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How the younger generation from within The European  
Union communicates climate change and what the  
dominating discourses amongst the younger generation in  
regard to climate change issues are

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*An analysis based on Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory  
and a survey based upon descriptive research method*

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## **Abstract**

Climate change has been recognized as the foremost environmental issue in the 21st century and has henceforth become a subject of massive debate. Climate change refers to a broad range of global phenomena created predominantly by burning fossil fuels. One important group to include in communication of and efforts in fighting climate change is the younger generation. They will be the ones experiencing and taking care of the future negative consequences of a problem that is global. This thesis provides insight in some research about the younger generation and climate change. The main aim of this study is to investigate how the younger generation from within the European Union communicate and relate to climate change globally and further to uncover the dominating discourses amongst the younger generation in regards to climate change issues. Initially a critical discourse analysis of a selection of Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt's speeches was conducted following Norman Fairclough's principles. Finally a survey analysis following a descriptive research design was conducted in order to increase knowledge to assess thoughts, feelings and opinions of the chosen sample being the younger generation from within the European Union.

The findings indicated that the younger generation from within the European Union communicated climate change issues to a global audience with affection and emotion combined with educating features. The majority perceive climate change issues as a serious problem being the main discourse, while those who are skeptic about it form a counter-discourse. Globally climate change issues is a subject that is spoken about broadly and most of us experience this through the media or in everyday conversations. This only supports it as being the main discourse. The dominating discourses amongst the younger generation's communication regarding climate change issues have been identified as the responsibility discourse and the apocalyptic discourse.

## 1.0 Introduction

Climate change is a subject we hear about frequently in our everyday life. Whether it is on the radio, television, in the newspapers or on social media we are encouraged to reconsider our ways of living, the choices we make and our eating habits. But why is everybody talking about and discussing climate change issues right now? Climate change is not something happening in 50 or in 100 years it is happening right now. The issue of climate change poses something of a puzzle, and all the attention accorded to the issue, climate change, global warming etc. is on everyone's mind and especially the younger generation all over the globe are mobilizing to save the planet.

The slow pace of climate change is a tall tale perhaps as harmful as the tale about climate change not happening. Starting with the pace of the changes the earth has experienced five mass extinctions before the one we are living in right now (Wallace-Wells, 2019:9). Unless you are a teenager you most certainly read in your books that these extinctions were caused by asteroids. As a matter of fact, four out of five included climate changes caused by greenhouse gases. The worst one took place 252 million years ago when carbon dioxide heated up the planet by five degrees Celsius and accelerated when that heating released methane and caused the death of all life on earth (Wallace-Wells, 2019:9). Currently, we are pouring carbon into the atmosphere at a remarkably higher pace due to industrial and technological developments. According to experts, this pace is a hundred times faster than any other detection in the history of mankind before industrialization (Wallace-Wells, 2019:10).

The climate is global and collective and therefore to some people it can sound like the most forlorn politics. Some would say that, selfishly, people do not mind ruining the planet as long as the consequences do not affect them significantly, while others would say that it is time for change.

In 2016 The Paris Agreement established maximum two degrees Celsius, preferably maximum 1,5 degrees, as a global goal, a goal that at the current time seems unrealistic (Wallace-Wells 2019:14). And in 2016 the agreement took effect, but it was not applicable until 2020. According to experts the two degrees seem more as an 'at best' result

(Wallace-Wells 2019:14). Perhaps some people felt that they were unable to believe in more terrifying future scenarios as the situation could not have worsened that significantly or because people still liked to drive fast cars and eat meat as they were used to. Or perhaps some people feel that they were too post-industrial and could not imagine a world where fossil fuel was not playing that big a role as it is in societal innovation and progress as it is today. One important group to take into consideration in the fight for social change and improvements in climate change issues is the younger generation. Aside from being a part of the society today they are also the future decisions-makers who will be those experiencing the consequences of climate change issues.

Recently, the prime minister of the Marshall-islands suggested another word for the description of the current climate change: 'genocide' (Wallace-Wells, 2019:14). This description insinuates that climate is being killed and mitigated, which is also a widespread opinion amongst human beings currently. The communication of climate change issues is going on everywhere in society no matter where we turn our ears. Lately it seems that the under 30 crowd is hearing one particular high frequency on a higher level than the rest of us including, decision-makers: the alert that climate scientists have been sounding. This alert has been evoking what may be the largest youth-led protest in history. But what has caused this attention and action? and what are the common values, habits and banners that the younger generation on a global scale unites under?

Using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory this thesis examines how climate change issues are communicated by the younger generation from within the European Union - here represented by Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt. Furthermore, another analysis will be conducted based on a descriptive research design of a survey in order to uncover a more general understanding of how the younger generation communicates climate change issues and to uncover some of the dominating discourses amongst them.

## **2.0 Literature review**

There is a rising number of movements encouraging the world to engage in ‘saving the planet’ and various movements globally spread preaching this exact subject. Climate change is becoming a more and more frequently examined subject in social sciences. In order to get an overview of the previously examined angles to youth and climate change issues communication, some previous literature and research upon the area has been revisited and will be presented as a literature review in the following section. Based on that a possible knowledge gap has been assessed and a problem formulation will be formulated based on it.

### **Youth and climate change**

When it comes to young people and climate change many studies show that age is contrariwise related to concern for climate change, that is, young people seem to be more concerned and, also, sometimes have more knowledge about this issue (Ojala & Lakew, 2017). Furthermore, young people themselves think that the new generations are more environmentally aware than their predecessors and a commitment to environmental issues has become a part of the global identity of young people. Yet, at the same time studies show that young people’s lifestyles are not more sustainable than those of older generations (Ojala & Lakew, 2017). According to studies conducted in relation to climate change, findings show that when communicating with young people about climate change in a constructive manner, it is important to understand that young people as a group seem to differ from similarities with adults in their ways of relating to climate change.

According to Ojala & Lakew (2017), there is a huge gap between young people’s view of the global future, including climate change, which is often quite pessimistic and their view of their personal future, which is often quite optimistic. Even though it is important to explore how young people can engage with this problem in a personally relevant way, climate change is perceived as distant and separate from their own lives. Furthermore, studies show that young people have less power to influence this issue than adults. The majority of teenagers cannot vote and still live at home, where most of them are dependent on their parents when it

comes to lifestyle choices. In accordance, Ojala & Lakew (2017) studies point out a rather low sense of environmental efficacy among teenagers.

Further studies show that the media is one of the main sources of information regarding climate change both for adults and the younger audience (Ojala & Lakew, 2017). Not only does the media provide factual scientific information about climate change, they also influence young people's understanding of the crisis as well as their willingness to engage and get involved. Furthermore, it is interesting that the most common understanding of climate change between young people is expressed by words such as 'greenhouse effect' and 'carbon dioxide' (Ojala & Lakew, 2017). This online climate debate can both get younger people involved but it can also have the opposite effect. Climate images in the media can perhaps force young people to distance themselves from the climate situation through denial, its reality, or externalization of responsibility (Ojala & Lakew, 2017). However, according to Bell et al. (2015) it is indicated that most of the younger generation are affected in what some European citizens will define as positive. The engagement from the young generation fighting for climate change is the majority (Bell et al. 2015). The tone in the media coverage is not the only factor that plays a role in influencing young people's attitudes toward the issue. Other features of communicating climate change that could impede young people's engagement include the complexity and jargon of the information provided, lack of media coverage and managing messages in particular, and celebrities' engagement in climate change (Ojala & Lakew, 2017).

## **Activism**

In an article by Doug Mcadam (2017) he suggests that 'if the activists were to deepen the identification of specific groups with the issue and/or convince large numbers of people of its immediate emergency, the emotional payoff would in fact be fear' (Mcadam 2017:204). Fear is an emotion he estimates can both paralyze as well as mobilize.

According to Doug Mcadam most of social science research on climate change focuses on individual-level-beliefs and policy preferences in relation to climate change (Mcadam 2017:192). Studies consider the relationship between individual climate change beliefs, risk perceptions, worldviews, knowledge etc. One important finding in these studies and research is that the attitudes towards climate change tends to have become polarized in the United

States (Mcadam, 2017). A parallel literature investigates similar factors and finds that mass attitudes amongst the population regarding climate change are strongly influenced by media framing, cues and economic conditions (Scruggs & Benegal, 2012). Furthermore, studies consider to what extent and how issue framing, through media for instance, affect climate change attitudes (Villar & Krosnick, 2011). According to Mcadam this is a critically important direction of research, as the media's coverage and transmission of climate change reinforces the population's perceptual divide on the subject (Mcadam, 2017).

More recent lines of research focus on the effects of personal experience on climate change beliefs combined with the coherence between long- and short term exposure to anomalies in nature, temperature and weather (Capstick & Pidgeon, 2014), for instance flooding and hurricanes. According to Mcadam this is an important line of research due to the scientific consensus of the intensifying weather-related effects of climate change (Mcadam, 2017:192). He argues that evidence is mixed, but that they generally found that personal experience has a short-term effect on concern for climate change (Mcadam, 2017:192).

Mcadam highlights research from the past 30 years stressing the role of three broad sets of factors shaping the impact and emergence of grassroots social movements. The factors are: a) political opportunities confronting any would-be movement, b) the organizational vehicles available to movements as sites for mobilization, c) and the collective framing processes of interpretation, attribution and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action (Mcadam 2017:193). A destabilization in institutional politics might accustom the forecast for successful collective action and their influence is vastly dependent on the mobilizing structures, where people engage in collective action, whereof movements seek to press their claims.

When looked upon through the lens of social movement theory, the marvel of climate change may not be such a marvel after all according to Mcadam (2017:195), since he argues that the three factors mentioned above have been aligned in such a way that grassroots activism regarding climate change has been made very difficult. When dominant institutional actors are sympathetic to the movement's aims, the movements might be encouraged to mobilize. Forty years of social movement research has consistently affirmed the significance of

mobilizing structures and social movement's impact (Rupp & Taylor, 1987). This stress on the importance of social movements causes the possible lack of popular mobilization, especially in the United States (McAdams, 2017:198), to be a true puzzle. According to McAdams the collection of formal organizations that comprise the institutionalized climate change movement constitute exactly that kind of mobilization stressed in previous literature. The strong emotions regarding climate change truly accounts for the previous abstinence of climate change activism (McAdams, 2017:204). McAdams mentions studies showing that most people are distrustful of the gas and oil companies and blames them partially for climate change, but that they are not externally resentful towards them (McAdams, 2017:204).

### **Cosmopolitanism**

Edward A. Page states that the international community is facing various challenges in its search for an environmentally effective response to climate change (Page, 2011:37). One of the key challenges is to plan and implement a set of policies that has the purpose of limiting global warming to less than 2 degrees celsius over the next century - preferably 1,5 degrees celsius as a maximum. Recent research shows that this objective can only be fulfilled if global emissions of greenhouse gasses peaked in 2016 and thereafter decreased by 4%. The challenge of global climate policymaking cannot be reduced to policies that possess the best qualities in economic efficiency and environmental effectiveness. Political legitimacy, distributive justice and procedural fairness play a significant role as well (Page, 2011). Page states that analyses of emissions trading have focused on economic theory and practice disjoined from independent treatment of matters of normative justification (Page, 2011:39). The discourses of cost efficiency and environmental effectiveness has been prioritized over distributive equity, procedural fairness etc. The little importance attached to the normative discourses mentioned above, is problematic as the subject of climate change is relatively young compared to rival mechanisms. Rival mechanisms, such as markets, industries etc. are older and have already developed norms that are hard to change.

According to Edward Page, cosmopolitanism can be considered as a 'tradition of thought' where 'political theories concerned with the moral relations of members of a universal community in which state boundaries have a merely derivative significance' (Page, 2011:40). Also, that 'all human beings regardless of their political affiliation, do belong to a single

community and that this community should be cultivated' (Page, 2011:40). Furthermore, the perception of cosmopolitanism as a theory of global moral community seems ideal when dealing with the problem of climate change, since climate change is global and will entail changes in biological and physical systems world wide. This will affect human and international security. For instance, climate change that entails floods and extreme weather ruining human beings' abodes and living conditions, or the exposition of jobs that involve influential import/export where transportation of goods include some sort of long distance shipping etc., whereby emissions of carbon dioxide might exceed the limitations.

Studies conducted in cooperation with Belgian celebrity Jill Peeters on a water development project in northern Kenya, show how climate change is causing the fall of Lake Turkana's water level - 60 cm per year (Hulme, 2010). It entails the raising of concentration of damaging minerals in the water being used by the El Molo people in northern Kenya, and climate change thereby causing rotting teeth, spongy bones and cancer among a small and impoverished traditional african community (Hulme, 2010). Because of the implicit message being spread, for instance through the media, that we all are responsible for climate change and changing circumstances wherever they happen, we are all included in this dismal pensive narrative according to Hulme (2010). Hereby, the perception of cosmopolitanism in regard to climate change can be interpreted as if climate change dissolves boundaries and categories and is making cosmopolitans of us all.

### **Intergenerationalism**

The effects of human-made climate change are a major issue for scientists, researchers and policymakers. According to UNICEFInnocenti (n.d.), a rather broad consensus exists saying that climate change is indeed happening with significant controversy over the extent of the consequences of climate change. Further studies, made by a group of researchers under UNICEFInnocenti, indicates that the ethical implications of climate change, with specific focus on the issue of global and intergenerational justice shows that providing a moral compass for policy-makers in the rather extraordinary circumstances of climate change and massive environmental degradation, in which the benefits for present generations seem to stand in conflict with the future generation (UNICEFInnocenti, n.d.). Since the publication of the first IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) in 1990, climate change and

socio-economic effects have become a major focus for policymakers. However, climate change and its consequences are very complex processes which raise many questions – both from an ethical perspective as well as the acknowledgement of past and current greenhouse gas emissions (UNICEFInnocenti, n.d.).

According to the European Commission older people are a large and growing group of the European Union's population. However, the demographic ageing often gives rise to negative narrative about older people being a growing burden to society (The European Commission, 2009). Research from the Commission shows that this is often because older people are focusing negatively on change. This negative perception fails to acknowledge the enormous cultural, social and professional resource represented by older people (The European Commission, 2009). The Commission believes that the way in which the society is organised, there must be a link between and within the different generations. This is something the EU has had high in the EU agenda for many years, especially in terms of policy making; “Solidarity between generations has long been high on the EU agenda, both in terms of policy making and of awareness-raising.” (The European Commission, 2009).

The Commission endorsed the first European Day of Solidarity between Generations back in April 2009. The point from that day was to highlight the light on citizens' perceptions on the relationship between younger and older generations, so everyone has a chance to be heard. Furthermore, research made by the Commission found that younger generations appeared to be slightly more engaged in climate change than older generations. For instance, younger generations are more likely than older generations to look upon global warming as personally important and/or to express a willingness to engage in climate activism, such as contacting government officials about global warming (The European Commission, 2009).

### **Fairclough and CDA**

Researchers that have previously worked with Fairclough's critical discourse theory, tend to focus on the implementation of one aspect of systematic-functional logistics.

For instance Ye (2010) who studied one of Barack Obama's speeches, or Ugglä (2011) who attempts to highlight the stereotypical images and colonial discourses in tourism discourse, or Zahoor (2015) who studied the emotional, political and social changes in several states, such as the 9/11 and the bombing of Nagasaki. All researchers applied Fairclough's critical

discourse theory of analysis on such a broad range of investigations. Thereby it becomes clear, that Fairclough's CDA is applicable in a wide range of fields such as identity construction, uncovering existing discourses in texts etc., and furthermore according to O'Halloran (2003:2) "CDA interprets texts on behalf of readers who do not take up a critical position to indicate how such readers can be manipulated unwittingly by the text".

The literature review above gives an insight in the field of climate change in a social science context but it is a fairly new field of study that constantly evolves. Yet, there are lines crossing. Through extensive reading within the field and earlier studies of it, it has become clear that the younger generation's perspective of the subject has not been discussed and investigated to a satisfying extent. Therefore, this thesis will revolve around their perspective on climate change due to the lack of research upon the area of it.

### **3.0 Problem formulation**

Based upon the previous research revisited above, following problem formulation has been contrived:

**How does the younger generation from the European Union communicate climate change to a global audience and what are the dominating discourses amongst the younger generation in regards to climate change issues?**

We found that previous research lacked investigations of the younger generation's ways of communicating climate change issues and the tone of how it is being communicated. Furthermore, the discourses in communicating climate change issues and climate change issues in general need to be investigated further in order to understand why the younger generation acts and portrays themselves as they do in regards to the topic.

## 4.0 Concept clarification

As the thesis contains different theoretical concepts and words related to the empirical methods these must be clearly defined in order to ensure a common understanding framework. The concepts are essential to the understanding of the meaning in this thesis and this section should ensure that there is consistency with what it means when the different concepts are used. Further, additional concept definitions will appear throughout the thesis.

### 4.1 Age definition of *the younger generation*

Youth is an elastic category, the age at which it begins and ends varies within cultural contexts, but it is often a very distinct stage in a person's life to which particular issues or policies are highly relevant (Noguera, 2006). These may include politics, health, and social issues. In this thesis, the definition of age for the younger generation is between 15 to 29 or 30 years old in accordance with the European Commission (Eurostat, 2020).

