people into action. Again, it needs to be emphasized that climate change operates the third order of level of abstraction which makes it difficult for campaigners to make

climate change palpable for the audience. The easiest way to make climate change ‘known’ is then to point to its devastating consequences.

5.4.4 *What is the relationship between textual and pictorial elements?*

People power was a big part of GPNL’s discourse. In the text, Greenpeace activism was usually linked to victory and emphasized was that it would not have been possible without either the supporter or the volunteers. Greenpeace branded activism was again the most frequent theme of the attached images. Like with GPI, the relationship between image and text was relatively straight forward. Articles that discussed a certain campaign or action such as article 1, 5 and 21 were all accompanied by pictures of Greenpeace branded activism. Some articles included paragraphs on the destructiveness of climate change such as article 19, 21 and 24, these paragraphs were accompanied by images of visual destruction. The images did not speak for themselves, but rather served as visual clarification of what was written in the text. The findings of the current research corresponds to DiFrancesco and Young’s (2011) research on visual themes in British newspapers in that the images “are definitely not driving the content of articles” (p. 533). Where Doyle (2007) argued that Greenpeace uses the visual to communicate that climate change is real, the current research found little evidence in the selected GPNL articles that this was the case. Instead, despite their overall discourse aiming attention at the disastrous consequences of climate change, the visual images mostly focused on another aspect of the discourse: that of people power.

5.4.5 Conclusion

In their mission statement, Greenpeace Netherlands states that: “[w]e geloven dat een groene, duurzame wereld nodig, beter en haalbaar is. Voor die verandering moeten we de huidige status quo doorbreken” The current research found that, rather than focusing in their communication on how this status quo can be disrupted, they still rely on the same status quo for their solutions. Throughout the discourse the concept of culpability is highlighted in reference to government and companies. They are seen to be culpable in the climate change issue and should be the ones responsible to address the issue. The polluter should pay and governments as well as companies should put their money where their mouth are. Rather than breaking or disrupting the status quo, GPNL relies on this same status quo to take the necessary action on climate change.

In their communication, GPNL does not shy away from mentioning the disastrous consequences of climate change, in fact, their discourse puts emphasis on it. From warnings to limiting the warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, to campaigns that literally ask people to sound alarm bells, GPNL’s discourse portrays, frames and imagines climate change as a looming apocalypse which fits in best with the disaster/crisis discourse. The same paradox that became apparent in GPI’s discourse, haunts GPNL’s discourse: change is necessary, yet they rely for this change on the accountability of the same parties that have failed to take accountability thus far.

5.5 Differences in discourse

The final research question asks how Greenpeace Netherlands and Greenpeace International differ in their communication of climate change. The first most obvious difference that was observed before the analysis had even begun was the fact that while GPI uses stories as part of their web communication, GPNL uses articles. The subject matter for each is also different. While GPI was more involved in writing about climate change as a phenomenon, GPNL writes about climate change as a justification for their different campaigns. There was more localization in GPNL's discourse, which was to be expected because unlike GPI, GPNL is a local office, not an international one.

Of course, their target audiences also differ. Greenpeace International writes their stories in English, which means that the whole English speaking world (with access to internet) has access to these stories while Greenpeace Netherlands only has articles written in Dutch, which also means that they have a smaller demographic.

Interestingly, GPI when referring to themselves always used a personal pronoun such as we while GPNL often referred to themselves in the third person, thus separating themselves from the reader of the article. GPNL also had instances of personal pronoun use, but inconsistently. Looking at two articles both discussing the same subject, the differences in communication becomes very apparent. On the 9th of October 2018, GPNL published an article titled: "Greenpeace feliciteert Urgenda met geweldige overwinning voor het klimaat" (18:1). On the 11th of October 2018, GPI published a story titled: "Think we can't win on climate change? This victory by Dutch citizens will change your mind" (22:6). GPI personally engages the reader by not only making it Urgenda's victory, as GPNL states in their title, but making it their victory as well. The importance of people power is highlighted as Urgenda is not mentioned, but GPI refers to Dutch citizens. GPI also directly dares the reader to be optimistic while GPNL states the victory in a very matter of fact way. Their title could be the title of a news outlet reporting on Greenpeace. In the first paragraph after the title, GPI writes: "Victory in Dutch climate case ... puts laggard governments on notice: act now or see you in court!" (22:17), thus connecting the victory to the bigger picture. GPNL's first sentence after the title is: "vandaag heeft Urgenda in hoger beroep opnieuw hun klimaatzaak tegen de Nederlandse Staat gewonnen. Een historische overwinning. Het gerechtshof heeft bepaald dat de overheid in 2020 de CO2 uitstoot met 25% moet verlagen" (18:11). Again, this is a very matter of fact description, something one would expect to see in an actual news article. In the rest of their story GPI couples the victory to issues of accountability, and invites pessimistic readers to see this for the victory it is. It further contextualizes the victory and links it to the global justice movement with a call to action for the audience to support communities "seeking climate justice through legal actions" (22:33). GPNL reports in the same matter of fact tone, using quotes from one of their campaigners the same way a news article would. So while GPI places the victory in the bigger picture and links it to other campaigns while also making the article feel personal and immersive, GPNL reports as if they were merely a newspaper commenting on this newsworthy item.