### 4.2 Friday Marches

*Fridays For Future* is a movement that began in August 2018 after climate activist Greta Thunberg sat in front of the Swedish parliament every school day for three weeks as a protest against the lack of action towards the climate crisis (Fridays For Future, n.d.). It has now spread to all continents and the concept is basically that the younger generation skips school, classes or college lectures to demonstrate non-violently against the missing action towards the climate change issues. On their website it is also stated that: “*How can we study or work for a future which is being destroyed in front of our eyes? Why should we study so we can do great things later when the time for greatness, for action, is now?*” (Fridays For Future, n.d).

Some of Fridays For Future’s demands are (Fridays For Future, 2019):

1. Listen to the best united science currently available
2. Follow the Paris Agreement
3. Create a safe pathway under 1.5 degrees celsius
4. Climate justice and equity for everyone

Friday For Future themselves claim that history is written, as in just a year the movement grew from just a solitary young girl Greta Thunberg to one of the biggest manifestations of all (Fridays For Future, 2020).

Especially in Europe this movement has gained its strength amongst citizens (Cerezada, 2019). On september 20th 2019, a global Friday march took place and Europe was vastly represented. Only that day, more than 50,000 citizens participated in Hamburg, 100,000 in London and 15,000 demonstrators participated in Brussels (Cerezada, 2019) and one of the demonstrators in Brussels were interviewed by a newspaper with the response *“This is about my future, not only my future, but the future of my entire generation and all the generations to come after ours”* (Cerezada, 2019).

The statement above by the young demonstrator from Brussels illustrates the relevance for including the phenomenon of Friday marches in this thesis. He uses the words “my generation” and at the same time, the Friday marches are a physical act done in order to change opinions and create attention around the issues of climate change - all interesting elements that could contribute to the analysis in this thesis.

### **4.3 The Paris Agreement**

At COP 21 in Paris, on 12 December 2015, Parties to the United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) reached a landmark agreement to combat climate change and to accelerate and strengthen the actions and investments needed for a sustainable low carbon future (United Nations, 2020).

The Paris Agreement builds upon the Convention and brings all nations into a common cause to undertake determined efforts to combat climate change and adapt to its effects, with improved support to assist developing countries to do so (United Nations, 2020).

The Paris Agreement aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by keeping a global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels while pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 degree Celsius (United Nations, 2020).

Further, the agreement aims to strengthen the ability of countries to deal with the impacts of climate change. To reach these goals, appropriate financial flows, a new technology outline

and an enhanced capacity building outline will be put in place (United Nations, 2020), thus supporting action by developing countries and the most vulnerable countries with their own national objectives.

Climate change has been happening for a long time (Balvin, 2019) and will seemingly continue to happen in some span of time in the future. In this thesis the spectrum of investigating and analyzing climate change in various contexts will begin with the approval of The Paris Agreement in December 2015 since the climate change debate really began to culminate (Balvin, 2019) and furthermore the time from which Greta Thunberg started to become active in those debates. The actions taken favouring climate change and creating mass attention around it, such as school strikes or Friday Marches, were means taken after the Paris Agreement in 2015. Therefore, after several considerations and arguing for it above, analyses and investigations will proceed from the Paris Agreement and forward.

## 5.0 Analysis strategy and methodology

In this section the methods and analysis strategy of this thesis will be presented. Initially an elaboration of the choice of speeches for critical discourse analysis will be given followed by a presentation of Fairclough's method of critical discourse analysis and the reason for choosing this as part of our analysis strategy.

Afterwards the survey methodology that has been applied will be presented in which the analysis method is incorporated. Finally a clarification of concepts used in this thesis and the delimitations of it will be specified.

### 5.1 Choice of speeches

In our considerations regarding choice of speeches, we wanted to perform a critical discourse analysis on a number of speeches by Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt. We have chosen six speeches focusing on climate change issues (see the scheme below) – three speeches by Greta Thunberg, who is a climate activist and three speeches by Naomi Seibt, who is a climate skeptic. Our selection criteria included finding speeches from two points of view – one being a climate activist and one being a climate skeptic. All speeches can be found in appendix 1 and 2 together with links to each speech in video format. Having perspectives from two sides would provide material and subjects for comparison and further discussion. The reason for choosing the six speeches as empirical data is that all speeches first of all are communicative events containing subjective opinions open for interpretation, which is important when working with Fairclough's CDA and investigating the relation between ideology, power and language. Secondly, the six speeches contain strong statements and colliding opinions which have the potential for discussion and in-depth analysis.

Speaker	Title	Date/place
Greta Thunberg	“What will you tell your children”	January 2020 / World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos
Greta Thunberg	Greta in Normandy - “our house is on fire”	25 January 2019 / World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos

Greta Thunberg	“We want politicians to listen to the scientists”	21. February 2019 / Brussels
Naomi Seibt	Naomi Seibt Speech at CPAC 2020	4. March 2020 / at CPAC
Naomi Seibt	Freedom in a climate of crisis - Naomi Seibt	14. April 2020 / from home
Naomi Seibt	Naomi Seibt and Her Journey to Climate Realism	5. December 2019 / At heartland Institute

## 5.2 Fairclough and critical discourse analysis

The British linguist and discourse analyst Norman Fairclough has been on the map since the 80's (Jensen, 2008). When working with Fairclough the methodological pattern appears as an interdisciplinary research and way of thinking that investigates our relation to each other, our identity and what we perceive as common sense in society creating food for thought. He works with a three-step-model of analysis but it is open for interpretation and picking out elements and in all circumstances it gives a good starting point when diving into critical discourse analysis.

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory focuses on power relations, and more specifically how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language (Fairclough, 1992). The analysis in this thesis will apply Fairclough's CDA as the focal area might be important in analyzing the younger generation's communication of climate change since decision-makers in society today are not categorized as belonging to the younger generation.

The reason for choosing Fairclough and critical discourse analysis instead of more common social movement theories in this thesis was that the focus of the analysis lies on communication and language more than who sets the agenda. Furthermore, focus in this thesis lies more on the individual than political matters, whereby CDA would be more

in-depth analysis compared to social movement theory. Theories regarding framing were assessed but seemed more fit for studies of media. As a big part of Fairclough's CDA involves sort of linguistic analysis the argument for choosing CDA instead of linguistic analysis is, that in CDA sequences of text consisting of meaning combined with language form are socially motivated (Fairclough, 1992) meaning that there are social reasons for choice of words or linguistic organizing such as terrorist vs. freedom fighter - words that are indeed contrasting. In linguistic analytical approaches it is stated that choice of words is not chosen due to certain motivation or rational basis (Saussure (1959) in Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, CDA was chosen above other linguistic approaches since the social aspect is an important factor of the aim and analysis in this thesis.

Fairclough's theory on CDA is palpable in a methodological context compared to common discourse analysis theory as his main focus lies on *change*. Due to the amount of literature written about Fairclough's CDA the comprehension of it is rather difficult and abstract. Furthermore, it deals with analysis of language and text, and power in accordance to Foucault. Though there are various approaches to discourse analysis theory, Fairclough's CDA theory seemed fit to the context and aim of this thesis since he assesses the question of how discourses are created through power relations and ideologies. Further, Fairclough's analytical approach assumes that language assists in creating change and can be assisting to change of behavior, hence language becomes a power tool.

CDA with its focus on power and hegemony implies, unlike other discourse analysis approaches, that it is primarily imprinted by pressing social issues which it aims to understand better, instead of contributing to a specific discipline or paradigm.

Central to the theoretical effort is the intertwined relationship between discourse and power. Social relations are complex and have many layers in the sense that social relations themselves include relations between relations (Fairclough, 2010:3). Discourse might be looked upon as an object but it is itself also a complex pattern of relations including relations of communication between human beings who write or talk or communicate otherwise, but it also describes relations of more concrete communicative events, such as speeches, as is the case of this thesis.

CDA has been applied in analyzing political speeches in order to outline the rhetorics behind these as well as any forms of speech or communication with the purpose of manipulating the impression given to the audience (Rofee, 2016). But there have been flaws highlighted around CDA such as it is too broad to distinctly identify manipulations within the rhetorics and that it is not powerful enough to find all that researchers set out to establish (Rofee, 2016).

### 5.3 Critique of CDA

Over the last two decades CDA has emerged as an interdisciplinary approach to describe and analyze texts in terms of their elaborated social and political significance (Poole, 2010). Yet, some academics (Stubbs, 1997; O'Halloran, 2003) have raised questions about CDA's ontological and epistemological foundations and its methods of analysis. Widdowson (1998) expresses his concerns about issues emerging from Fairclough's politically committed approach towards discourse by claiming that "*interpretation entails deriving a discourse from a text*" and that "*what we find in CDA are critical discourse interpretations*". Further, he argues that such interpretations might carry with them a kind of conviction with members of the same discourse community, but that they cannot be certified through analysis. A simplified way to put it could be, that no matter how thorough the linguistic description of a text is, critical discourse analysis will not be able to uncover a particular discourse at play. Yet, despite the critique and fundamental questions raised upon CDA it has established solidified foundations in the academic environments to such an extent that numerous journals publish papers from a CDA perspective (Poole, 2010). Fairclough's CDA is a transdisciplinary approach to discourse analysis and one might say that he gave discourse analysis an additional dimension by combining linguistic approach with others in order to uncover discourses hidden below the surface of a text. Fairclough's CDA is now a certified and established force in academia (Poole, 2010), yet it seems to carry ambiguities and drawbacks - an observation based on critics' statements.

As mentioned above Fairclough's theory holds different limitations. CDA differs from other forms of discourse analysis as the 'critical' implies showing the purposes, causes and connections that are concealed. Bringing those hidden things to light is important for the

subjects or groups involved as they are not able to go against the concealed. According to Fairclough the purpose of CDA is mainly to uncover how changes in the usage of discourse, ergo the use of language, constitutes social and cultural changes (Fairclough, 2008). It could be argued that our way of analyzing is not following Fairclough's criteria of making normative guidelines on how to improve oppressed groups' or individuals' conditions. It has not been considered as a problem since our thesis is to be looked upon as an attempt to understand and explain the communication and social processes revolving around climate change and within our field of investigation.

#### **5.4 Survey methodology**

For the purpose of this thesis, survey seemed like the most compelling, since surveys are used to increase knowledge and used to assess thoughts, feelings and opinions. Surveys can be very specific and limited, or have a more global, widespread goal. In this thesis the survey was with an international purpose but also specific due to limitations in age of the respondents (Sapsford, 2007). Though, the aim was to retrieve answers from European responses, it was useful to obtain answers from a global point of view.

A survey consists of a predetermined set of questions that is given to a sample. With a representative sample, that is, one that is representative of the larger population of interest, one can describe the attitudes of the population from which the sample was drawn (Sapsford, 2007). Surveys also provide hard numbers on people's opinions and behaviours that can be used to analyze and make further research. With that being said, surveys can also withhold questions with various ways to answer which give a more open opinion or thoughts about a specific standing point or subject (Sapsford, 2007), like climate change in this thesis.

Surveys also *give a voice* (Sapsford, 2007). The importance of surveys is perhaps best framed by examining people's way of reacting when facing different subjects. In other words, Surveys give *voice* to respondents. Further, surveys can evoke discussion, which give respondents an opportunity to discuss key topics. It also allows the recipients to dig deeper into the survey and topics related to the survey within a broader perspective (Sapsford, 2007). These results can afterward be compared. Survey results provide snapshots of the attitude and behaviours – including thoughts, opinions and comments about the specific topic

being discussed. This valuable feedback is a *baseline* to measure and further establish a benchmark from which to compare different results.

When working with surveys as primary data for analyses different stages of work appear. Initially, as it was done in the process of this thesis, a survey was formulated and published, and survey was an active choice taken in the process of starting writing this thesis. The aim was to gather information from several perspectives, geographic positions and various demographics. When sitting in one part of the world seeking information and opinions from the entire European Union, surveys which can be sent out via the world wide web, seemed like a highly suitable approach. The survey was shared in various groups on Facebook that seemed to consist of mainly members of the younger generation such as *Students for Climate* and shared publicly or within our own networks. The survey questions consisted of both quantitative and qualitative elements, but since the aim of this thesis is to investigate discourse where qualitative data seems more fit, the quantitative elements from the survey were used to support the qualitative data in the analysis.

Secondly, the information from the survey, the answers and comments, had to be processed into data to be applied as data for further analysis such as diagrams and schemes. Answers were sorted into categories if the answers had elements that were alike and thereafter put into schemes which will be elaborated in the analysis-section of this thesis. A combination of qualitative and quantitative questions and research components were presented in our survey, which gives the opportunity to expand and strengthen a research's conclusion, and increase knowledge and validity. The more qualitative and open answers to the qualitative-oriented and relationship-based questions were processed and that was a more comprehensive work, for instance answers to the question "*Assuming climate change is happening, what do you think it is caused from?*" or "*Do you take any actions in order to prevent climate change? What?*"(app. 3.1). These questions could have been designed in a simpler way for instance that answer options were given and respondents had to tick off boxes of answers or rate either "agree" or "disagree", but by presenting empty boxes in which respondents could write a text themselves gave a more comprehensive and various list of answers.

The quantitative survey questions were designed in a different layout where nominal and ordinal scales were applied (app. 5). Nominal scales have no numerical value and produce

data that fit into categories, such as gender, country of birth and intervals of age such as “15-17 years old” where answers are listed by checking off a box where the respondent’s age is within. The features of nominal data are typically, that observations belong to categories (in our survey; gender, country of birth, age etc.), and that observations have no inherent order of importance (Fink, 2003:7). Furthermore, data have been obtained through ordinal scales. This category is applied when an inherent order exists among the categories and the questions in the survey require ratings of quality or agreement. In the survey made for this thesis the ratings from 0-10 indicated 0 being ‘to no extent at all’ and 10 being ‘to a very great extent’ (app 3.2). Typical features of ordinal scales are that an order exists among the categories meaning that one observation is of greater value than the other, such as “*How worried are you about climate change?*” and the ratings answered on a scale from 0-10 spanning from ‘to no extent at all’ to ‘to a very great extent’. If a respondent were to set the marker at 2-5 it was interpreted as ‘to some extent’, at 6-8 it was interpreted as ‘to a great extent’ and 9-10 as ‘to a very great extent’. This written sub-definition of the numbers is important to elaborate, as it makes the way for a more fluent way of processing data and incorporate them in the thesis creating a more ‘in-writing friendly’ portrayal of them.

Descriptive statistics describe data in terms of measures of central tendency (Fink, 2003). These measures describe the location of the center of distribution, meaning that in this survey for instance age was limited to groups such as 15-17 years old or 27-30 years old and the distribution was formed by the ages with the values being the different ages sorted in groups. This way of sorting and grouping age for instance, makes the data more palpable and the processing of data less complicated when the purpose is to describe a group as comprehensive as the one in this case - ‘the younger generation from the European Union’. Furthermore, in this survey where some answers were done as rating scores from 0-10, in numbers, the distribution of scores consists of the numbers of people who achieve scores of 1,2,3 etc. Here measures of dispersion are descriptive statistics that illustrates the spread of numerical data (Fink, 2003). For instance, in the survey made for this thesis where scores reach from 0-10 measures of dispersion are calculated in order to answer analytical questions such as where the most scores are clustered around, or the highest vs. lowest score, or for instance, how strong an opinion or feeling about climate change is, on a numeric scale (app. 5).

## 5.5 Sampling

The purpose of sampling and data collection is to gather empirical data about the population in order to make an inference that can be generalized to the population. It is important to take some issues into consideration such as the nature of the sample or if it is random sampling, size of the sample and method of selecting the sample. In the survey of this thesis, more than 150 answers were received, and the survey was shared in subject-relevant groups on Facebook urging the members to answer if they were between 15-30 years old and from the European Union in order to ensure that the group was somewhat the group which this thesis meant to investigate.

A sample is used in order to say something about the population that lies behind the sample. A good way to ensure that the sample is representative of that population is to do probability sampling meaning that if there was a population consisting of one hundred persons all of these would have an equal chance in probability sampling (odds 1 out of 100) of being selected for the research. On the contrary, the population under the non-probability sampling do not have equal odds and for instance people in the researcher's network or living close-by would have a bigger chance of being selected. When dealing with smaller samples like in this thesis, it is important to make sure that the matched groups or central variables are somewhat alike. In the case of our survey, the matched groups were considered as age with the condition that they were members of the younger generation (15-30 years old) and from the European Union.

Sample selection for survey mainly falls into two categories; the non-probability sampling where the probability of picking a member cannot be calculated, and probability-based sampling where respondents are chosen on the basis of a known probability, meaning that every member of a population has a known and equal chance of becoming a respondent. Although probability sampling gives the best basis of creating a sample that is truly representative of the population (Given, 2008) we chose the non-probability sampling as the aim of this study which is to investigate a certain group within the population - members of the younger generation in the EU.

There is a process when selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group from which they were selected. The process consists of three groups: a) target/interest population, b) source population and finally c) study population. In this case the target population is members of the younger generation (aged 15-30) within the European Union. The source population are those who were possible to reach for instance since they were members of the groups in which the survey-link was shared and had access to the internet, and the study population being the representative group (here called respondents) consisting of those who chose to answer the survey.

In order to get as many responses as possible within relevant frames, we chose to share the survey link online which led to the kind of sampling called self-selectional. Those who chose to respond to the survey thereby made themselves become part of our sample. By doing this we were completely aware of the selection-bias that might have arisen, but since the aim of this study was to gain insight in how the younger generation thinks, acts and communicates about climate change this was not considered a negative factor. The risk attached to this selection-bias is that those who choose to answer already had special interests and strong opinions about climate change as the topic being investigated, but as mentioned above this was exactly what we wanted to gain insights in. It was meant as a ‘finger in the water’ in order to get an overview of how the situation around climate change was at the time.

Using an online self-administered questionnaire on the internet with questions makes the approach advantageous, since it is possible to obtain the responses rapidly. Further, the possibility of sending out surveys online gives the advantage of being able to measure attitudes and orientations of large populations or groups spread out on a large geographical area. A common risk associated with online questionnaires is that the data obtained is from a sample that does not represent the population that is being sampled - although in this thesis we have specifically shared our survey in subject-relevant groups on Facebook urging the members to answer *if* they were between 15-30 years old and *if* they were from a country within the European Union (app. 4). This made sure that our answers were relevant and useful for further research.

Variables can be used in order to simplify and improve the validation of a survey and to enable conditions when analyzing data. The type of variable determines what content it holds

and what it expresses. The relationship between the variables may also be underlying factors but the answer to each question on the survey forms a variable (Lavrakas, 2008). A variable is for example a characteristic of an individual, which can be the sex of the individual, sex is a variable – some variables in the sample are a female or male. Another variable can be age, since individuals vary in their age. In this thesis age is a variable since the respondents are categorized in age-groups and focuses on members of the younger generation (15-30 years old) from the European Union. Another variable could be country of residence, since the target group of this survey is youth from the European Union.

The variable of age is significant in this connection, as we also analyzed the different age-groups' attitudes or engagement in climate change issues in regards to the survey.

Though all age groups belonged under the category of 'the younger generation' defined as age 15-30 we obtained relevant data from looking at the different age-groups within the main category.

## **5.6 Quality and validity**

The quality of the survey responses should be determined based on fitness for intended use (Defeo & Juran, 2010). It determines whether the data is useful and can be used in order to answer what is being researched and whether it contributes to the analysis. Following a descriptive research design, our collected data has been relevant and useful.

In our thesis it can be discussed whether the survey response-rate was high. Yet, considering the circumstances of survey being a 'plan B' where expert interviews, observational studies and interacting and interviewing some from the younger generation at the EESC YEYS-event in Bruxelles was the original plan, the outcome and response-rate turned out surprisingly well. Further, the response-rate is measured based upon how many responses you get out of the survey you send out to a certain number of people (AAPOR, 2008). This makes the calculations of response-rate on our survey rather difficult, since the survey was shared as a link and not sent to a certain amount of possible respondents, and even the number of members in the Facebook-groups in which we shared the survey-link is innumerable as the link also has been shared untraceably by our network. Yet, since online surveys have an average response-rate at 40.0% in international connections (Hyman & Yang, 2001) the number of people having seen our survey and actively clicked the link to it, which can be

documented on the survey-platform we used ([www.involve.me](http://www.involve.me)), is 340 persons and the responses are 164 it gives a response-rate 48,2% and it can therefore be considered above average.

Further it should be taken into consideration that the groups in which the survey was shared in order to get the members to fill it out are climate-oriented and consists of members who are conscious about improving climate change issues. This could cause the responses to be coloured as the interest for climate change and climate-friendly opinions are already present. It was not considered a problem, as the aim was to study the habits and communication of members of the younger generation who engage in climate change with great interest in improving possible issues around the subject.

The validity of the survey and the survey questions is considered high, since the accuracy of the questions is high and what was meant to be measured was answered to a high degree. For instance when we asked the respondents to answer to what degree they feel responsible for changing the future in regards to climate change and they answered with straight numbers on a scale from 0-10. That gave a concrete acknowledgement of the responsibility the respondents feel. The questions should constitute how the target population thinks about a certain subject under research (Mora, 2011) so the way we ask the question is of great significance to what answer we get. Therefore, knowing that possible respondents might have a pre-existing interest in improving climate change issues the questions are designed after that fact, for instance “*assuming climate change is happening* (like most of the respondents most likely do) *what do you think it is caused from?*”.

The visual layout of the survey was simple yet modern (app. 5), causing less confusion (Mora, 2011) and that the lack of technical skills was not a barrier. Furthermore, the respondent effort has a say in the quality of the survey (Mora, 2011). We received 164 responses, which is why the method of analysis ended up being mainly qualitative, yet with quantitative elements to support the qualitative.

## **5.7 Descriptive research**

For the analysis of our survey we chose to approach it by applying a descriptive research design. Descriptive research is a method describing the attributes of a phenomenon or

population and this method investigates the *what, when, where, how* questions rather than the *why* of the research subject or why it happens (Dulock, 1993). A descriptive research design applies various methods meaning both qualitative and quantitative in order to investigate variables.

In survey research where responses are given through questionnaires, surveys or polls large volumes of data can be obtained and analyzed to uncover patterns or averages (Dulock, 1993). In order for a survey to be successful with good data and applicable for analysis good survey questions are necessary which should be a harmonic mix of open- and close-ended questions.

To sum up, the analyses of this thesis will be conducted on the basis of critical discourse analysis and descriptive research methods - both with comparative features.

#### **5.7.1 Advantages of descriptive research**

Under descriptive research there are three varying types of data collection (Kowalczyk, 2013); a) observational which involves observations of behaviours and phenomena perhaps in order to understand how people act in real-life situations, b) case study where the characteristics of a specific subject such as a person or an event are described and data is gathered in order to identify attributes of a rather narrow subject, and c) survey methods (Kowalczyk, 2013). Survey methods are commonly used to describe demographics of a country or region or to measure public opinions on social topics, and compared to observational data collection where people or subjects are watched, surveys as data collection asks people about themselves and their opinions. The reason for choosing a survey rather than doing an observational data collection or a case study is that it was not possible to travel and observe the younger generation in Europe or participate in any relevant events in order to investigate and collect data. Therefore, we found it relevant and palpable to do a survey. Since the gathered data is both quantitative and qualitative it provides a holistic understanding of the research topic. This can result in data that was not expected in regards to an analysis which makes the data more varied, thorough and diverse.

### **5.7.2 Limitations of descriptive research**

The descriptive research fails to develop into the *why* which is a limitation when investigating specific causes for instance. In this thesis the aim was to examine the current state of communication of the younger generation in regards to climate change issues. Further, descriptive studies provide a ‘snapshot’ of a current status, and due to its observational nature they are not repeatable. The findings in descriptive method indicate norms not standards and the investigator learns what is being done rather than what should be done. Since the method provides a relative reason ‘snapshot’ it can become antiquated even as the research subject is developed. The topic climate change is relatively immature but has developed a lot until current time, thus it is considered to be something that will stay in focus continually, but some circumstances can change around it.

### **5.8 Statistics and schemes**

In descriptive research the collected data represents a larger population and is vigorous which makes it more simple to make decisions on the basis of the statistical analysis of that data.

A survey can be defined as a research method in which data is collected from a predefined group of respondents in order to gain insights on the topic of interest (Check & Schutt, 2012). Most surveys use self-administered questionnaires, with the respondent filling out the questionnaire online or in paper form. Surveys come in a wider range of forms and can be distributed using a variety of media, such as written surveys, oral surveys and electronic and online surveys. In our study, we have chosen an online web-based electronic questionnaire as the method of survey. We have chosen an online questionnaire because it is suitable and because online surveys questionnaire can be distributed via the web link and the replies of answers could be collected and verified into a database summary automatically, so that we later on could divide the responses into themes, and further analyze them.

### **5.9 Philosophy of science**

In keeping with our decision to use CDA, we approach our thesis from a social constructivist position. Social constructivism is a sociological theory of knowledge that deals with how knowledge is constructed through interaction with others. Constructivists investigate why

something appears as 'natural', and the ways in which accepted ideas about reality in a context are constructed.

Ontology and epistemology create a holistic view of how knowledge is viewed and how we can see ourselves in relation to this knowledge. Ontology is the way of constructing reality, how things really are and how things really work (Della Porta and Keating, 2008), and further it refers to the existence of the social and objective world. It is a theory of the nature of social entities (Bryman, 2016:693) and in social sciences, ontology refers to what we *can* know. Positivists and constructivists can be considered opposites and have different views upon things. Ontology furthermore refers to the units of which the social world is composed. For some, the only reality is individuals and others work with larger social units (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:353). Constructivists are of the understanding that reality is a part of social relations and constructivism often includes the researcher's construction of reality - hence ontology becomes inseparable from epistemology. Our opinions cause the world to be experienced through the lens they construct. Knowledge is not real but only exists because we give it meaning and reality through social agreements, for instance nations or money only exist because of human society. Nations are just groups of people coming from the same geographical area and money is just metal and paper that only have their value because of the meaning we as human beings have given them. They are constituted of social relations outside of which they cannot exist.

Epistemology is the study of knowledge and justification and refers to how we know things (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:350). Furthermore, it is related to the possibilities of knowing the social and objective world. Bryman (2016) employs it as referring to a stance on what should pass as acceptable knowledge (2016:690).

Analysts of CDA have been influenced by Marx and his critique of the exploitation of the working class amongst others and his idea of language as 'product, producer and reproducer of social consciousness' (Fairclough and Graham 2002:201).

From an ontological angle, in social constructivism social reality does not exist in an objective form and reality is not comprehensible since *knowing* is about *why* concepts appear as 'natural'. Social constructivism deals with the nature of knowledge when attempting to

make sense of the world. Society is looked upon as existing both as an objective and subjective reality. From an epistemological angle in social constructivism, the knowledge is created by the scholar (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:23). Essential to social constructivism is conceptual knowledge, meaning that a cluster of knowledge where the joined relationships are as significant as the concrete informational parts. Various views of discourse as an aspect of globalization are presented by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2010) and constructivism is one of them. Social constructivism acknowledges the socially constructed character of social life by and large and configurations of globalization in particular. In social constructivism discourse is considered as being a possible conveyor of causal effects in the processes of social construction.

CDA with its focus on power and hegemony implies, unlike other approaches to discourse analysis, CDA's aim is *not* mainly to contribute to a specific discipline or paradigm. It is primarily engrained by pressing social issues which it aims to understand better, through elaborated theories, methods and empirical work.

In comparison to other discourse analysts the critical discourse analysts should choose a sociopolitical stance and be explicit about their perspective and aims within their discipline and society as a whole. Their final aim is change through critical understanding (Fairclough, 2010:2).

In the book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (2010) Norman Fairclough claims that CDA "*created in the world of applied linguistics and discourse analysis a way and a means of systematically approaching the relationships between language and social structure which has now not only extended across those worlds but also had its impact across social science more generally.*" (Fairclough 2010:7). In *Diskursanalyse som teori og metode* (1999)

Marianne Winter Joergensen and Louise Philips have accounted for some of the numerous theories regarding discourse analysis among these discourse theory and critical discourse analysis (Joergensen & Philips 1999:13). These two share the perception of the world and the foundation of it as being social constructivist. Social Constructivism is a concept that covers a line of theories involving culture and society which, according to Joergensen and Philips share following four principles:

- *"A critical approach towards obvious knowledge"*
- *"Coherence between knowledge and social action"*
- *"Historical and cultural specification"*
- *"Coherence between knowledge and social processes"*

In other words, one would acknowledge that knowledge cannot be accepted without further notice as an objective truth and that the way we perceive the world is *possible knowledge* but not *one* given truth characterized by simplicity. Other acknowledgements made are that a perception of the world would be different if the societal structure was different as well, and that historical incidents of a given culture could have changed this perception. Furthermore, our understanding of the world is based on and determined by the societal context we are located within. In extension to the above, Joergensen and Philips also claim that knowledge is created and maintained through social processes and interaction, and is reflected through our actions (Joergensen and Philips 1999:14). An example of this could be the subject of homosexuality. In most parts of the West homosexuality is accepted and acknowledged but in other parts of the world, Iran for instance, it is considered one of the worst sins carrying death penalty (Ann Penketh, 2008) and is not accepted at all - neither in legal contexts or social. This lack of acceptance seems primitive and old-fashioned to western citizens and is rooted in a change in attitudes as a result of change in the discursive practice.

## **6.0 Theory**

This section describes the theoretical framework of the thesis. In the following chapter of theory, we will define climate change, civil society, social movement theory and motivation. Furthermore, the theoretical framework for the analyses specifically will be presented. This includes Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis theory and a further analysis will be conducted based upon our survey theory which has been described in the methodology section above.

### **6.1 Theorizing climate change**

Climate change comprises many events and angles. Therefore it is relevant to specify the definition of it applied in this thesis in order to narrow down the subject. In this thesis, climate change will be defined on the basis of definitions stated underneath by NASA and National Geographic and various climate researchers.

Climate change is on everyone's lips and it is something that is well-discussed. Climate change is defined as an estimable desire to leave a smaller or no imprint on the globe and a natural crisis that the environment is so polluted by industrial material (Denton et al., 2014 & Pelling 2011). The increasing demands for water, changes in the terms of international trade, urbanization and other causes create both the foreground and background in which climate change adaptation will occur, both now and in the future. The potential consequences of climate change depend not only on the rate and magnitude of changes in the climate system but also on concurrent transformations in environmental, economic, social, technological, institutional and political systems (Denton et al., 2014 & Pelling 2011).

Climate change is, therefore, not only meteorological and eco-logical problems, it is also a political issue open to debate, dispute, contestation and transformation. According to O'Brien 'the recognition of collective capacity to shape global environment and social conditions implies a fundamental redefinition of the meaning of "climate change adaption" to include not only responses to the observed and anticipated impacts but also broader and deeper

transformations to an equitable and sustainable world' (O'Brien, 2012). Such a redefinition is largely absent in the climate change adaptation literature for example Naomi Klein (2014) or Elizabeth Kolbert (2015) who states that our planet has experienced five periods of natural mass extinction and contemplates the idea of a sixth extinction and the ways in which human beings are responsible for changing life on earth, but what she fails to express is the collective capacity as O'Brien mentions.

Adaptation is a response to changing conditions (IPCC WGII Glossary 2014, in O'Brien, 2012). Whether it is autonomous or planned, reactive or anticipatory, or unconscious or deliberate, adaptation recognizes the reality of change. Though, changes are always happening, human responses to change differ dramatically. In most dictionaries, *to adapt* is to change to suit different conditions, which can include anything from environmental to political, social, cultural, economic etc. or even emotional conditions. Within the climate change literature, O'Brien (2012) for instance states that adaptation is defined more specifically as "*the process of adjustment to actual or expected climate and its effects. In human systems, adaptation seeks to moderate harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. In natural systems, human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate and its effects*" (IPCC WGII Glossary 2014, in O'Brien, 2012).

NASA's definition of climate change says it is "*a broad range of global phenomena created predominantly by burning fossil fuels, which add heat-trapping gases to Earth's atmosphere. These phenomena include the increased temperature trends described by global warming, but also encompass changes such as sea-level rise; ice mass loss in Greenland, Antarctica, the Arctic and mountain glaciers worldwide; shifts in flower/plant blooming; and extreme weather events.*" (NASA, 2020).

National Geographic Society defines climate change as "*the long-term alteration of temperature and typical weather patterns in a place.*" (National Geographic Society, 2019). Climate is often mistaken for weather, but climate is measured over a long period of time, compared to weather which can change from day to day (National Geographic Society, 2019). Furthermore, climate change can refer to both a particular location and the planet as a

whole. These changes in climate, can cause weather to be unpredictable causing problems for places relying on agriculture, for instance crops growing could be a large part of a country's export or the primary source of food for a family in lesser developed countries. Climate change has also been connected with damaging weather happenings such as hurricanes, floods, storms all happening more frequently and intense (National Geographic Society, 2019). In polar regions, ice and glaciers are melting at an accelerated rate contributing to sea levels rising at a global plan. This is a palpable example of how climate change affects the entire world, even though parts of it may not have been contributing anything of significance to climate change.

The cause of climate change is according to the National Geographic Society (2019) largely human activity due to use of fossil fuel, oil, gas etc. and burning these materials causes greenhouse gasses to be released into the earth's atmosphere. The heat from the sun's rays are then captured in these gasses inside the atmosphere causing temperatures to rise (National Geographic Society, 2019). This phenomenon is referred to as global warming. Furthermore, climate has changed continuously throughout Earth's history happening at a slow rate over hundreds and thousands of years. Now, with the human influence, climate change is happening at a much faster rate than ever (National Geographic Society, 2019).

## **6.2 Civil Society**

Civil Society can be understood as the 'third sector' of society, which refers to the space for collective action around shared interests, purposes and values, generally distinct from government and commercial for-profit actors (Cohen et al., 1994).

A civil society is composed of groups or organisations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organisations and institutions that make up civil society include labour unions, non-profit organisations, churches, charities, development NGOs, community groups, professional associations, trade unions, social movements etc. (Cohen et al., 1994). However civil society is not homogeneous and the boundaries between civil society and government or civil society and commercial actors can be blurred. There is certainly no *one* 'civil society' view, and civil society actors need to

contend with similar issues of representativeness and legitimacy as those of other representatives and advocates (Cohen et al., 1994).