These two items are exemplary for the difference between GPI's stories and GPNL's articles. While GPI places emphasis on reasons for hope, the power that ordinary people have and make their communication at least at times feel personal, concrete and immersive. While GPNL does also highlight people power, they often write in such a way that Greenpeace becomes a separate thing from both the article as well as the reader, reporting their own views and quotes as if they were written by a news outlet, rather than an NGO that aims to engage people to join their cause.

According to the Greenpeace Story Arc (2015) their story should always consist of 7 elements. At the basis lies their theory of change, which is, "a billion acts of courage will spark a brighter tomorrow" (slide 6). The story should address the hero which is the audience itself. The should receive

the gift of courage from the ‘champions of the impossible’ who should be inspiring examples of this courage. The story also has a monster, which stands for “[t]he stories that are holding back the better world” (slide 8). Finally, the story includes a broken world which is full of “misdirection, apathy and fear” but it also has a vision: “[a] world full of courage, connection and creativity” (slide 8). What this research found is that both GPI and GPNL still fall back on the disaster/crisis/apocalypse discourse when they write about climate change. The monster and the ‘broken world’ receive more attention than the vision which should offer an alternative. Both GPI and GPNL highlight people power, however, GPI includes more ‘protagonists’ or ‘champions of the impossible’ that give the gift of courage to the audience, the shining example being GPI’s spotlight on Greta Thunberg. Their discourse is one that, despite the prevalence of the disaster discourse, is still infused with climate justice elements and unwritten calls on morality. Their stories were mostly personal, included protagonists, were concrete and at times immersive. GPNL’s articles did put emphasis on people power, but overall had a very matter of fact tone. Their emphasis on the concept of culpability reminded of the same climate justice argument that is present in some of GPI’s stories, yet the focus was not on morality overall. GPNL seems more preoccupied with identifying the culprits of the climate issue, rather than identifying what the ‘action’ is that should be taken against them. Both GPI and GPNL suffered from vague calls to take action. Though GPI showed some of the elements of the opportunity discourse, they were overshadowed by the threatening messages on the effects of climate change. Thus instead of “reinforcing old stories to building new ones” (Greenpeace, 2016b, slide 10), both GPNL and to a lesser extent GPI, still reinforced the dominant apocalypse discourse.

6. Discussion

6.1 Recommendations for climate change narratives

The following section will still include references to the way in which both GPI and GPNL communicate climate change, but will also attempt to suggest other ways of communicating climate change. Based on the examined studies on communicating climate change using a narrative format, and using Greenpeace's own recommendations, the current thesis has formulated some recommendations for climate change narratives.

As Bushel et al. (2017) argues: “[n]arrative, storytelling and communication are vital to how we live our lives” (p. 39). Even without meaning to, everything becomes a story in our heads. As the discussed research in this thesis has already suggested, our brains are hardwired to process stories. Bushel et al. (2017) aptly state: “[h]umans experience the world as narrative, and therefore communicating using narrative can be uniquely persuasive. A unifying, collective narrative could give meaning to events, actions and underlying truths” (p. 41).

Looking at other empirical research on climate change communication, barriers, and narratives, the following recommendations were formulated:

- As climate change is often perceived as a distant issue, both in time and space (Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Cole & Whitmarsh, 2007), in the communication, make sure to bridge the distance for the audience. As Bushel (2017) argues “[n]arratives arguing for action have often disengaged their audiences from the problem, allowing them to believe that climate change is someone else's problem, that it is not important for them or that they are not in a position to make a difference” (p. 47).
- Use imagery and metaphors to make the complex understandable. Dahlstrom (2014) similarly recommends: “[c]ommon techniques to assist with the communication of phenomena beyond human scale include developing metaphors or other comparisons to link the phenomena to something understandable within human scale” (p. 13618).
- Make climate change feel personal to the audience. As Bushel (2017) argues, “cognitive dissonance can be addressed by developing a narrative that helps move people from ‘distancing’ to ‘owning’ the problem” (Bushel, 2017, p. 47), thereby creating the feeling of responsibility for the problem.
- Give people a clear, doable action perspective to increase feelings of self-efficacy and motivation. Telling people to take action is not enough, give them why, what and most importantly: how.

The recommendations mentioned above are similar to the ones GPI describes in their story guide on how to create a good story. Bushel (2017) argues that a “good strategic narrative could ‘convert’ us from ‘distancing’ to ‘owning’ the problem of climate change, which would increase our feeling of self-efficacy” (p. 47). The current research also argues in favour of the narrative format, and using storytelling to engage the audience. The issue is that the current story that we tell on climate change is not suitable for these recommendations. It is hard to portray climate change as a personally relevant issue if the communication simultaneously emphasises the distant effects. It also makes it hard for people to ‘own’ something they cannot see or feel. Caring about an apocalypse that has yet to happen is therefore difficult. If the metaphors in the communication only serve to further the apocalypse feel of climate change, then people will just distance themselves from the problem even further. If your story is about an almost undefeatable, big monster, then taking action is scary and might even seem futile.