Civil society is sometimes also referred to as ‘the civil sector’, a term that is used to differentiate it from other sectors that comprise a functioning society. For example, many countries have different sectors: the public sector, which is the government and its branches, the civil sector, which includes the organisations that act in the public’s interest but are not motivated by profit or government, and the private sector, which includes businesses and corporations (Braun et al., 2017).

Civil society has also become involved in the environmental policy making process. These groups impact the environmental policies by setting an agenda on fixing the damages done to the environment. They also get the public informed about the environmental issues, which increases the public demand for environmental change (Braun et al., 2017).

The reason for ‘civil society’ being relevant to this thesis is that movements or collective action focusing on climate change is rising in number and common interests, values of saving the planet causes people to unite and work in the interest of the citizens.

### **6.3 Definition of Motivation**

Motivation comes with many aspects and definitions, and describes a kind of human desire. The simplest definition boils down to *wanting* (Baumeister & Vohs, 2011). We want a change in behaviour, thoughts, feelings, self-concept, environment, and relationships.

Motivation is an internal process (Reeve, 2014). Whether one defines it as a drive or a need, motivation is a *condition* that comes from our inside that desires a change, either in the self or the environment (Reeve, 2014). This motivation, drive, need or desire can be affected by different factors such as: money, success, recognition, justice or in this case the desire for improving climate change issues whereby ‘justice’ would be served. When one switches into this well of energy, motivation endows the person with the drive and direction needed to engage with the environment in an adaptive, open-ended, and problem-solving sort of way (Reeve, 2014). According to Reeve (2014) the environment and social context play a

significant role in terms of external motivation. It is also easy to be affected and motivated by goals, values, and desires to experience specific emotions associated with certain scenarios - in this case that our effect on climate changes for the better.

In this thesis a definition of motivation was considered relevant, as there undisputedly is a drive or need when it comes to actions towards saving the Earth from damaging climate change. Citizens are gathering in movements desiring a change in the way things are currently done. And as mentioned above, motivation is defined as an internal process (Reeve, 2014) and can lead to problem-solving actions, or at least the desire to solve an issue.

Therefore, it is considered relevant to this thesis, as climate change is portrayed as a problem through the media and personal expressions.

#### **6.4 Social movement theory**

Social movement theory is an interdisciplinary study within the social sciences that regularly seeks to explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it manifests, as well as potential social, cultural, and political consequences (DeFronzo & Gill, 2020). Social movements are determined, organized groups striving to work toward a common goal. These groups might be attempting to create change, or to resist change - for example climate change, or to provide a political voice to those otherwise incapable. Social movements are able to create social change, and demonstrate awareness of social movements on a state, national and global level.

A social movement is a persistent and organized effort involving the mobilization of large numbers of people to work together to either bring forward what they believe to be beneficial social change, or resist or reverse what they believe to be harmful social change. Social movements are among the most dramatic events the world has ever known (DeFronzo & Gill, 2020).

Social movements begin when a large number of people become distressed by a particular situation, and in line with this thesis, it is that people are worried about the climate changing causing issues and therefore see a need for change. This happens when citizens realize that there is a specific problem in their society that they want to change (DeFronzo & Gill, 2020).

This realization can come from the dissatisfaction that people feel or information and knowledge they get about a specific issue. Although, there are many theories about why social movements occur the most sensible way to understand social movements may be to use a comprehensive multifactor approach that shows how combination of different elements affects the emergence and outcomes of social movements (DeFronzo & Gill, 2020).

Furthermore, social movement theory distinguishes between different types of social movements, and identifies stages of social movement, while discussing theoretical perspectives on social movements, like resource mobilization, framing, identity and new social movement theory. The concept of *collective identity* is useful in the study of social movements because it introduces crucial cultural factors and links them to non-cultural aspects of movements. At an individual level, collective identity is a cognitive encapsulation of group values, group attachments and orientations toward group action (Friedman and McAdam 1992). Such identity is essential to the protests that motivate social movements but is also relevant to the mobilization of resources for the movement activity, as well as exploitation of opportunities by movement activists (Friedman and McAdam 1992). Furthermore, collective identities exist otherwise from social movements; political life, affiliation with religious communities or political parties (Friedman and McAdam 1992).

There are multiple ways of defining social movements in the academic literature since it tends to be centred and characterised by the following (Roberts, 2015):

- Collective or joint action
- Some extra-institutional or non-institutional collective action
- Change oriented goals and claims
- A target towards which these claims are directed (States, the public corporations, specific political groups, a cultural practice etc.)
- Some degree of organisation
- Some degree of temporal continuity
- Some degree of shared solidarity or collective identity

As stated in the above, social movements differ from organisations and associations. Movements are relatively shapeless – they arise in different places more or less

simultaneously. There are typically no official leaders since it often springs from collective or joint actions, although spokespersons may be recognized, for instance in climate movements Greta Thunberg is seen as a global spokesperson.

#### **6.4.1 Youth and social movements**

The notion of youth culture dates back to the start of the twentieth century. With the development of youth movements in Germany, such as the *Wandervogel* protesting against the industrialization (1896-1933), representatives of the so-called Reformpädagogik noticed the distinct ways of cultural articulation shown by this group of young people, for which they coined the term ‘youth culture’ (Buchmann, 2001). Youth movements are the organized, conscious attempts by young people to bring about or resist societal change. The defining characteristics of youth movements is that they are staffed and carried out largely by young citizens— typically between the ages 15-30 who join together to protest against adult authority and take upon themselves to transform society or societal issues (Braungart & Braungart, 2001) such as gender discrimination or climate change issues.

Youth activism is youth engagement in community organizing for social change, and the activism from the younger generation started to increase back in 2010 (Jeffrey, 2013). The younger generation has taken lead roles in public protests and encouraged citizens to take action when it comes to climate change. Since we are living in the midst of a wave of worldwide cultural change global activism led by the younger generation is gaining momentum, challenging power structures at every level of society (Jeffrey, 2013).

The kinds of social movements in focus in this thesis are the ones regarding youth and climate such as Fridays For Future as mentioned above and elaborated later on.

Collective behavior is relatively spontaneous behavior that follows from the formation of a group or crowd of people who react and act to a common influence in an ambiguous situation (Smelser, 2011). It is furthermore a type of social behavior that takes place when people are influenced by others and take action toward a shared goal. This can occur spontaneously or develop over time (Smelser, 2011).

We distinguish between social movement and collective behaviour as the debates about climate change issues have been going on for a while and are assessed as something that will proceed to be in focus for a long period of time.

Gossip, mass hysteria or trends can cause a collective behaviour and collection of people who are not near one another – and who might even be separated by great geographical distances – but share similar beliefs or concerns (Smelser, 2011). These are factors in common with social movement tendencies. Le Bon (2001) saw the tendency for crowds to break into demonstrations or persecution, such as the antisemitic persecution, as a product of the properties of crowds themselves - properties such as anonymity and suggestibility. On their own, each individual would not be able to act in this manner, just as it is in social movements, but as anonymous members of the crowd they can easily be swept up in dynamics that carry them away.

Most theories of social movements are called collective action theories. The following three theories are a few of the many classic and modern theories developed by social scientists (DeFronzo & Gill, 2020):

- 1) Resource mobilization theory focuses on the purposive organisational strategies that social movements need to engage in to successfully mobilize support, compete with other social movements and opponents, and present political claims and protests to the state.
- 2) Framing theory focuses on the way social movements make appeals to potential supporters by framing or presenting their issues in a way that supports commonly held values, beliefs and common-sense attitudes. Further, framing theory describes the process through which an individual comes to embrace the ideology of, and supports and participates in, a social movement (DeFronzo & Gill, 2020).
- 3) The third and last theory is the new social movement theory, which focuses on the unique qualities that define the ‘newness’ of postmaterialist social movements like for example the Green, feminist and peace movements. New social movement theory emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s and appeared to focus on moral and quality-of-life and explain and analyse theory that attempts to explain the proliferation of post-industrial and postmodern movements that are difficult to understand using non traditional social movement theories (Melucci, 1989).

## **6.5 Political opportunity**

Political opportunity theory, also known as the political process theory or political opportunity structure, is an approach to social movement theory deeply influenced by political sociology (Meyer, 2004). Political context is key to explaining social movements and their effects on society. It argues that success or failure of social movements is mainly affected by political opportunities. Furthermore, political opportunity offers an explanation of the conditions, mindset, and actions that make a social movement successful in achieving its goals. According to political opportunity theory, political opportunities for change must first be present before a movement can achieve its objectives (Meyer, 2004). Following that, the movement eventually attempts to make change through the existing political structure and process. Political opportunity theory is considered the core theory of social movements and how they mobilize, in other words how they work to create change (Meyer, 2004).

The political opportunity of social movements has gained increasing prominence over the last decades by promising a systematic way to examine how social movements respond to, and affect, the world around them (Meyer, 2004). In the current world we see how structures of society change and how it brings consequences and new needs amongst people.

As mentioned above, the political context sets the grievances causing the mobilization of activists. Further, this advances some claims and recedes others. In critical discourse analysis political and ideological practice are co-dependent since ideology equals determining significance generated in power relations as a dimension of practicing power and the struggle for power (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse can hereby be considered as a political practice where a struggle for power is happening. Furthermore, discursive practice draws lines from conventions which naturalize certain power relations and ideologies where the conventions and the way they are articulated is a focal point in the power struggle (Fairclough, 1992). That some claims become receding compared to others is a point Fairclough also agrees upon in accordance to Foucault, since he argues that discourse is directly related to power as it serves based on exclusion.

Activists do not choose goals and strategies in a space entirely devoid of matter (vacuum) but are highly influenced by political contexts. This is exactly why critical discourse analysis seems applicable to a large extent for the analysis of this thesis. Speeches from climate activist Greta Thunberg will be analyzed in accordance to the principles of CDA as well as speeches by Naomi Seibt - a well known climate change skeptic.

The analysis of this thesis will be conducted on the basis of Norman Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis. His interpretation of discourse analysis creates the opportunity to use linguistic analyses in order to uncover narratives about society's development and to discuss the way we speak as part of our behaviour, the way we live and the way we interact as part of society. Fairclough's interpretation of discourse analysis is a clear critique of the way globalization is happening and how it is addressed. His theory is applicable on any social matter with a discursive aspect which most of them have. In regards to investigating youth and climate change this theory and method seems highly suitable due to the global communicative activity related to it, combined with the challenges of conflicting views upon and opinions about climate change.

## **6.6 Discourse theory**

A narrow understanding of discourse theory is that it deals with the study of 'language in use' and that the attention of the analysis focuses on 'speech and text in context' (Howarth, 2005). Ergo the idea that language is constructed in patterns that are significant for our way of acting in social matters or domains (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). There is no consensus as to what discourse is and how it is analyzed. Different perspectives offer their own suggestions and often compete to appropriate terms for their own definitions and advantages; "*Discourse is a particular way of speaking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)*" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Discourse is the general understanding that language is structured conforming to patterns that people's utterances comply with when they take place in different settings of social life. Discourse analysis can therefore be looked upon as an investigation of patterns, for instance 'political discourse' or 'medical discourse'.

Discourse theory aims at an understanding of the social as a construction whereby all social phenomena can be analysed using discourse analytical tools (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

### **6.7 The difference between discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA)**

Ever since the linguistic turn the study of discourse increased in popularity in a series of disciplines within humanities and social sciences (Sjölander, 2011). The linguistic turn in social sciences and humanities did not only indicate a renewed interest in language but furthermore implied a realisation that language is constitutive of the world compared to the predominant assumption that language was merely a mirror of the world (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). Due to the widespread activity in the discourse analytical field, the notion of ‘discourse’ has now grown to include not only analysis of text in a strict sense but also to interpret extensive cultural and socio-cultural processes. In *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis* (1999), Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough argue that there is a great need for ‘critical analysis of discourse as a fundamental element in the critical theorisation and analysis of late modernity’. In the book just mentioned, the authors take a transdisciplinary journey in social life, critical research on social change and contemporary conditions in late modern societies. Their aims are to initiate a better theoretical basis for critical discourse analysis (CDA) combined with illustrating how CDA has contributed to the analysis of language and discourse, which has become more important in critical social sciences (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:4).

In this thesis focus lies on CDA since its commitments are mainly concentrated around exploring and discussing in depth questions revolving around democracy, politics and social change. These focal points overlap with the aim of this thesis and the subjects that need investigation for the purpose of the thesis. Even though commonalities are clear in CDA and DT, for instance a poststructuralist influence combined with a conflicting theoretical perspective (Sjölander, 2011:16), they seem to have developed separately from each other.

CDA differs from discourse theory in the sense that it highlights issues of power, asymmetries and structural inequities in matters such as media, politics and education (Blommaert & Bucean, 2000). The approach CDA draws from social theory through

contributions from Antonio Gramsci, Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault which will be elaborated further in the following sections. The purpose of drawing lines from social theorists is investigating ideologies and power relations in discourse. Language connects with the social by the definition of “*being the primary domain of ideology and through being both a site of and a stake in struggles for power*” (Fairclough, 1995). This connection between language and discourse fits very well into Fairclough’s three dimensional model of analysis where the first level of the analysis is an in depth text analysis at a micro-level.

Formulated above is a definition of discourse and discourse analysis but it can be rather difficult to define exactly what discourse is, how to analyze it and how they function.

Therefore, more developed theories and methods of discourse analysis are necessary, such as Norman Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis. In the search for such, it becomes clear that discourse analysis is not just one approach, but a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be applied in order to explore many different patterns or social domains in various types of studies.

## **6.8 Critical discourse analysis**

In the following section Norman Fairclough’s theory of critical discourse analysis and the purpose of it will be described. Thereafter a model of analysis consisting of three different levels drawn from his theory and method will be presented as the primary method of analysis in this thesis.

The British linguist and discourse-analyst Norman Fairclough has since the eighties established his presence in the studies of discourse (Jensen, 2008). He has made his presence in various research journals such as *Discourse & Society*, at international conferences, and he has been part of student curricula all over the world. Fairclough seems to be anchored in a scientific theoretical tradition where both linguistics and philosophy are in play. This can be described as a dialectic perspective where discourse is both constituting (shaping) and constituted (shaped) by social aspects. But ‘the social’ is not only discourse. Fairclough states there is a material reality of social practices reaching out and above from merely discourse. That could be values or cultural mores and norms. The reason for Fairclough being able to distinguish discursive practice and social practice is as mentioned above, that discourse is a

part of 'the social' but 'the social' has more to offer. Fairclough's method of analyzing discourse is a three-step-model consisting of text, discursive practice and social practice.

## 6.9 Fairclough's definition of discourse

Fairclough presents various definitions of discourse but most significant is his distinction between discourse as an abstract form, where language is a social practice in a broader sense, and discourse in a more narrow and technical sense where it is described as 'a way of giving meaning to experience from a certain perspective' (Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:10). The more narrow and technical sense of discourse is also referred to by Fairclough as 'semiosis as representation and self-representation of social practice' (Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:10).

Discourse is a complex concept and can be defined from several theoretical angles (Fairclough 2008:15). The more narrow and technical sense of discourse is also referred to by Fairclough as 'semiosis as representation and self-representation of social practice' (Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:10).

The exact word 'representation' would scare off most structuralist scientists (Jensen, 2008) but Fairclough argues that the word is central as discourse additionally describes phenomena and conditions in the world. When he operates with the word 'semiosis' he assesses drawn lines from the semiotic approach to language where the communicated means something else. This 'something else' is not a part of the post-structuralist approach that Fairclough wants to distance himself from (Jensen, 2008). Semiotics are the study of production and reception of signs, or storing meaning with the help of signs (Johansen, n.d). Meaning combined with form constitutes the 'signs' that are analyzed in semiotic and linguistics. Furthermore, he defines discourse as the way language is used within different domains. In this definition by Fairclough it is used as an abstract noun that is a "*social practice and usage of language*" (Joergensen og Philips 1999:79).

In accordance to Foucault, Fairclough argues that discourse also produces subjects and objects but that some are 'more true' than others (Jensen, 2008). Foucault stated that power is always present and that it can both produce and constrain the truth (Foucault in Strega, 2005) whereby Fairclough partly agrees, as he claims that truths are produced in plural, but some truths are *more* true than others. Michel Foucault is a name everyone stumbles upon when

engaging in discourse analysis. He was a French social theorist (1926-1984) who developed a notion of discourse namely through his work *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969). Iara Lessa summarizes Foucault's definition of discourse as 'systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of actions, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak' (Lessa, 2008). The roles of discourse are traced in elaborating social processes by Foucault, especially the social processes of legitimating and power. Furthermore, Foucault theorizes discourse as a medium through which power relations produces speaking subjects (Strega, 2005). Furthermore, he claims that discourse is directly related to power since it serves based on rules of exclusion (Foucault, 1980) wherefore discourse is controlled by: what can be spoken of (objects), ritual (where and how one speaks) and the privileged (who may speak) (Foucault, 1980). As mentioned before, Fairclough and Foucault share certain values such as the one regarding power. Power and ideology are central concepts in Fairclough's theory but he assesses it in a slightly different manner. A communicative event, a speech or an article for instance, can change the discursive order. And this is exactly the reason Fairclough is often used in relation to power that operates through discourse. Power as a concept of something that can create our world and be productive but also be excluded in alternative forms of social organization and hereby limitation. To Foucault power is productive and creating, and inevitable since it is intertwined in everything we do as social creatures. To Fairclough discourses are ideological if they contribute to maintain existing dominance-relations whereof they must be fought against with counter-power or 'counter-discourses'. An example of a dominance-relation could be the one between men and women or doctors and patients (Jensen, 2008:13).

The concept of *discourse* is intertwined with the concept of *parlance* (the usage of language) when applying Fairclough's theory. Parlance is in this case considered as a sort of social practice rather than an individual activity or a reflection of situational variables. This point of view causes certain implications, for instance that discourse is both a way of acting, or an inclosure where people can act according to the world and especially according to each other. Also, discourse can be a way of representing the world. Furthermore, this way of looking at discourse creates a dialectic relationship between discourse and social practices and more generally between social practices and social structures.

As mentioned previously in this thesis, in accordance to Foucault, Fairclough agrees in how discourse is socially constituent, and the discursive formation of subjects, objects and concepts. They both agree that “*discourse is a practice that not only represents the world but also gives the world meaning, constitutes it, and constructs it in meaning*” (Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:18).

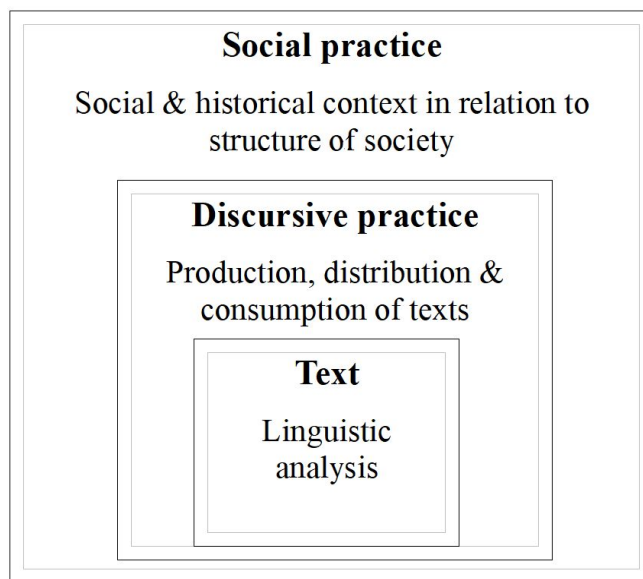
That is exactly why Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theory has been chosen here in order to get an overview of the elements and essentials in the communication the younger generation performs in regards to climate change. Especially during these times where climate change is constantly broad up in all kinds of media, politics, amongst friends or at the dinner party and where we all are forced to take a standing point towards climate change and responsibility. For instance how climate change is portrayed publicly and possibly as a discourse.

From Fairclough's perspective, discourse is socially constituent. Below a model of analysis will be presented based on Fairclough's principles. The model of analysis will be used in conducting a critical discourse analysis in three levels on Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt's chosen speeches.

### **6.10 Model of analysis**

When initiating the analysis of text in accordance with Fairclough's principles of critical discourse analysis, one's focus constantly switches between the discursive event and the structure or order of discourse. A central concept in Fairclough's critical discourse theory is ‘interdiscursivity’ which is defined as “*the text's constitution of different discourses and genres*” (Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:11).

Fairclough states that his approach is dictated by his goal of making linguistic-oriented discourse analysis work alongside with social and political thinking which is relevant to discourse and language (Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:15). This is done through a model of analysis which is ideal when studying social sciences and especially social change. The model of analysis will be presented below.



**Source: model translated by the authors of this thesis**

Fairclough's model (Fairclough, 1995) model regarding critical discourse analysis consists of three intertwined processes of analysis tied to three intertwined dimensions of discourse. The three dimensional conceptualization of the critical discourse analysis model illustrated above is an attempt to unite three analytical traditions which each and everyone are important for doing critical discourse analysis. It has to be clarified that Fairclough does not indicate one specific model of analysis applicable within CDA (Fairclough 2010:133) but he does give some guidelines of how to do it with the three dimensional model illustrated above.

#### **6.10.1 The three levels of analysis**

The model above illustrates Fairclough's three-dimensional concept of discourse. The three dimensional conceptualization of discourse through the model represents the union of three analytical traditions that each are necessary in order to conduct discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992). The first one is linguistics' tradition for close language- and text analysis, the second is the macrosociological tradition of analyzing social practice in cohesion with social structures, and third the microsociological tradition where social practice is looked upon as something people actively produce and adds meaning to on the basis of common sense procedures.

The first level is the text and is 'descriptive'. It consists of an analysis on a text based level involving a thorough linguistic or grammatical analysis of a certain text, for instance a speech or an article where someone is communicating something. The following two levels are interpretive and the descriptive and interpretive levels are not divided with clear lines. A text analysis implicates attention to choice of words, grammar, structure of the text, cohesion, analysis of argumentation etc. which can be tools for detecting the discourse the text is pervaded by (Fairclough, 1992). When choosing certain words for a text certain attitudes towards a subject are expressed, for instance whether we choose the word 'terrorist' or 'freedom fighter' depends on the action that has taken place and what we think of it. Or the words 'militancy' and 'activism' with the first mentioned being more negatively toned. The words chosen in a text can also be conditioned by affiliation making the producer of the text feel as part of a given community whereby an individual from another generation for instance could be an authority, idol or failure etc. conditioned by who produces the text which underlines that every text contains interpretations.

In the second dimension, *the discursive practice*, the words we use and the way we compose our sentences is of great importance. This dimension involves attention to processes of producing, consuming and distributing texts (Fairclough, 1995). All of these processes happen in a social context impressionable by societal structures and furthermore, the processes are social and should be referenced to the economic, political and institutional frames where discourses are generated within. The central focal point is to clarify explanatory coherences between the ways texts are put together and interpreted, produced, distributed and consumed in a wider sense and the character of the social practice in relation to social structures and battles. The way we talk and hear about a certain subject can change our view of it, and in other words - a text is always interpreted by the consumer differing dependently of our social background, context and other circumstances.

In this level of analysis discourses are being investigated, and it is determined which discourses are possibly portrayed in the text - this is where the analysis rises from micro- to macro level analysis still with roots planted in the text.

In the third dimension, *social practice*, it is investigated how language creates opinions and characterizes our attitudes and how it creates social relationships and practices. Here, the analysis takes place at the norm-level. Furthermore, the social level of analysis sets the frames for the discursive dimension. In this level, Fairclough is inspired by the Marxist

tradition from Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci (Fairclough 2008, p. 46). Focus lies mainly on the context of which a text or communicative event is produced within and is a part of, for instance a given time in society, such as a financial crisis or time of war, meaning that discourses are affected by political and societal forces drawing them in one direction. Censorship could be a significant factor here. In Denmark for instance, there is freedom of speech meaning that anyone could say whatever they want or criticize the government, but in other countries this is not a reality and such utterings could lead to death or punishment. The text would be consumed in a very different way in these countries, due to the censorship, and consumers would most likely be aware that a portrayal of a certain event would simply not be truthful but that censorship would be taken into account altering the text or communicative event. As mentioned in earlier sections, discourses can indeed create power relations or exclusions and affect the world.

Texts always contain expressions of values, attitudes and assessments and language is a part of our communication since communication is a social event. The purpose of CDA is to uncover how discursive practice plays an important role in maintaining the social practice by combining textual specificity and social relevance. Through Fairclough's CDA a good base is given for empirical investigation of discursive phenomena among other things.

## **6.11 Elements of the analysis**

In the following section the focal points within each level of analysis will be clarified and specified. The aim of the conceptualized model of analysis illustrated above, is to offer a general method meant to offer a map of the area of investigation and to identify chosen analytical focal points appraised as being specifically valuable for the purpose of discourse analysis relevant to this thesis. The elements in focus are derived from Fairclough's text (1992).

### **6.11.1 The text analysis**

Some of the categories in the model of analysis seem to be combined by meaning and language forms but in text analyses there is most often a simultaneous searching for answers

to questions revolving around form and meaning (Fairclough, 1992). On the first level of the analysis focus will lie on the following elements:

1) The choice of words investigates individual words and whether any metaphors are being used, and what image the chosen words are constructing. Furthermore, what these exact words do, compared to using other words. Are the sentences active or passive and what effect does it have? It should also be noted if re-wording or over-wording is being used and whether there are any ideologically significant meaning-relations between words. Furthermore, the language can be a bearer of change since it is never neutral and often contains values and opinions.

2) Modality examines how or whether the producer of a text shows affinity, meaning closeness or linkage, to the statement and what it means for the dialogue. This can be done with words such as *should*, *would* or *could*. If euphemistic expressions are used, meaning words that are chosen instead of other words that may be considered offensive or unpleasant, it should also be taken into account in the analysis, as well as dysphemisms doing the opposite. Objective or categorical modality can be used to express power or dominance, or a strive towards establishing power regarding determination of significance. In other words, objective or categorical modality indicates full acceptance of a statement, causing the truth of the statement to be taken for granted.

3) Transitivity investigates how processes and events are attached to subjects and objects and if some relationships or certain persons are emphasized more than others. This can help with placing responsibility. Concatenation - a series of interconnected words, or cohesion, is also an element of great significance within this focal point. It is the use of words from the same semantic group, repetitions or concatenations of sentences helping the construction of causal relationships. The analysis on concatenations focuses mainly on two clauses or sentences. For instance, a causal relation (if x then y) or a temporal relation (when x then y) or (first x then y) or finally a comparing relation (x like y).

### 6.11.2 The discursive practice

In the second layer of the analysis focus will lie on the interpretation of a text and the processes of producing, consuming and distributing texts.

1) Force is an element that explains how the text uses relations to affect subjects to render or adopt or acknowledge certain opinions. According to Fairclough the context in which this is done, is important in order to reduce the ambivalence of interpretation of the statement.

(Fairclough in Jensen, 2008:19). Statements can create different sub-meanings and interpretations depending on in which context it is said.

2) Coherence investigates whether the text contains subject positions to which the recipient possibly can relate.

3) Intertextuality describes a text's ability to assign similarities, either directly or indirectly, to other texts with the purpose of establishing a constituting addition to pre existing texts. It is important to distinguish between interdiscursivity- referring to other pre existing opinions and discourses in the text, and intertextuality - when attributes from other specific texts are highlighted in the text that is being analyzed.

### 6.11.3 The social practice

The social practice can be described as the non-discursive (Fairclough 1992). This level of analysis cannot be comprehended through discourse analysis and the social practice influences how 'reality' is described and articulated in the discursive practice. This articulation has a constituting effect on the social structure. As mentioned before, text analysis is not enough as a way of analyzing discourse, and according to Fairclough mere text analysis does not comprehend the connection between societal and cultural structures and processes (Fairclough 1992) hence the third level of analysis *social practice* is necessary. By analyzing the social practice in accordance to Fairclough's theory the textual and discursive analysis is contextualized in relation to societal tendencies.

1) Hegemony is a way of theorizing the changes in development of power relations.

Hegemony means both dominance and leadership in regards to political, economical, cultural and ideological domains in society (Fairclough, 1992). In other words, it is the battle of

getting as much influence as possible upon the ruling discourse by appointing one's own ideology ahead of others. This can be done by disarming or excluding others. Power is equated with hegemony and power relations are formed through a hegemonic battle. As a sub-element under hegemony the order of discourses will also be assessed. It is the sum of types of discourses and genres existing within a given social domain helping assessing how connections are made between other orders of discourse with the intention of reshaping pre existing social practices.

2) Context is another element in the social practice level that contextualizes the textual and discursive practice in relation to wider societal tendencies.

3) Finally, an aggregation is made with discursive and discussing elements.

## **6.12 Modes of persuasion**

When analyzing speeches which are subjective utterings it is important to assess the modes of persuasion. While Fairclough examines *what* is being said and in which context, the modes of persuasion examines *how* things are being said and *why*. Therefore, we found it relevant also to address the modes of persuasion in regards to the analysis of the speeches combined with critical discourse analysis.

The three modes of persuasion were presented by Aristoteles (384-322 bc.) as a tool for rhetoricians so they could more easily persuade their recipients (Petersen, 2018). When working with argumentation the three modes of persuasion; Logos, Pathos, Ethos, have proven themselves helpful in uncovering what lies behind the arguments and how they work on a potential recipient.

Logos is when the sender is trying to convince the recipient of their standing point by appealing to the sense or reason of the recipient. This can be done by letting their argument be logical, reasonable or rational, or by including documentation such as scientific research or statistics, making the argument more rational. The strength of applying logos is that the recipient is rationally convinced and the danger is that it can become too reasoned and 'matter-of-fact'-like causing the recipient to lose focus and perhaps become bored.

Pathos is when the sender tries to convince the recipient by appealing to their feelings. This is done by waking emotions within the recipient such as sympathy, hate, love or disgust. It is often seen in charity collections where hungry children are either portrayed or described as an attempt to wake emotions of sympathy or disgust trying to convince the recipient to donate money or help in other ways. Applying humour is also a way of appealing to feelings (Petersen, 2018). The strength of pathos is that feelings affected can create a strong effect, and the danger is that pathos can seem transparent and thereby humourous, causing the recipient to not be affected or convinced as they ‘call the bluff’ so to say, and the argument loses its power.

Ethos is when the sender tries to build a certain credibility towards the recipient, for instance by being an expert on a certain area or by having experience. Being an expert upon the area could be by having a certain title, such as doctor, professor, cand.merc., scientist etc.

Experience is indeed an important factor in credibility (Petersen, 2018), for instance if a father of six talks about bringing up children.

When analyzing speeches, as it is the case of this thesis, the way the speeches are being held also has a say in it. In ethos body language and way of speaking, such as pace, being able to keep on track, not mumbling too much, are relevant factors in gaining the trust of the recipient. Ergo, the focus lies on the sender as it is their credibility and image waking the trust of the recipient. In pathos, it is the tone and voice of the sender which is able to wake feelings in the recipient. What is said in the speech is itself relevant in appealing to feelings, but the way they are being said is just as important when the speech is experienced verbalised and not written.

## 7.0 Analysis

Initially, in the following analysis the points of view from the two climate enthusiasts Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt will be analyzed through some of their communicative events, in this case speeches, that have been found to be relevant for the aim of our thesis. Furthermore, through the critical discourse analysis a thorough text analysis will uncover the purpose and meaning standing behind their statements, followed by an identification of the discourses lying behind them. Finally, an analysis of our survey following the principles of descriptive research method will be conducted and followed by a comprehensive discussion.

Led with remarkable poise by 17-year-old Swede Greta Thunberg, who is a young environmental activist known for her young age and straightforward speaking manner, both in public and to political leaders and assemblies. In these contexts she questions and criticizes world leaders for their failure to take necessary action to address the climate challenges, and demand urgent action on climate change (BBC editorial office, 2020). Social activism is the predominant form of youth activism today, as many millions of young people now participate in social activism (BBC editorial office, 2020). There are for example more than 1 million young people attending the before mentioned weekly worldwide school strikes on Fridays, which Greta initiated back in 2018, encouraging countries to adhere to the Paris Agreement and Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change recommendations, and calling for measures to ensure that our planet has a future facing decades of neglect and abuse (BBC editorial office, 2020).

The younger generation are often underrepresented in politics since adults dominate the discourse (BBC editorial office, 2020). However, a large number of members of the younger generation are concerned and informed citizens who can advocate for change within their communities, observations made while processing the survey information in regards to this thesis.

Naomi Seibt is a German climate change skeptic who is employed by the conservative Heartland Institute - an American conservative and libertarian public policy think tank, which promotes her along with the media as the “anti-Greta” (referring to her younger

environmental activist comparator Greta Thunberg, mentioned above) (Cachero, 2020).

Naomi Seibt has been a speaker at multiple events organized by conservative think tanks and is starting to become world-known (Cachero, 2020).

## **7.1 CDA analysis - speeches by Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt**

### **Speech 1: Greta Thunberg - “What will you tell your children?”**

This speech was held by Greta Thunberg at Davos to a World Economic Forum panel on climate on behalf of Climate Justice Now - a global coalition of networks and organizations campaigning for climate justice. She demands an end to all investments in fossil fuel extraction and exploration, and urges all to do something about climate change challenges immediately while there is still time. Further, she mentions how great sacrifices, such as the biosphere and our civilization, are made so that the few can remain wealthy.