The way in which we currently communicate on climate change is dominated by the apocalypse discourse which is also shown in the current research. Even with the best of intentions about creating a narrative that is hopeful and inspiring, apocalyptic warnings about climate change consequences and scary references to a clock that is quickly running out of time still pervade. When one strips away all the textual details to come to the heart of what it is that we actually say about climate change, what remains is: mankind has created climate change and climate change might kill us, unless we fight it first. Turn that into a story and it would look like this: man creates monster, monster either kills man or is killed by man. We all know this story as it has been culturally infused for hundreds of years: from the creature Grendel, created out of the sin of man who threatens to destroy Heorot in Beowulf; the Balrog in Tolkien's Lord of the Rings who was awakened by the dwarves who delved too greedily and too deep; to Frankenstein's monster, a horror born out of "our avarice and vanity ... "that will ultimately defeat us" (Townsend, 2018, par. 6).

Allow me to extend this monster metaphor. What is currently happening all around us is that people then start discussions and asking themselves and others 'but have we created a monster, or is the monster a natural occurrence?', 'does the monster really mean us harm, or will he benefit us?', 'how and when will the monster kill us exactly?', 'how much money will it cost to defeat the monster before it kills us?' and finally, 'there is no monster, it's all a big ploy'. To use the words of Kahan (2015): "Never have human societies known so much about mitigating the dangers they faced but agreed so little about what they collectively know" (p. 1).

As argued before, climate change belongs in the third order of abstraction according to Carolan (2004) which thus means that its epistemological distance is great, and that it is hugely complex. In the feverish attempts to make climate change 'known' actors have put emphasis on the effect climate change will have on people. Climate change is made to be the enemy.

If climate change is something that should be conquered, and if our communication talks about 'fighting' or 'defeating' climate change, what one actually says is that climate change is the issue. People rarely wonder whether it actually is. Climate change is not the issue. It is a symptom of the issue, which is that as a society we are disrupting the natural balance. The earth is a living system, if we harm it, it responds. In the pursuit for wealth and happiness people have become disconnected from their home: planet earth. The only reason people feel like climate change is a distant issue is because they see the earth as something that is disconnected from them. If I were to tell you that I am going to push my cat from the balcony, your reaction will not be 'but then you'll go to jail' or 'what will the neighbours think?', you will probably exclaim something along the lines of 'do not hurt your cat, you love her/she deserves to live'. The first exclamations mirror the way in which we now speak and write about climate change as they only emphasis the personal effects it would have, rather than making people feel connected to the thing they now take for granted.

I would argue that unless we change the story that lies at the heart of climate change communication at the moment, the same barriers will block people from feeling engaged with the issue. Instead of emphasizing the dangerousness of climate change and telling the story of man who created a monster we can tell a different story, one that not only captures the heart of the actual issue, but a story that might be better at engaging people. Instead of a tragedy (monster kills man) or an epic (monster is killed by hero) we might need a more nuanced sort of story: a bildungsroman. This story would also have two acts: mankind gets disconnected from nature and lives in imbalance, mankind finds their balance again. Since the emphasis in this story shifts from effect to cause, it makes it easier to formulate an action perspective as our disconnect with nature can be seen everywhere, not just in the countries that experience the effects of climate change. It would also help in bridging the levels of abstraction. If instances of living in unbalance with nature are the things that we need to fix, then it gives people the means to not only focus on the effects but on the causes themselves. This is of special importance in the Global North as the current discourse unknowingly separates the cause and effect by

highlighting climate change consequences in faraway places. Metaphor use about earth as a living being could help making the issue feel personal and understandable.

Articles or stories, the human brain thinks in narratives and so everything we read gets turned into a story in the mind anyway. So one must better make sure that the message at the heart of that story is one with which people can engage. Research has suggested that the tragedy that is the apocalypse narrative has so far been ineffective in long-term engagement. There have been too little empirical studies on barriers in combination with climate change storytelling to say with certainty that the story as described above will not evoke different barriers, and there will not be ‘one story’ that will solve everything. But it is worth to keep in mind the underlying message of the story that is told, and whether or not it is inspiring to begin with. As Stoknes (2015) argues “a plurality of stories is needed” (p. 132).

6.2 Limitations

Though the analysis of the discourse of both GPNL as well as GPI was done extensively and meticulously, the amount of elements that were analysed were not done full justice in the current thesis. Metaphor use in climate discourse, for example, is in and of itself an enormous subject and a whole thesis could have been devoted to merely this element. Due to the limited scope of the current thesis, the analysis for each separate element is less detailed than they could be. The same holds true for the information presented in the literature review and the theoretical framework. The information on for example framing, could cover the entire thesis. Instead, decisions were made to cut some important information due to the scope of the thesis. In hindsight, I would cut some elements from the research in order to be able to devote more energy and room to one subject instead of several.

The visual analysis is very limited in detail which is due mostly to abovementioned reasons. Another limitation concerning the visual analysis is that the images included in both GPI as well as GPNL stories/articles are from their own databank of images. The reason being that including images that are not of Greenpeace’s own production would involve copyright issues. Images are very expensive and due to the limited budget of both GPI as well as GPNL, having their own image databank makes more economic sense. However, this means that the prevalence of images pertaining Greenpeace actions may not be a thoughtful choice to form a certain discourse, but rather a reflection of the prevalence of Greenpeace action photos in this databank as most campaigns also involve hiring a photographer to document it.

Another regrettable limitation is due to the fact that since GPI and GPNL both switched from the Planet 3 web platform to Planet 4 web platform in 2018. Some articles and stories were lost during this switch. After the selection of the articles and stories for the current thesis, some of these articles and stories were restored and therefore, unfortunately, not included in the analysis.

A final limitations includes the document selection for GPNL. Like GPI, whose stories were found under the hashtag climate, GPNL had the same hashtag in Dutch. Unlike GPI, this hashtag for GPNL contained only one article at the time of the data selection. This meant that the articles had to be selected in a different way. The separate category ‘klimaatverandering’ which can also be seen in the url for the selected articles, was used to make a selection of articles. GPNL uses this category very liberally which meant that some of the articles were less relevant than others, more so than was the case for the GPI stories. Finally, the GPNL dataset was, in hindsight, smaller than I had originally intended.

6.3 Further Research

Future research into climate change communication could not only use discourse analysis to uncover certain discourses, but it would be useful to actually test the communication with its intended audience. Further research could attempt what the current thesis could not do: test the discourses and map the psychological barriers for each discourse. It would be interesting to see whether there is a particular discourse or discourses that would be able to effectively communicate climate change so that inspires hearts, minds and hands.

Neurological research could test the claim that certain discourses are unproductive in engaging people to care about climate change since psychology and neurology are intimately connected. In the same vein, more research is necessary to look whether climate change communication is able to inspire long-term behavioural change at all. Further research into value-based segmentations of demographics is also promising to uncover whether perhaps communication strategies should be less focussed on the 'what' of the communication and more on the 'who'. Finally, further research could examine whether or not adding storytelling techniques in the discourse aids in furthering personal engagement.

All in all, there is still a great deal to discover about climate change communication. However, I hope that the current research has provided additional insights into climate change discourses and the power of words and stories.

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9. Appendices

Appendix I: Nisbet's (2009) typology of frames

Table 2. Typology of frames applicable to climate change	
Frame	Defines science-related issue as . . .
Social progress	A means of improving quality of life or solving problems; alternative interpretation as a way to be in harmony with nature instead of mastering it.
Economic development and competitiveness	An economic investment; market benefit or risk; or a point of local, national, or global competitiveness.
Morality and ethics	A matter of right or wrong; or of respect or disrespect for limits, thresholds, or boundaries.
Scientific and technical uncertainty	A matter of expert understanding or consensus; a debate over what is known versus unknown; or peer-reviewed, confirmed knowledge versus hype or alarmism.
Pandora's box/Frankenstein's monster/runaway science	A need for precaution or action in face of possible catastrophe and out-of-control consequences; or alternatively as fatalism, where there is no way to avoid the consequences or chosen path.
Public accountability and governance	Research or policy either in the public interest or serving special interests, emphasizing issues of control, transparency, participation, responsiveness, or ownership; or debate over proper use of science and expertise in decisionmaking ("politicization").
Middle way/alternative path	A third way between conflicting or polarized views or options.
Conflict and strategy	A game among elites, such as who is winning or losing the debate; or a battle of personalities or groups (usually a journalist-driven interpretation).

Appendix II: DiFrancesco and Young's (2011) visual themes list

Image subject	Theme
Human (all themes)	Political Citizen Business/Industry Scientist/Expert Environmentalist Celebrity
Nature (all themes)	Urban landscape Natural landscape Ocean/coast Polar bear Other plant/animal Snow/ice
Industry/Technology (all themes)	Transportation Oil sands/refinery Green technology

Appendix III: List of Gifford's (2011) psychological barriers

Limited cognition

1. Ancient brain
2. Ignorance
3. Uncertainty
4. Environmental numbness
5. Spatial discounting
6. Temporal discounting
7. Optimism bias
8. (A lack of) Perceived behavioural control
9. (A lack of) Self-efficacy
10. Confirmation bias
11. When time is money