Greta Thunberg starts her speech by introducing herself, hereafter she initiates her arguments for taking action immediately. Throughout the speech she uses the word “children” frequently. It is seen in sentences such as “*You say you love your children above all else (...)*” or “*If I have children (...)*” and “*(...) if a few children can get headlines all over the world just by not going to school then imagine what we could do all together if we really wanted to*” (app. 1:1). By using the word ‘children’ she also applies pathos, the mode of persuasion appealing to readers’ feelings. ‘Children’ represents the innocent, clean, fragile, but can also draw lines to what lies in the future. A child is considered to have a whole future ahead of them and as being inferior to adults who make all the decisions and carry the responsibility, and the use of the word ‘child’ constructs the image of the younger generation fighting for climate being innocent victims of decision-makers’ choices and actions. Thunberg focuses a lot on the future, responsibility changes for the better and taking actions that could prevent climate change to develop even faster into the destruction of the planet for instance by saying “*I care about climate justice and the living planet*” (app. 1:1). By the quote “*(...) imagine what we could do all together if we really wanted to.*” (app. 1:1) Thunberg includes what can be categorized as a phrase of ideological significance. She talks about a togetherness causing a potential for change to the better, which can be categorized as a kind of socialism. Further

she early on includes interdiscursivity by echoing the ideology of the Swedish welfare system which is explicated as she states that “*Our biosphere is being sacrificed so that rich people in countries like mine, can live in luxury.*”. The thought of a common production, distribution and property, either by acting in concert or the common property being the planet Earth as a common ‘home’. This ‘togetherness’ is reflected throughout her whole speech as the relationship between ‘us vs. them/you’ often comes at play. It is clear that the ‘us’ with Greta Thunberg are those who want to save the climate in general, and perhaps even more specifically those of the younger generation who want to save the planet, together with those suffering under the damaging circumstances caused by climate change. The ‘them’ consists of the decision-makers not doing enough about it and those who make a profit of it. By claiming that; “*Even that burden you leave to us children*” or “*It is the sufferings of the many which pay for the luxuries of the few*” and “*Our civilization is being sacrificed for the opportunity with a very small number of people to continue making enormous amounts of money.*” (app. 1:1), she underlines the consequences and once again the us vs. them relationship.

Thunberg also mentions that “*if solutions within this system are so impossible to find then maybe we should change the system itself.*” (app. 1:2). The slogan “System change, not climate change” has been used throughout the last decade by NGOs referring to the need for denouncing pseudo-solutions and pioneer the change towards a socio-environmental society (Bullard & Müller, 2012 & Editorial office of System Change Not Climate Change, 2020). Therefore, this could also be categorized as intertextuality being applied.

Furthermore, modality is used frequently in her speech. Modality examines whether the author shows affinity towards the subject or statements, and in this case for instance by saying “*If I have children maybe they will spend that day with me. Maybe they will ask me about you. Maybe they will ask why you didn't do anything while there was still time to act*” (app. 1:1) she marks a clear linkage to the subject by expressing that it is her (and her childrens’) future being at stake here. And further, that it is her responsibility to take action towards striving for change and that her children in the future will ask questions about why no more actions were taken. Further, a categorical modality is also being made, as Thunberg says “*You only talk about moving forward with the same bad ideas that got us into this mess. Even when the only sensible thing to do is pull the emergency brake.*” (app. 1:1) whereby she expresses some kind of power or domination, or at least a strive towards it, by saying that the

only thing to do now is to make changes about climate regards immediately, causing the truth of the statement to be taken for granted indicating a full acceptance of the statement. Furthermore, by using the expression ‘to pull the emergency brake’ a metaphor is revealed. She does this, in order to emphasize the severity of the state by calling it an emergency since emergency brakes are used in serious situations as ‘a last way out’ of it. Another metaphor used is ‘green’ as in “*You only speak of a green eternal economic growth because you are too scared of being unpopular.*” (app 1:1). Green here refers to the eco- and climate friendly way to handle things - a metaphor that has almost been adopted in current time as a real word and meaning instead of a metaphor. This phenomenon can also be categorized as *greenwashing*, a verb used especially in business contexts, applied as an attempt to make the business seem ‘greener’ or more interested in protecting the environment and eco-friendly when it really is not the fact. For instance windmills are producing sustainable energy but the production of them is not at all sustainable. The plastic material of the windmill blade creates a massive toxic waste (Ramirez-Tejeda et al., 2017).

In general throughout her speech, Thunberg uses words and phrases that emphasize the urgency of the subject of climate change such as “*world leaders*” (app. 1:2), “*We are running out of time*” (app. 1:2), “*need to*” (app1:2), “*crisis*” (app 1:2), “*there is no hope*” (app 1:2) and furthermore, she frequently uses words that imply a victim-role, words such as “*sufferings*” (app. 1:1) or “*sacrifice*” (app. 1:1). In fact, ‘sacrifice’ is used frequently for instance in two sentences said in a row: “*Our civilization is being sacrificed for the opportunity with a very small number of people to continue making enormous amounts of money. Our biosphere is being sacrificed so that rich people in countries like mine can live in luxury.*” (app. 1:1). These are examples of concatenation where repetitions help the construction of causal relationships. In this case, that civilization and the biosphere is being sacrificed causing riches and luxuries for some people and suffering for others.

The quote just mentioned also shows what can be categorized as re-wording. That is, when something is put in other words. Here it could be the words “*enormous amounts of money*” and “*luxury*”.

By mentioning that there is no hope, that we are running out of time, and mentioning sacrifices being made for others it could be interpreted that intertextuality comes at play here.

It can be argued for that her phrases carry biblical messages with them, and since apocalyptic prophecies were entirely pessimistic about present conditions (Berry, 1943) it can be equally compared to Thunberg's tone in her speeches. She implicitly uses the bible as a reference in order to explain the severity of the situation.

As mentioned before, Thunberg often uses 'you' and 'we/our' emphasizing two groups with each their goal. The first with the goal of making money and the second with the goal of reaching climate justice. Furthermore, she mentions "*world leaders*" (app. 1:2) also as a part of 'them/they', and the frequent use of pronouns helps emphasizing certain persons or positions which helps to place responsibility. Thunberg uses the pronoun 'I' a lot, for instance "*I care about climate justice and the living planet*" (app. 1:1) or "*The year 2078 I will celebrate my 75th birthday*" (app 1:1) and "*But I have learned that you are never too small to make a difference (...)*" (app. 1:1). In this case more in order to place the responsibility, or as one might say: giving someone credit, in a good way. And with the latter quote, she also shows affinity to her statement, modality, expressing what her experiences have taught her about taking action. Also, modality appears as she says: "*And if solutions within this system are so impossible to find then maybe we should change the system itself*" (app. 1:2) whereby she shows affinity towards the statement both by saying 'we' and 'should' causing the recipients of the text to speculate about such a well established institution as the system.

The speech ends with "*The real power belongs to the people!*" (app. 1:2) a strong statement urging citizens to unite and take action because they *can*. This could also be categorized as a statement of ideological significance as it once again establishes a 'togetherness' emphasizing the power of the people.

To sum up on the first speech it can be argued that Thunberg portrays climate change as the apocalypse coming in the nearest future. She portrays climate change as an apocalyptic consequence of human activities and profits, and that the world and all life will end if nothing is done immediately. That follows the appearance of a western and biblical discourse, and a narrative comparing climate change activism, or saving the planet, to christianity and the saviour and sacrificer.

## Speech 2: Greta Thunberg - “Our house is on fire”

This speech was held at the World Economic Forum a few months before Greta Thunberg received Normandy’s first Freedom Prize in Caen for her ongoing school strikes and advocacy for climate, and her role in the Fridays For Future movement.

In the speech, she claims that everyone is only talking about money and success. Further, she insists that climate challenges are a crisis that have never once been treated as a crisis and therefore citizens are simply not aware of the full consequences of it. She also mentions the responsibility and moral duty human beings have and once again emphasizes the ‘disaster’ and ‘sufferings’ we are facing.

The choice of words in Thunberg’s speech can be categorized as being relatively strong. She is repeatedly using words such as ‘crisis’, ‘dangerous’, ‘panic’, ‘lie’ (app. 1:3) and ‘sufferings’, ‘sacrifices’, ‘stealing’ (app. 1:1) which contributes to putting an emphasis upon the negative functioning of the subjects. The subjects here, being decision-makers or world leaders. Thunberg’s rhetoric in the speeches show a dislike towards decision-makers and some adults, for instance by saying *“You say you love your children above all else and yet you are stealing their future in front of their very eyes.”* (app. 1:1) or *“We have not come here to beg world leaders to care. You have ignored us in the past and you will ignore us again.”* (app. 1:2) and finally with the quote: *“Adults keep saying we owe it to the young people to give them hope.”* (app. 1:4).

Even the title of Thunberg’s speech is a metaphor saying *“our house is on fire”* (app. 1:2), a phrase she mentions several times in her speech. By ‘our house’ she equates the planet Earth to the ‘house’ of all humankind and claims that it is on fire, wherefore homo sapiens must act immediately to save it. The urgency of the latter is emphasized further, as she also states that *“No other current challenge can match the importance of establishing a wide public awareness and understanding of our rapidly disappearing carbon budgets that should and must become a new global currency in the very heart of future and present economics.”* (app. 1:3) - a quote which can be categorized as modality where Thunberg shows affinity towards the statement by requesting that the ‘carbon budgets’ should become a global currency in

order to not exceed them and to avoid accelerating the climate change crisis. In this exact same quote is yet another metaphor; ‘global currency’. Since currency is mostly defined as coins, money, banknotes that are in circulation as a medium of exchange (merriam-webster, 2020) ‘carbon budgets as a global currency’ can be interpreted as a metaphor.

Furthermore, Thunberg uses overwording several times in her speech, for instance in four coherent sentences: “*And on climate change we have to acknowledge that we have failed. All political movements in their present form have done so. And the media has failed to create broad public awareness. But homo sapiens have not yet failed. (...) But unless we recognize the overall failures (...)*” (app. 1:2). The frequent use of the word ‘fail’ in different forms and within the same semantic group, emphasizes the meaning of the word. Thunberg wants to emphasize the failure which has been done and which can be prevented in the future if action is taken now. Re-wording also appears several times: “*The bigger your carbon footprint is, the bigger your moral duty. The bigger your platform the bigger your responsibility.*” (app. 1:4) where the words ‘moral duty’ and ‘responsibility’ can be categorized as existing within the same semantic group, as well as in the quote “*I want you to panic, I want you to feel the fear I feel every day.*” (app. 1:4) where ‘panic’ and ‘fear’ are also placed within the same semantic group. The use of re-wording helps recipients to easier understand what is being said by saying it in other words, and at the same time it emphasizes the statement being made.

In this second speech by Greta Thunberg, she adds a new dimension to the us vs. them. She distinguishes between the young and adults: “Adults keep saying we owe it to the young people to give them hope. But I do not want your hope (...)” (app. 1:4) and further, she notes that she belongs to ‘the young people’ ergo the ‘us’ in the us vs. them constellation.

As mentioned before, Thunberg often uses pronouns such as ‘us’ and ‘we’ whereby she includes the recipients creating a relation, also by using words and phrases such as “*We still have everything in our own hands*” (app. 1:2), “*moral duty*” (app. 1:4), “*That is up to you and me.*” (app. 1:3). By doing this, recipients feel included and that all together we can fix this and that it is all ‘our’ responsibility. She also rhetorically tries to create a common ‘we’ that also contains the changing generation - not only the younger generation, but also the older generation.

Thunberg uses categorical modality to a great extent causing the truthfulness of the statements to be taken for granted, creating an establishment of significance to the recipient. For instance with the quotes “*We have to stop greenhouse gas emissions.*” (app. 1:3), “*We must change almost everything in our current societies.*” (app. 1:4), “*People are simply not aware of the consequences of our everyday life*” (app. 1:3), “*We are facing a disaster of unspoken sufferings (...)*” (app. 1:3) and “*I want you to act as if the house is on fire, because it is.*” (app. 1:4). These are all partly subjective opinions portrayed as objective truths. A tendency repeated in all three of Thunberg’s speeches. In line with this, Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis in relation to power can be mentioned, as Thunberg appears as being powerful due to her declaratory statements. On the contrary, signs of missing power over establishment of significance and low affinity can appear, by using phrases such as: I think, possibly, a little bit etc. All phrases that are rarely used in Thunberg’s speeches.

Time indications of verbs, such as ‘is’ or ‘was’, also cause a categorical modality. Throughout Thunberg’s speeches the most frequent use of verbs is done in presence, such as “*We are failing (...)*” (app. 1:2), “*We can fix this*” (app. 1:2), “*Now we all have a choice.*” (app. 1:3) and “*That needs to change today*” (app. 1:3). Also she uses verbs in present participle such as: “*Our biosphere is being sacrificed*” (app. 1:1), “*Everyone is talking about money*” (app. 1:3), “*We are facing a disaster (...)*” (app. 1:3), often used in progressive verb tenses, when something is in the process of happening. This emphasizes the urgency of the statements and current situations she describes.

Furthermore, Greta Thunberg in her second speech addresses the climate change crisis followed by proposed solutions: “*According to the IPCC we are less than 12 years away from not being able to undo our mistakes. (...) And on climate change we have to acknowledge that we have failed. (...) But unless we recognize the overall failures of our current systems we most probably do not stand a chance. (...) The main solution however is so simple that even a small child can understand it. We have to stop the emission of greenhouse gasses.*” (app. 1:3). This is yet another categorical modality assisting the belief that Thunberg has the solutions to the problem, or knows what should be done in order to fix them giving her a powerful position.

Causal relationships are also worth noticing in this speech. She mentions that “*unless we recognize the overall failures of our current systems we most probably do not stand a chance.*” (app. 1:2-3) saying that if we do not recognize the mistakes made until current time, there will be no chance of improving and ultimately avoiding the negative consequences of climate change.

Transitivity appears and assists in placing responsibility by attaching events or processes to subjects and objects. Thunberg states: “*And on climate change we need to acknowledge that we have failed. All political movements in their present form have done so. And the media has failed to create broad public awareness.*” (app. 1:2) and hereby places responsibility for citizens' missing knowledge and awareness as well as implying that politics have not been active enough when it comes to climate crisis actions.

To sum up, Thunberg clearly places responsibilities from different angles leading to indications of a responsibility discourse. She places the responsibility within all humankind for ruining the planet Earth and further, she holds different groups responsible for not doing enough to save it or not facing how serious a crisis climate change is. This is also an establishment of power relations. Further, she establishes her position as being rather powerful, as she brings forward propositions and solutions for slowing down climate change consequences.

### **Speech 3: Greta Thunberg – “We want politicians to listen to the scientists”**

This speech was held by Greta Thunberg to EU policymakers at the European Economic and Social Committee (an EU consultative body representing civil society organisations) in Brussels on the 21st February in 2019. Thunberg’s speech was held before joining one of the climate school strikes that has been taking place every week in Belgium since 2nd of December. School kids are on climate strike “*because we have done our homework and listened to science*”, said the then 16-year-old green activist Greta Thunberg. And as usual she did not mince her words. “*We know that most politicians don’t want to talk to us*” Thunberg said from the outset. “*Good. We don’t want to talk to them either*” she told a roomful of EU policymakers, which also included Jean-Claude Juncker, the back then

President of the European Commission. Thunberg here applies an infantile logic on the politicians and states that if the politicians do not want to play with her, she does not want to play with them either. This exhibits the childishness of politicians, and that Thunberg believes that they are acting like “spoiled” children.

Through the speech held by Greta Thunberg the choice of words can be categorized as being relatively strong. Reading the speech makes it clear that it is a very powerful young woman fighting for climate change and justice. *“We want them to talk to the scientists instead. Listen to them. Because we are just repeating what they are saying and have been saying for decades,”* she continued. *“We want you to follow the Paris Agreement and the IPCC reports. We don’t have any other demands. Just unite behind the science – that is our demand.”* (app 1:4). But for those who do their homework and listen to science, Thunberg pointed to a damning fact. *“According to the IPCC report, we are about 11 years away from being in a position where we set off an irreversible chain reaction beyond human control,”* (app 1:5) she said *“To avoid that, unprecedented changes have to take place within this coming decade.”* (app 1:5).

For the EU, that means drastically increasing its emissions reduction target, beyond the 40% reduction agreed for 2030, and well above the 45% currently under consideration. *“If the EU is to make its fair contribution to stay within the carbon budget for the 2°C limit, then it needs a minimum of 80% reduction by 2030. And that includes aviation and shipping. So about twice as much as the current proposal,”* (app 1: 6) she said. But getting there will require a radical overhaul of the political system currently based on political parties who compete against each other to win the next election, she argues. *“That must come to an end. We must stop competing with each other. We need to cooperate and work together to share the resources of the planet in a fair way.”*

Thunberg uses words such as ‘politicians’ and ‘scientists’ throughout her speech which the examples above also shows. She believes that the politicians should listen more to the scientists, because they know better than the politicians.

Reading the speech makes it clear that her choice of words and her tone is relatively powerful *“Once again, they sweep their mess under the carpet for our generation to clean up*

*themselves. Some people say that we are fighting for our future. But that is not true. We are not fighting for our future, we are fighting for everyone's future.*" (app 1:6).

Furthermore, she addresses the initial recipients directly by using the words 'you' and 'yours' and includes them as an active participant in the 'conversation'. This happens when she is addressing the politicians, which are the main audience of the speech when it was held; *"The political system that you have created is all about competition. You cheat, when you can, because all that matters is to win. To get power."* (app 1:5). With this statement Thunberg makes it clear that she is disagreeing with the politicians and believes that they cheat just to win and get more power. She continues by saying *"But if you have done your homework, then you know that we don't have any other choice. We need to focus every inch of our being on climate change."* (app 1:5). Thunberg believes and encourages the politicians to work together on climate change otherwise she states that we all will fail. Another example is at the end of her speech; *"You can't just sit around waiting for hope to come. Then you're acting like spoiled irresponsible children. You don't seem to understand that hope is something you have to earn. And if you still say that we are wasting valuable lesson time (...)"* (app 1:6) here she is encouraging the politicians to take action and to stop acting like spoiled irresponsible children. She also calls for action *now* and earlier estimated that without immediate action the world will end in 11 years approximately.