Ideologies

1. Worldviews
2. Suprahuman powers
3. Technosalvation
4. System justification

Social comparison

1. Social comparison
2. Social norms and networks
3. Perceived inequity
4. Authority rules

Sunk costs

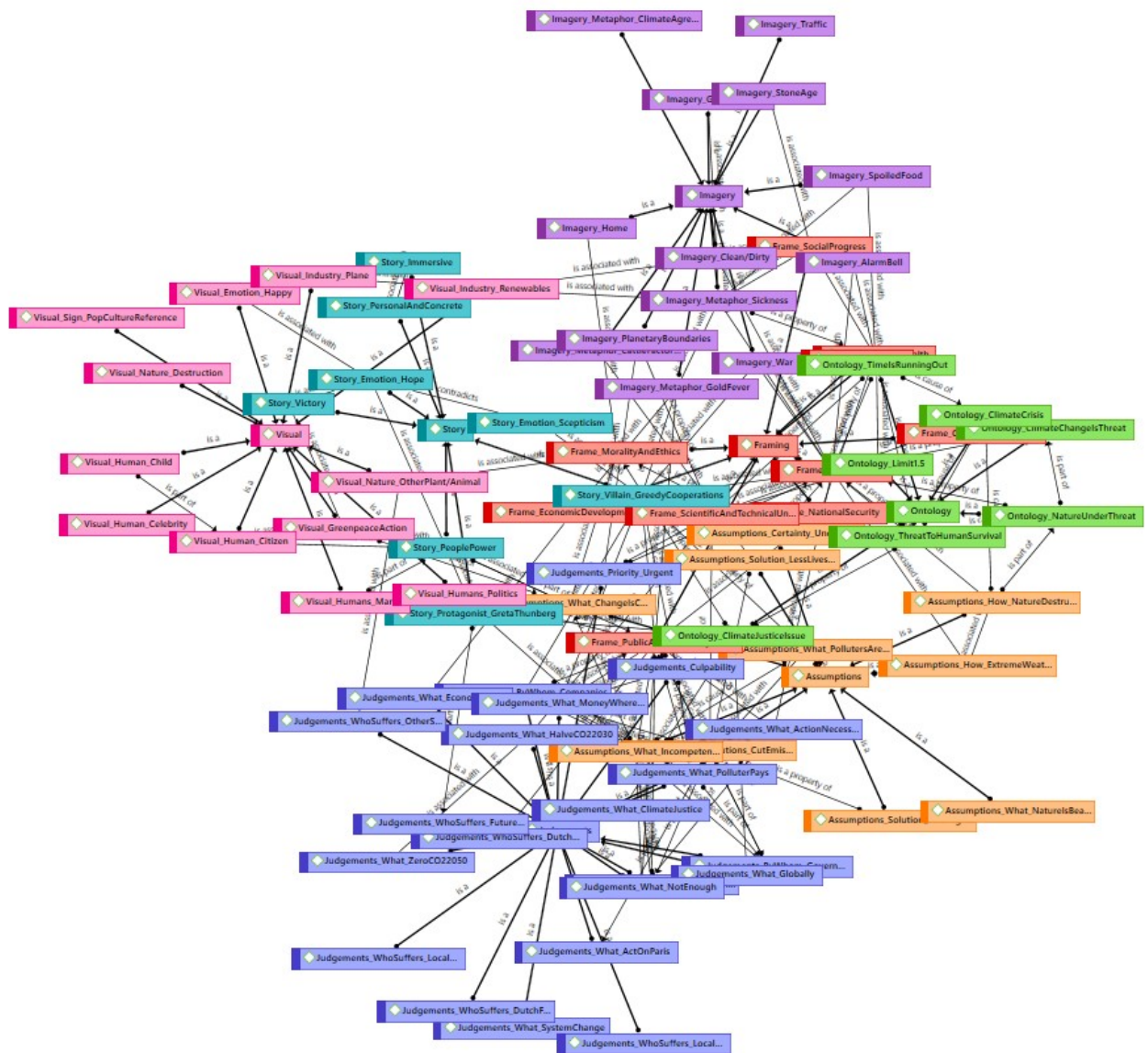
1. Financial investments
2. Behavioural momentum
3. Conflicting goals and aspirations
4. Lack of place attachment

Discredence

1. Mistrust
2. Perceived program inadequacy
3. Denial
4. Reactance

- 5. Contrarian personality
- Perceived risk
- 1. Functional risk
 - 2. Psychological risk
 - 3. Financial risk
 - 4. Social risk
 - 5. Psychological risk
 - 6. Temporal risk
- Limited behaviour
- 1. Tokenism
 - 2. The rebound effect

Appendix IV: Full code network GPI



Appendix VI: Full list of codes GPI

Name	Grounded	Density	Groups
<i>Frame_PublicAccountabilityAndGovernance</i>	74	8	Framing
<i>Frame_Pandora'sBox</i>	55	24	Framing
<i>Imagery_ExtendedMetaphor_War</i>	49	5	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_ActionNecessary</i>	47	14	Judgements
<i>Frame_MoralityAndEthics</i>	45	10	Framing
<i>Story_PeoplePower</i>	44	5	Story
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_FutureGenerations</i>	41	8	Judgements
<i>Frame_ScientificAndTechnicalUncertainty</i>	39	6	Framing
<i>Story_Emotion_Hope</i>	36	4	Story
<i>Ontology_ClimateJusticeIssue</i>	35	6	Ontology
<i>Ontology_ClimateCrisis</i>	34	12	Ontology
<i>Judgements_Priority_Urgent</i>	34	2	Judgements
<i>Visual_Human_Citizen</i>	34	10	Visual
<i>Story_Villain_GreedyCooperations</i>	31	7	Story
<i>Ontology_ClimateChangeIsThreat</i>	31	3	Ontology
<i>Judgements_What_ClimateJustice</i>	30	3	Judgements
<i>Visual_GreenpeaceAction</i>	28	2	Visual
<i>Story_PersonalAndConcrete</i>	26	2	Story

<i>Visual_Humans_March/strike</i>	23	3	Visual
<i>Visual_Human_Students</i>	22	3	Visual
<i>Ontology_TheScienceIsClear</i>	21	2	Ontology
<i>Frame_SocialProgress</i>	21	4	Frame
<i>Assumptions_What_HumansAreConnected</i>	21	5	Assumptions
<i>Frame_EconomicDevelopmentAndCompetitiveness</i>	20	4	Frame
<i>Ontology_TimeIsRunningOut</i>	20	8	Ontology
<i>Ontology_ThreatToHumanSurvival</i>	19	9	Ontology
<i>Story_Protagonist</i>	19	3	Story
<i>Story_Immersive</i>	18	2	Story
<i>Judgements_What_EconomicGrowthIncompatible</i>	18	2	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureBeautiful</i>	17	3	Assumptions
<i>Assumptions_What_ConnectedNature</i>	16	5	Assumptions
<i>Ontology_ClimateChangeAlreadyHere</i>	14	7	Ontology
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Governments</i>	14	4	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_How_ExtremeWeatherIncrease</i>	14	2	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_Culpability</i>	13	2	Judgements
<i>Visual_Nature_OtherPlant/Animal</i>	13	1	Visual
<i>Story_Protagonist_GretaThunberg</i>	13	3	Story
<i>Assumptions_Where_Globally</i>	13	4	Assumptions
<i>Frame_HumanHealth</i>	12	2	Frame
<i>Visual_Nature_Destruction</i>	12	4	Visual
<i>Ontology_HumansPartOfNature</i>	12	7	Ontology
<i>Ontology_NatureUnderThreat</i>	12	10	Ontology
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_Vulnerable</i>	12	2	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_What_PollutersArePowerful</i>	11	5	Assumptions
<i>Assumptions_What_ChangeIsComing</i>	11	2	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Nature_Ocean</i>	11	1	Visual
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_HothouseEarth</i>	11	3	Imagery
<i>Assumptions_What_IncompetentLeaders</i>	11	3	Assumptions
<i>Imagery_Violence</i>	10	2	Imagery
<i>Assumptions_How_NatureDestruction</i>	10	5	Assumptions
<i>Story_Villain_CorruptPoliticians</i>	10	3	Story
<i>Judgements_What_SystemChange</i>	9	1	Judgements
<i>Story_Emotion_Inspiration</i>	9	2	Story
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Leadership</i>	9	10	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureNecessaryForLife</i>	9	6	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Humor</i>	8	2	Visual
<i>Ontology_Limit1.5</i>	8	2	Ontology
<i>Assumptions_Certainty_UncertainFuture</i>	8	2	Assumptions
<i>Frame_NationalSecurity</i>	7	4	Frame
<i>Judgements_WhatGlobally</i>	7	3	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_What_IssuesAreConnected</i>	7	4	Assumptions
<i>Imagery_Clean/Dirty</i>	7	4	Imagery
<i>Visual_Emotion_Happy</i>	7	3	Visual
<i>Imagery_Traffic</i>	7	1	Imagery
<i>Visual_GretaThunberg</i>	7	2	Visual
<i>Ontology_Environmental Limits</i>	6	6	Ontology
<i>Imagery_Game</i>	6	2	Imagery
<i>Imagery_PowerAsGiants</i>	6	5	Imagery
<i>Visual_Nature_NaturalLandscape</i>	6	2	Visual
<i>Imagery_Sick/Healthy</i>	6	4	Imagery
<i>Imagery_StoneAge</i>	6	1	Imagery