Thunberg also uses affinity in her speech; *"And I'm sorry but saying everything will be alright while continuing doing nothing at all is just not helpful to us. In fact, it's the opposite of hope. And yet this is exactly what you keep doing."* (app 1:6). Transitivity is used frequently in Thunberg's speech at the European Economic and Social Committee. She states that *"Once again, they sweep their mess under the carpet for our generation to clean up themselves"* and continues *"Some people say that we are fighting for our future. But that is not true. We are not fighting for our future, we are fighting for everyone's future."* (app 1:6). Here Thunberg implies that politicians again are avoiding their issues instead of doing something about it and expecting the new generation to clean up after them. The quote above illustrates a metaphor, 'to sweep something under the carpet' where Thunberg refers to how decision-makers try to conceal their problems and avoid dealing with them - by sweeping them under the carpet.

Furthermore, she places responsibility on the recipients - especially the politicians; *“Then let me remind you that our political leaders have wasted decades, through denial and inaction. And since our time is running out, we have decided to take action. We have started to clean up your mess. And we will not stop until we are done.”* (app 1:6). Here the responsibility is yet again placed within the politicians. She uses a certain sarcasm and reminds everyone how the political leaders have wasted a very long time on not doing anything, so now the younger generation have decided to do something about the issues and will start cleaning up after them. This example also investigates how events and processes are connected with subjects and objects and if some affairs or persons are emphasized compared to others, which can help to place responsibility.

Categorical modality is not only about establishing power but can also be part of a social strategy with the purpose of creating solidarity and community amongst the recipients and the speaker by emphasizing agreement and common ground. *“that must come to an end. We must stop competing with each other. We need to cooperate and work together to share the resources of the planet in a fair way.”* (app 1:5).

To sum up, Thunberg believes it is important that the politicians listen to the scientists, which is leading to indication of a scientific discourse. Further she also claims that climate change is a societal problem and that she believes that political decisions should be made, leading to indication of a political discourse. Furthermore, an indication of a difference-discourse can also be traced since Thunberg focuses more on the differences being polarities, and on not embracing diversity.

Above, the analysis on the first (textual) level in accordance to Fairclough’s CDA Greta Thunberg’s speeches was analyzed, and in the following section the speeches by Naomi Seibt will be analyzed and succeeded by the two other levels of analysis- the discursive and social practice.

### **Speech 1: Naomi Seibt - the CPAC 2020**

The speech was delivered by Naomi Seibt at the CPAC 2020, which is the Conservative Political Action Conference, a high-profile annual meeting of right wing activists in

Washington that also featured the US president, Donald Trump. Naomi Seibt is as mentioned above a German climate change sceptic, who works for the conservative Heartland Institute. She has been called a young, fresh voice for ‘free markets and climate realism’ for questioning the scientific consensus on the climate crisis, which she has called ‘ridiculous’. Most of her speeches and videos are given at events organized by conservative think tanks or from home through YouTube where she has more than 60.000 followers. Most of the speeches are about climate change and how she does not believe that the world is ending because of climate change.

In her speech at the CPAC 2020 she makes it clear that she is not anti-Gretha and not a climate denier, but instead she styles herself as a ‘climate sceptic’ or ‘climate realist’.

*“Today climate change science really is not science at all”* Seibt states. She believes that the goal (of climate scientists) is to shame humanity, and that climate change alarmism at its very core is a despicably anti-human ideology; *“we are told to look down at our achievements with guilt, with shame and disgust, and not even to take into account the many major benefits we have achieved by using fossil fuels as our main energy source.”* (app. 2:7). Further she says that she believes in ‘man-made climate change’ but thinks the effects of greenhouse gases on the environment have been exaggerated by climate activists, academics, and scientists. It is clear that Naomi Seibt is dismissing all allegations about her being used by climate skeptics to persuade young people and counter Thunberg, the Swedish activist who has won international acclaim for arguing the world needs to rapidly throttle the greenhouse gas emissions fueling a warming world. *“I am not the puppet of the right wing or the climate deniers or the Heartland Institute either”* (app. 2:7) Seibt says. This statement also illustrates power relations in which one person (in this case the media), tries to take social-formative power over another, and is able to get the other person (in this case Seibt), to do what they wish. In this case Seibt disarms the power relation, since she is indicating that she is not a ‘puppet’ of the right wing, the climate deniers, or the Heartland Institute.

She ends her speech by sending a message to everyone that they should stop spreading panic before looking into the science and before immersing yourself in the research. She encourages people to stop shutting climate realists down and start having debates with them again. She wants people to stop panicking and think instead.

Through the speech held by Naomi Seibt the choice of words can be categorized as being relatively strong. Reading the speech makes it clear that it is a very powerful young woman, at least in her rhetorics and way of speaking, and to a lesser extent in her physical appearance. It is clear how she is fighting for what she believes in when it comes to science, values and climate change; *“The climate has always been changing, and so it’s ridiculous to say we deny climate change, Man vastly overestimates his power if he thinks he can, with CO2 emissions, destroy the climate.”* (app 2:7) and further; *“and it’s all about fear mongering, and using panic as a tool to restrict our freedoms and to fight against our right to be sceptics. (...) so please stop demonizing your own dependency on cheap and reliable energy sources!”* (app. 2:7). Seibt states in the above that freedom is a right just as all human beings have the right to be skeptic, and further that by ‘cheap and reliable energy sources’ she almost certainly refers to fossil fuel.

Further Seibt also uses words such as ‘the puppet’, to address the many media rumours going around and to make it clear that she is not a ‘puppet’ of the right wing or the Heartland Institute or a climate denier. She states instead that the work they do together is based on principles and values that unite them. It is clear that Naomi Seibt is dismissing all allegations about her being used by climate sceptics to persuade young people and counter Thunberg; *“I am not the puppet of the right wing or the climate deniers or the Heartland Institute either. (...) Our work together is based on principles and values that unite us.”* (app 2:7).

She addresses the recipients directly by using the words ‘you’ and ‘yours’ and includes them as an active participant in the ‘conversation’. This happens both when she addresses the climate alarmists and the experts: *“So, dear climate alarmists: The recycled paper-sleeve wrap-around-your-coffee cup with a plastic lid on it is doing nothing to save the planet. Every redundant step that you take to supposedly save the climate - which does not need saving from you in the first place - is doing nothing”* (app 2:7). With this statement Seibt makes it clear that just because you do small things in your everyday life to save the planet, you are actually not saving it, it is not helping at all. At the same time she mocks the effort and creates a condescending narrative also in line with the sarcasm tendency. She continues by saying *“And it’s negated by your very very privileged lifestyle that you seem to not be able to take for granted. So please stop demonizing your own dependency on cheap and reliable*

*energy sources! And start thinking again! And stop panicking! Your hypocrisy is truly blinding and might boost your ego to collect a couple of climate justice points”* (app. 2:7). And then she is encouraging people to stop, take a minute and think before you act; *“So, my message to you and to everyone out there and especially to the climate alarmists: Stop scratching at the surface of a deep, scientific, complex topic. Stop spreading panic before looking into the science, before immersing yourself in the research”* (app. 2:7). By using ‘you’ and ‘your’ throughout her speech, the significance of the recipient as an individual is being established, and according to Fairclough self-promotion is part and parcel of self-identity (Fairclough, 2010:100).

Seibt also repeatedly uses strong words like ‘lies, hysteria, fear, alarmism, destroy, pathetically, panicking, justice, scratching’ etc. which underline the powerful but also the “negative” tone and behaviour of the subject. Further, the choice of words expresses the negative and strong attitude about people not coping with climate change correctly. Seibt ends her speech by saying; *“Stop shutting us down - the climate realists! And start having debates with us again! Activism is not nobel if it is shallow. So, I don't want you to panic. I want you to think”* (app 2:7) which positions a powerful statement but still with an encouraging and optimistic tone.

Seibt also uses sarcasm in her words and tone, for instance with the quote; *“So, dear climate alarmists: The recycled paper-sleeve wrap-around-your-coffee cup with a plastic lid on it is doing nothing to save the planet. Every redundant step that you take to supposedly save the climate - which does not need saving from you in the first place - is doing nothing. And it's negated by your very very privileged lifestyle that you seem to not be able to take for granted.”* (app 2:7) in this statement she is being very sarcastic against people who think they can save the planet by using recycled paper-sleeve wrap-arounds for their coffee with plastic lid and other small redundant steps people take in order to make their life more environmental friendly, which is not even necessary since the planet needs no saving. This shows that Seibt is willing to use a harsher and more powerful tone to get her message out.

Transitivity is found in multiple places in Seibt speech at the CPAC 2020. She states that; *“The climate has always been changing, and so it's ridiculous to say we deny climate*

*change,” and continues with “Man vastly overestimates his power if he thinks he can, with CO2 emissions, destroy the planet and mess with the vast complexity - that is the self-regulation of the climate. And so, really, climate alarmists should be a little more humble when it comes to how much we as humans can or cannot do to nature, to destroy the planet.”* (app 2:7). Here Seibt implies that climate change has always been happening naturally, but that it is not caused by human activity. Afterwards she emphasizes how climate alarmists should be more humble, when assessing human power versus the power of nature.

She places responsibility on the recipients in general and especially on the climate alarmists which is categorized as transitivity; *“So, my message to you and to everyone out there and especially to the climate alarmists: Stop scratching at the surface of a deep, scientific, complex topic. Stop spreading panic before looking into the science, before immersing yourself in the research.”* (app 2:7). She especially emphasizes ‘climate alarmists’ but also human beings in general who jump on that wagon as well, spreading false information about a topic such as climate change, which is so complex, and criticizes them for only scratching the surface. Further, this example also expresses power and a strive towards establishing power in connection to determination of significance - the element of power has the purpose of emphasizing the meaning or significance of what is being said. This again shows choice of words – which can be categorized as strong.

Seibt also shows affinity as well, as she states; *“Hi, my name is Naomi Seibt and I am a climate realist. I am not anti-Gretha and I am not a climate denier. I am not a symbol for an agenda because we don't have an agenda. We as climate realists, our agenda is just fighting for freedom.”* (app 2:7). She hereby highlights her link to the message and shows extra passion both by claiming to be a climate realist fighting for freedom and not a symbol for an agenda, and by using words such as ‘we’ and ‘our’ creating a bond or possibility for the recipient to relate. Furthermore, she disclaims being a symbol for an agenda on behalf of the right wing or the Heartland Institute.

Seibt states; *“And man vastly overestimates his power if he thinks that he can with CO2 emissions destroy the planet and mess with the vast complexity that is the self regulation of the climate. (...) And so, really, climate alarmists should be a little more humble when it*

*comes to how much we as humans can or cannot do to nature, to destroy the planet.*” (app 2:7). Seibt is hereby mentioning the overestimated power than man has, if they think that they can destroy the planet with CO<sub>2</sub> emissions since climate regulates itself and always has been. Therefore power is taken from climate alarmists and given to nature and those who are skeptical about climate change issues being caused by humans. Categorical modality is not only about establishing power but can also be part of a social strategy with the purpose of creating solidarity and community amongst the recipients and the speaker by emphasizing agreement and common ground.

To sum up the first speech by Seibt, the severity of climate change is portrayed as being mild since she believes that climate change alarmists should be more humble when it comes to how much we as human beings *can* do. She often mentions how a critical approach towards the science being presented in the media should be taken, and how scientific discoveries creating a skepticism towards the severity of climate change also should be heard, which all together could indicate a scientific discourse. Further, she is stating that climate change alarmists are pathetically hypocritical if they believe that small steps like recycling paper-coffee-cups can help save the climate. This followed by her sarcastic tone is further connected to a condescending narrative about the climate alarmists taking useless actions towards saving the planet.

### **Speech 2: Naomi Seibt - “Freedom in a climate of crisis”**

The speech was held by Naomi Seibt from her home in Germany during Easter transmitted through her YouTube channel. In her speech Seibt is approaching all freedom lovers all over the world and does not want leaders, or ‘dictators’ as she says, to affect our freedom in general - also regarding the freedom to be skeptical. The message she focuses on throughout her speech is that we should not give up hope or fear for our freedom because of mandatory policies and restrictions. She continues saying that we should be each other’s teachers instead of listening to the ‘dictators’ and make responsible choices – since we are still Masters of our own freedom. Further she claims that freedom implies the duty to act responsibly. She ends her speech by emphasizing that cherishing freedom equates to inspiring hope in humanity and reminds everyone not to panic but instead to think.

Throughout Naomi Seibt's speech the choice of words can be categorized as being relatively strong. Reading the speech makes it clear that her choice of words and her tone appears to be powerful; *"and this is the message that I want to focus on today. This does not mean that we have to give up hope. And that we have to fear for our freedom"* (app. 2: 8). With the latter quote a categorical modality is uncovered, where Seibt expresses power to some extent. She claims that she has a message on which she wants citizens to focus on which captures recipients' attention. Further she emphasizes that 'we' should not give up hope, and that it is essential that we fear for our freedom. Saying it that way causes the truth of the statement to be taken for granted.

Seibt keeps reminding everyone not to give up on hope and our freedom and continues *"We are free as long as we stay true to ourselves, and we protect our minds from the biggest virus, of all - irrational panic."* (app. 2: 8). But instead stay true to ourselves – and in that way we will protect our minds from the biggest virus – irrational panic. By irrational she refers to the 'panic' around climate change issues and further to the climate alarmists.

She also addresses the recipients directly by using the words 'you' and 'yours' and includes them as an active participant in the 'conversation'. This happens throughout her whole speech when talking to all freedom lovers from all over the world; *"Freedom starts with you and your courage to speak up in the face of injustice and misinformation."* (app. 2: 8). With this statement Seibt makes it clear that freedom starts with you and your courage and that you should always speak up for your own freedom, by questioning the information flow from different angles globally, for instance the climate scientists she refers to as *"self proclaimed experts"* (app. 2:9) or governments forcing mandatory and unjustified policies upon citizens. In the following example she makes it clear that we should all learn from each other, instead of rulers or people who behave in an autocratic way, but instead make responsible choices; *"Let us be teachers to one another instead of dictators, make the responsible choice to wear protective gear and to avoid social gatherings, your freedom is still in your hands"* (app. 2: 8). In the same quote she also mentions 'protective gear' perhaps also in the sense that human beings should protect themselves from the, according to Seibt, misinformation flourishing in society regarding climate change and the panic around it, in order to preserve our freedom to be skeptical.

Seibt also uses rewording and concatenation with words such as ‘fear’ and ‘panic’ can be categorized as being within the same semantic group, and further ‘leaders’ and dictators’; *“But fear and panic incentivize us to believe our leaders, dictators, blindly. The Corona pandemic and climate alarmism as well, are both examples of terror causing the spread of misinformation. Unnecessary hyperbole skews our perception of the real situation.”* (app. 2:8) and ‘consequences’ and ‘punishment’ *“We only learn to fear the consequences of legal punishment”* (app. 2:8) which underlines the powerful but also the negative tone of the subject. Concatenation is important for a sentence to be ‘strong’ and have good arguments. It can be compared to an army that needs cohesion in order to come off as being strong, which means it will need strong soldiers (like the nouns in sentences), a general who knows his strategy (verbs) and good communication between the parts in the army (meaning of the sentence). The quotes above hold some ideological significance, for instance when Seibt mentions ‘dictators’ or believing blindly in our leaders and combined with her focus throughout her speech on the importance of freedom and the right to be skeptical and have plural opinions, it could hold attributes from authoritarianism. Authoritarianism is when the government is characterized by central power and lack of political freedoms (Cerutti, 2017).

Seibt argues that *“We can't afford to let cherry pick data and false statistics impact our perception of reality and distract us from the real issues. We can't afford to neglect victims of other diseases and tragedies. Therefore, we need to fight for flow of free information, and a power balance between all sides of any debate one-sided pseudo arguments are poisonous to our society, and to our freedom. Don't let a big government and self-proclaimed experts rule your understanding of the world”* (app 2:8-9). It is clear that with this statement she creates a categorical modality as she claims that statistics of climate scientists are false, which is portrayed as a subjective truth causing the truth of the statement to be accepted blindly. Some overwording or concatenation is also being done as Seibt mentions the phrase ‘we can’t afford’ several times in linked sentences.