<i>Visual_Sign_PopCultureReference</i>	6	2	Visual
<i>Assumptions_What_HumansAreDestructive</i>	6	5	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Human_Child</i>	6	3	Visual
<i>Assumptions_How_Drought</i>	6	3	Assumptions
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureStillUnknown</i>	6	1	Assumptions
<i>Assumptions_Where_VulnerableCountries</i>	6	2	Assumptions
<i>Ontology_StillTimeLeft</i>	5	4	Ontology
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_RichNations</i>	5	3	Judgements
<i>Imagery_Home</i>	5	1	Imagery
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureIsVast</i>	5	3	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_ByWhomEurope</i>	5	3	Judgements
<i>Visual_Destruction</i>	5	6	Visual
<i>Assumptions_How_HumanSuffering</i>	5	6	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Companies</i>	4	3	Judgements
<i>Imagery_ClimateChangeMonster</i>	4	2	Imagery
<i>Assumptions_What_TwelveYears</i>	4	3	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Activism</i>	4	4	Visual
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureIsResilient</i>	3	2	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Nature_Coral</i>	3	1	Visual
<i>Visual_Industry_FossilFuelBurning</i>	3	3	Visual
<i>Ontology_GreatestThreat</i>	3	3	Ontology
<i>Imagery_FaceReality</i>	3	1	Imagery
<i>Visual_Nature_Pollution</i>	3	2	Visual
<i>Story_Emotion_Anger</i>	3	4	Story
<i>Visual_Human_Scientist</i>	3	2	Visual
<i>Imagery_GreenVSBlack</i>	3	1	Imagery
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_LocalCommunities</i>	3	9	Judgements
<i>Visual_Human_Environmentalist</i>	3	1	Visual
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureIsFragile</i>	3	3	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Nature_UrbanLandscape</i>	3	1	Visual
<i>Frame_MiddleWay</i>	3	1	Frame
<i>Frame_ConflictAndStrategy</i>	3	1	Frame
<i>Assumptions_When_TenYears</i>	2	3	Assumptions
<i>Ontology_Complex</i>	2	2	Ontology
<i>Ontology_DangerousWarming</i>	2	5	Ontology
<i>Judgements_What_ActOnParis</i>	2	3	Judgements
<i>Story_Emotion_Shock</i>	2	5	Story
<i>Imagery_Wave</i>	2	1	Imagery
<i>Story_Emotion_Worry</i>	2	2	Story
<i>Visual_Human_Court</i>	2	1	Visual
<i>Story_Emotion_Moving</i>	2	2	Story
<i>Visual_Human_Celebrity</i>	2	1	Visual
<i>Story_Emotion_Love</i>	2	3	Story
<i>Imagery_PullEmergencyBrake</i>	2	4	Imagery
<i>Story_Emotion_Courage</i>	2	1	Story
<i>Story_Emotion_Disbelief</i>	2	3	Story
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_FossilFuelAddiction</i>	2	2	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_ZeroCO22050</i>	2	2	Judgements
<i>Imagery_LurkingInTheShadows</i>	2	1	Imagery
<i>Visual_GreenpeaceShip</i>	2	3	Visual
<i>Imagery_LoveAffairWithFossilFuel</i>	2	1	Imagery
<i>Story_Villain_RichPeople</i>	2	3	Story
<i>Imagery_Fuel</i>	2	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_ClimateChangeEyes</i>	2	1	Imagery

<i>Visual_Human_Death</i>	2	4	Visual
<i>Visual_Industry_Cars</i>	1	2	Visual
<i>Visual_Nature_Drought</i>	1	3	Visual
<i>Visual_Nature_PolarBear</i>	1	2	Visual
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_OtherSpecies</i>	1	2	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_Certainty_Crossed</i>	1	2	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_Solutions_CutEmissions</i>	1	1	Judgements
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_RoadblockVSBridge</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_ScientistAsGrandfather</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Story_Emotion_Frustration</i>	1	4	Story
<i>Story_Emotion_Overwhelmed</i>	1	2	Story
<i>Visual_Human_Poverty</i>	1	1	Visual
<i>Visual_Nature_DeadAnimals</i>	1	3	Visual
<i>Imagery_MaternityWardWales</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_PlanetaryBoundaries</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Visual_Human_Political</i>	1	1	Visual
<i>Imagery_FixThePlanet</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_RenewableEnergyEvolution</i>	1	2	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_HalveCO22030</i>	1	2	Judgements
<i>Imagery_GoldMedal</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_DraggingBehind</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_Lifting weights</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_CountriesAsNeighbours</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Judgements_Priority_AsSoonAsPossible</i>	1	8	Judgements
<i>Story_Emotion_Fear</i>	1	5	Story
<i>Imagery_GlobalFamily</i>	1	4	Imagery
<i>Imagery_Dream/Nightmare</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_DavidAndGoliath</i>	1	6	Imagery
<i>Story_Emotion_Sympathy</i>	1	3	Story
<i>Imagery_InactionAsSleep</i>	1	3	Imagery
<i>Imagery_MoveTheNeedle</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_AustraliaBigBrother</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Imagery_CoallsDead</i>	1	2	Imagery
<i>Imagery_Stage</i>	1	1	Imagery

Appendix VII: Full list of codes GPNL

<i>Name</i>	<i>Grounded</i>	<i>Density</i>	<i>Groups</i>
<i>Frame_PublicAccountabilityAndGovernance</i>	31	18	Framing
<i>Frame_Pandora'sBox</i>	27	18	Framing
<i>Judgements_Culpability</i>	20	5	Judgements
<i>Story_PeoplePower</i>	16	8	Story
<i>Judgements_What_MoneyWhereMouth</i>	16	6	Judgements
<i>Imagery_Clean/Dirty</i>	15	6	Imagery
<i>Ontology_Limit1.5</i>	14	4	Ontology
<i>Frame_ScientificAndTechnicalUncertainty</i>	14	9	Framing
<i>Frame_SocialProgress</i>	13	5	Framing
<i>Visual_GreenpeaceAction</i>	13	5	Visual
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Companies</i>	12	5	Judgements
<i>Story_Villain_GreedyCorporations</i>	12	10	Story
<i>Judgements_What_SystemChange</i>	12	1	Judgements
<i>Imagery_AlarmBell</i>	11	3	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_NotEnough</i>	11	4	Judgements
<i>Frame_MoralityAndEthics</i>	10	6	Framing

<i>Ontology_ClimateChangeIsThreat</i>	10	4	Ontology
<i>Assumptions_Solution_LessLivestock</i>	10	3	Assumptions
<i>Frame_EconomicDevelopmentAndCompetitiveness</i>	9	3	Framing
<i>Judgements_Priority_Urgent</i>	9	4	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_How_NatureDestruction</i>	8	5	Assumptions
<i>Frame_MiddleWay</i>	8	1	Framing
<i>Ontology_TimeIsRunningOut</i>	7	6	Ontology
<i>Story_Emotion_Hope</i>	7	5	Story
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Government</i>	7	6	Judgements
<i>Story_Victory</i>	6	3	Story
<i>Ontology_NatureUnderThreat</i>	6	5	Ontology
<i>Ontology_ClimateJustice</i>	6	6	Ontology
<i>Story_PersonalAndConcrete</i>	6	2	Story
<i>Judgements_ByWhom_Leadership</i>	6	5	Judgements
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_Sickness</i>	5	8	Imagery
<i>Ontology_ClimateCrisis</i>	5	6	Ontology
<i>Assumptions_What_PollutersArePowerful</i>	5	5	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_What_PolluterPays</i>	5	7	Judgements
<i>Judgements_What_Globally</i>	4	2	Judgements
<i>Judgements_What_ActionNecessary</i>	4	6	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_Solution_LessFlights</i>	4	2	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_FutureGenerations</i>	4	2	Judgements
<i>Frame_HumanHealth</i>	4	6	Framing
<i>Story_Immersive</i>	4	2	Story
<i>Imagery_StoneAge</i>	4	2	Imagery
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_LocalCommunities</i>	3	1	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_Certainty_UncertainFuture</i>	3	4	Assumptions
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_DutchFarmers</i>	3	1	Judgements
<i>Visual_Humans_March</i>	3	3	Visual
<i>Imagery_Traffic</i>	3	1	Imagery
<i>Visual_Nature_Destruction</i>	3	1	Visual
<i>Assumptions_What_ChangeIsComing</i>	3	6	Assumptions
<i>Assumptions_Solutions_CutEmissions</i>	3	10	Assumptions
<i>Frame_NationalSecurity</i>	2	3	Framing
<i>Story_Protagonist_GretaThunberg</i>	2	4	Story
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_DutchRetiree</i>	2	2	Judgements
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_GoldFever</i>	2	5	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_HalveCO22030</i>	2	3	Judgements
<i>Imagery_GreenVSBlack</i>	2	2	Imagery
<i>Judgements_What_ClimateJustice</i>	2	2	Judgements
<i>Imagery_War</i>	2	3	Imagery
<i>Imagery_PlanetaryBoundaries</i>	2	3	Imagery
<i>Visual_Nature_OtherPlant/Animal</i>	2	3	Visual
<i>Ontology_ThreatToHumanSurvival</i>	2	6	Ontology
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_ClimateAgreementPresent</i>	1	1	Imagery
<i>Visual_Humans_Politics</i>	1	3	Visual
<i>Story_Emotion_Scepticism</i>	1	3	Story
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_LocalDutch</i>	1	1	Judgements
<i>Imagery_SpoiledFood</i>	1	3	Imagery
<i>Visual_Sign_PopCultureReference</i>	1	1	Visual
<i>Imagery_Metaphor_CattleFactoryAsCoalPlant</i>	1	2	Imagery
<i>Assumptions_What_NatureIsBeautiful</i>	1	1	Assumptions
<i>Visual_Emotion_Happy</i>	1	2	Visual

<i>Judgements_What_EconomicGrowthIncompatible</i>	1	2	Judgements
<i>Visual_Human_Citizen</i>	1	4	Visual
<i>Visual_Human_Child</i>	1	2	Visual
<i>Visual_Industry_Renewables</i>	1	4	Visual
<i>Imagery_Home</i>	1	2	Imagery
<i>Judgements_WhoSuffers_OtherSpecies</i>	1	2	Judgements
<i>Visual_Human_Celebrity</i>	1	1	Visual
<i>Visual_Industry_Plane</i>	1	2	Visual
<i>Judgements_What_ZeroCO22050</i>	1	2	Judgements
<i>Assumptions_What_IncompetentLeaders</i>	1	10	Assumptions
<i>Assumptions_How_ExtremeWeatherIncrease</i>	1	3	Assumptions