Seibt states that *“This does not mean that we have to give up hope. (...) We are free as long as we stay true to ourselves, and we protect our minds from the biggest virus, of all - irrational panic”* and continues *“We only learn to fear the consequences of legal punishment. But fear and panic incentivize us to believe our leaders, dictators, blindly the Corona panic*

*demnick and climate alarmism as well (...)*” (app 2:8). It is clear with this statement she is mentioning ‘we’ and ‘us’, which is creating a bond or possibility for the recipient to relate. Furthermore, she is using categorical modality which is seen in the following example; “*We can be environmentally friendly, health conscious, and pro human to help each other build a better world for ourselves and others. And we do not have to sacrifice our freedom to achieve that goal. Kindness and compassion, do not have to be enforced*” (app 2:9) she is using categorical modality which expresses power and strives towards establishing power, by stating that we *can* be simultaneously environmentally friendly, health conscious and respect human diversity and freedom all at once. Sacrifices of basic rights, such as freedom to be skeptical towards for example climate change issues. Furthermore, dysphemism is being used when Seibt mentions how kindness and compassion does not have to be ‘enforced’. The word ‘enforced’ is negatively toned and stands in strong contrast to the words ‘kindness’ and ‘compassion’. It is a dysphemistic expression in the sense that ‘enforced’ is a choice of word that emphasizes the negative over the more neutral tone, for example by using words such as ‘urged’.

To sum up it is relevant to highlight her frequent use of ‘freedom’ and independence as important factors in humanity, and further that freedom must not be equated with carelessness, but instead with the duty to act responsibly, which is leading to an indication of a freedom discourse. This followed by Seibt emphasizing how panic and fear should be used as a tool to restrict freedom, leads to indication of the discourse of panic.

### **Speech 3: Naomi Seibt - her journey to climate realism**

Naomi Seibt held this speech in Madrid, the site of UN’s COP25 where she spoke about how she became a climate skeptic when she realized that recycling and small actions could not save the planet. She also realized how feminism and climate change amongst other topics are related and pave the way for a totalitarianism which eventually led her to become a climate skeptic due to the lack of freedom. Furthermore she addresses the issue of self proclaimed scientists and how citizens blindly acknowledge their utterings based on mere assumptions.

In the first line of her speech Seibt’s states: “*(...) I grew up around the climate change hysteria.*” (app. 2:9) whereby she discredits the attention around climate change by calling it

‘climate change hysteria’. Hysteria is defined as “*extreme fear, excitement, anger, etc. that cannot be controlled*” (cambridge dictionary, 2020) and it is predominantly interpreted as something negative. Hereby Seibt uses a dysphemism, a substitution of words making the phrase more condescending or offensive, in order to make a clearer statement regarding climate change. She chooses the word ‘hysteria’ instead of situation or attention, which are more neutral, and by doing this a more unjustified and negative attention around climate change is revealed. It could also be interpreted as sarcasm, since the word hysteria is so negatively toned and exaggerated, and often conjoined with the image of psychological diagnoses amongst women. This sarcasm can be observed several places in the speech, for instance with the quote “*I thought that by hugging the trees, I could save the planet which, quite frankly, turned out not to be true.*” (app. 2:9-10). By choosing the phrase ‘to hug trees’ instead of living more sustainably, and ‘quite frankly’ to really emphasize that hugging them did not help (even though most people are fully aware of that) a sarcastic tone is detected.

Throughout her speech, Seibt presents phrases that are of ideological significance. For instance “*And once you start exploring these political topics that are more on the right,(...) things spiral out of control and you go down the path of understanding that many topics such as feminism, gender, socialism, postmodernism and climate change hysteria - They're all related in some way, and paved the way for a very bad kind of totalitarianism. And I always loved science as well so naturally I had to become a climate change denier, a skeptic. Science is entirely based on intellectual humility and it is important that we keep questioning the narrative that is out there instead of promoting it. And these days, climate change science really isn't a science at all.*” (app. 2:10). With this quote Naomi Seibt claims that she came to understand how many topics such as feminism, climate change hysteria and socialism are alike, and that they pave the way for totalitarianism not allowing any other thoughts or oppositions such as climate skepticism. Furthermore totalitarianism exercises a high degree of control over private and public life, and Seibt hereby claims that she had to take a stand in a way and become a climate change denier, a skeptic. She also claims that climate change science is not real science at all which is a subjective truth together with questioning the narrative being put out. It causes the truth of the statement to be taken for granted by the recipient and is categorized by Fairclough as a categorical modality. “*That is an insult to the complexity of nature, and most importantly, it is an insult to freedom of speech.*” (app. 2:10)

is another quote underlining her reasons to become a skeptic, as she mentions how the debates about climate change are being shut down and that it is an insult to freedom of speech and complexities. Seibt states that “*Climate change alarmism at its very core is a very despicably anti human ideology*” (app. 2:10) and dismisses climate change alarmism as an anti-human ideology, saying that it dismisses the essentials of human existence including freedom, aspiration and perhaps success, since she continues: “*And we are told to look upon our achievements with guilt, with shame and disgust and not even take into account the many major benefits we have gained from using fossil fuels as our main energy source.*” (app. 2:10). In the same quote she uses re-wording to emphasize the negative look we should have upon our achievements ‘guilt’, ‘shame’, ‘disgust’ are all more or less equally describing the same feeling.

The words ‘science’ and ‘scientists’ are frequently used in her speech, and thereby emphasized, which as mentioned before in accordance to Fairclough can help place responsibility. It can be interpreted here as the responsibility for causing climate change hysteria since “*(...) climate change science isn’t really science at all. Those self-proclaimed scientists. (...) they base their assumptions on completely incoherent models which is just an insult to science itself.*” (app. 2:10). It is important that Seibt distinguishes between ‘real’ scientists and science, and those supporting climate alarmism. She has “*always loved science*” (app. 2:10) but only real science, therefore she had to become a climate skeptic due to the wrongful methods of those mentioned above - “*(...) and scientists, real scientists, lose their jobs for performing the most genuine and innocent form of science there is which is just real science, real skepticism.*” (app. 2:10).

Naomi Seibt also implicitly presents an us vs. them constellation, but according to her utterings the ‘us’ are those who are free to think themselves, those who are not condoning climate change alarmism, and the ‘them’ consists of the scientists researching in the wrong way jumping to conclusions together with those condoning that and believing in them. Further, she distinguishes the two groups: “*We’re living in such an amazing era of fast progress and innovation, and we’re not allowed to be proud of that at all.*” (app. 2:10) stating that ‘they’ are saying that the ‘we’ are not allowed to be proud of the innovation and progress that came with fossil fuel, insinuating that those who are not proud of it are the climate

alarmists, since they care more about cutting greenhouse gas emissions and the use of fossil fuels dismissing the pride, progress and innovation that came with it.

To sum up the last speech by Naomi Seibt it is relevant to highlight her often used references to ideological matters such as anti-human, totalitarian etc. claiming that society and climate alarmists dismiss the essence of human existence, such as freedom and aspiration leading to indications of anti-human and anti-oppositional discourses. This leads to the dismissive tone towards ignoring the progress and innovation that came with for instance fossil fuel indicating tendencies of success- and innovation discourses. And by referring to the perception and assessment of climate change as *hysteria*, she highlights that it is not *that* severe and emphasizes her sarcastic tone throughout her speeches.

### 7.1.1 The discursive practice

In this level of analysis, the discursive practice, the connection between the text and social practice is mediated. The discursive analysis revolves around the process of producing, consuming and distributing text. Our view upon the subject can change the way we hear and talk about a certain subject, and a text is most certainly always interpreted. Furthermore the already existing discourses within the text are being investigated, and it is being determined which discourses the text possibly includes.

Through the text analysis evidence was found of a philosophical discourse, difference discourse, anti-oppositional discourse, responsibility discourse, panic discourse, freedom discourse, anti-human discourse and political discourses about climate change and decision-makers. Further, a scientific discourse was prominent in both speakers' texts. Multiple statements regarding goals of lowered greenhouse gas emissions, a 'greener' planet, scientific discoveries creating a skepticism towards climate change, freedom meaning the way that scientists present the skeptic side of the story, and that all scientists should be heard instead of just "*scratching at the surface of a deep scientific, complex topic*" (app. 2:7) were mentioned. This is all being mentioned in order to support the message of the speeches, either being that climate change is serious and currently happening with scientific proof, or that realism or skepticism towards it should be taken into consideration also due to scientific discoveries. This is being done in order to legitimize one of the opinions depending on who

the author is, either Thunberg or Seibt, that climate change is a serious crisis or that it is just a made up panic and establishing the scientific embeddedness of the reasons and the degree of dangers of climate change.

As part of the scientific discourse found in Thunberg's third speech, she mentions how she and the younger generation wants politicians to listen to the scientists: "*We want them (politicians) to talk to the scientists instead (of the younger generation and Thunberg). Listen to them. Because we are just repeating what they are saying, and have been saying for decades.*" (app. 1:4), since the scientists have been warning us for decades. Those statements support the severity of climate change.

With the quote stated above, another discourse is being included - political discourse. Political discourse is the formal trading of reasoned views upon which of several alternative courses of action should be taken in order to solve a societal problem (Johnson, 2000). To Thunberg, climate change is a societal problem and she believes that political decisions should be made and regulations should be imposed based upon what scientists have discovered and she criticizes how politicians "*sweep their mess under the carpet for our generation to clean up themselves.*" (app. 1:6). To Seibt climate alarmism is a societal issue causing citizens to panic and she urges them to stop letting political instances colour their perception of the world; "*Don't let a big government and self proclaimed experts rule your understanding of the world.*" (app.2:9). The courses of action she proposes are that all perspectives of science and research should be taken into consideration before creating fear and panic in society. Thunberg, on the other hand, proposes that all emissions of greenhouse gasses must stop, and that more concrete laws and regulations should be imposed by the decision-makers.

The discourse of difference, or as referred to in the first part of the analysis as 'the us vs. them constellation', is indeed seen throughout the speeches as well. Thunberg divides people into two groups: the decision-makers vs. the younger generation who are perhaps more or less powerless or those who profit from fossil fuel business vs. those suffering under climate change issues and especially those living in areas affected by changes in weather caused from climate change. Throughout her speeches she presents conflicting states of mind and roles of both these groups, for instance that "*it is the sufferings of the many which pay for the luxuries*

*of the few*” (app. 1:1). Here is a clear division between the groups - those who suffer and those who harvest benefits from it. Seibt also makes such a division; the climate alarmists vs. climate skeptics/realists or ‘fake’ climate scientists vs. ‘real’ climate scientists or another grouping; those who are coloured and affected by what is portrayed in the media vs. those who are ‘free’ to think and question the narratives about climate change being portrayed in society. Here is a clear division between the groups as well.

The division of groups in both authors’ speeches gives an illusion of an ongoing battle or competition between the groups. Furthermore, in Thunberg’s us vs. them constellation the ‘us’ is being portrayed as a group trying to speed up the process of saving the planet, and the ‘them’ not doing enough to speed up the process: *“If you think that we should be in school instead, then we suggest that you take our place in the streets, striking from your work. Or better yet, join us so we can speed up the process”* (app. 1:6). In general throughout her speeches, Thunberg insists that we as human beings have failed, and that not much yet has been done right: *“And on climate change we have to acknowledge that we have failed.”* (app. 1:2).

In addition to the discourse of difference, the anti-oppositional discourse is worth highlighting. An oppositional discourse is when differences are being embraced and accepted combined with working on the tensions stemming from differences and contradictions, while set ideas can result in shifts in opinions and new understandings. The anti-oppositional discourse found in the speeches focuses more on the differences being polarities and on not embracing diversity. Both Thunberg and Seibt seem very certain that their way of doing things is the right one, opposed to the other group. Thunberg opposes both decision-makers *“All political movements in their present form have done so (failed).”* (app. 1:2) and at the same time she opposes those who are skeptical towards the danger of the climate change crisis *“Many people are trying to make the school strikes a question of whether we are promoting truancy whether we should go back to school or not. They make up all sorts of conspiracies, and call us puppets who cannot think for ourselves. They are desperately trying to remove the focus from the climate crisis and change the subject.”* (app. 1:4). It is clear that she insists that the only right thing to do is to change the way human beings are dealing with climate change right now. Seibt insists that climate change scientists are not real scientists as they bring forward results that have not even been tested or confirmed in order to promote

climate change alarmism: *“And these days climate change science isn’t really science at all. (...) And that’s why we are here today, to speak up and to bring the spirit of science back to life again.”* (app. 2:10). And when she states that *“fear and panic incentivize us to believe our leaders, dictators, blindly. The Corona pandemic, and climate alarmism as well, are both examples of terror causing the spread of misinformation. Unnecessary hyperbole skews our perception of the real situation.”* (app. 2:8) she emphasizes how the leaders or decision-makers are dictators forcing people through fear and panic to have certain opinions, and compares climate alarmism to a terror causing misinformation to be spread combined with exaggerated claims that are not meant to be taken literally. This all together is a clear expression of who takes the wrong actions and who does not, and perhaps to what degree climate change should be taken seriously. Therefore, an anti-oppositional discourse being presented could be argued for.

Through the text analysis several justifiable discourses were identified. Throughout Thunberg’s speeches there is clear evidence of a responsibility discourse. Responsibility as a moral motive for social action indicates a high level of human moral conscience. And that becomes perfectly clear when reading through Thunberg’s speeches, for instance through statements such as: *“Even when the only sensible thing to do is to pull the emergency brake”* (app. 1:1) or *“Even that burden you leave to us children”* (app. 1:1) or *“Maybe they will ask (i.e. Thunberg’s children) why you didn’t do anything while there was still time to act.”* (app. 1:1) where she uses the phrase ‘only sensible thing to do’ indicating a responsibility of doing something about an issue, or the word ‘burden’ indicating that the climate change issue is a sour duty, or when she mentions how her children will hold her responsible in the future for doing something about the issue or for not having done anything about it. It is definitely a moral and social responsibility she addresses. Both because it can have consequences for her own children and loved ones and because it has consequences for the entire group - human beings.

The discourse of panic is indeed seen throughout the speeches as well. Seibt mentions the discourse of panic in all of her speeches; *“It’s all about fear mongering and using panic as a tool to restrict our freedoms and to fight against our right to be sceptics.”* (app. 2:7). With this statement she believes that everyone should use their fear and panic as a tool to restrict

freedom. She continues *“stop spreading panic before looking into the science, before immersing yourself in the research.”* (app. 2:7). Here she argues that these predictions of dire consequences are exaggerated. She also states that *“fear and panic incentivize us to believe our leaders, dictators, blindly. The Corona pandemic, and climate alarmism as well, are both examples of terror causing the spread of misinformation. Unnecessary hyperbole skews our perception of the real situation.”* (app. 2:8) she emphasizes how the leaders are dictators forcing people through fear and panic to have certain opinions and she also here argues that these predictions of dire consequences are exaggerated. Through most of all Seibt’s speeches she ends her appearance with *“I don’t want you to panic. I want you to think.”* (app. 2:8) with this statement it is clear that she insists that people do not panic but instead think critically based on their own incitements. Thunberg on the other hand wants people to panic, because she emphasizes climate change as a very serious crisis. *“I want you to panic, I want you to feel the fear I feel every day.”* (app. 1:4). She continues warning people by stating *“you say you love your children above all else and yet you’re stealing their future in front of their very eyes. Until you start focusing on what needs to be done rather than what is politically possible there is no hope.”* (app. 1:1-2) Here she is stating that she does not believe that there is any hope before people start seeing climate change for what it is – a crisis. Therefore, a panic discourse being presented in the speeches could be argued for.

The discourse of freedom is also important to highlight. Especially through Seibt speeches the discourse of freedom is seen *“we as climate realists, our agenda is just fighting for freedom.”* (app. 2:7) she continues with *“it’s all about fear mongering and using panic as a tool to restrict our freedoms and to fight against our right to be sceptics. (...) freedom starts with you and your courage to speak up in the face of injustice and misinformation.”* (app. 2:8) this statement along with many other statements mentioning freedom by Seibt, makes it clear that the idea of freedom and independence plays a strong and important role for Seibt. This is also the case in her speech held during Easter where she mentions freedom in her first line *“Hello freedom lovers from all over the world and Happy Easter to all of you.”* (app. 2:8). She also believes that freedom must not be equated with carelessness, but instead freedom should involve the duty to act responsibly *“freedom is not to be equated with carelessness. Freedom implies the duty to act responsibly.”* (app. 2:8). The last example of Seibt using freedom as a discourse is when she is mentioning freedom of speech at the end of

one of her speeches; *“that is an insult to the complexity of nature, and most importantly, it is an insult to the freedom of speech.”* (app. 2:10). With this statement she highlights that she wants to debate and talk to people, because she emphasizes bringing the spirit of science and freedom back to life again.

As mentioned above, Seibt addresses totalitarianism, which exercises a high degree of control over private and public life, and states that *“Climate change alarmism at its very core is a very despicably anti human ideology”* (app. 2:10) and dismisses climate change alarmism as an anti-human ideology, saying that it dismisses the essentials of human existence including freedom, aspiration and perhaps success, since she continues: *“And we are told to look upon our achievements with guilt, with shame and disgust and not even take into account the many major benefits we have gained from using fossil fuels as our main energy source.”* (app. 2:10). Therefore, it could also be argued that anti-humanism is a discourse to be found throughout her speeches. She focuses a lot on freedom of speech and choice, and being able to choose not to join the global popular panic that climate alarmists are endeavouring. Furthermore, as mentioned in the quote above, Seibt implies that human beings today are encouraged to feel ashamed of the progress and innovation they have experienced, for instance through the innovation that came with fossil fuel. She states that *“we’re living in such an amazing era of fast progress of innovation”* (app.2:10) whereby the innovation discourse comes into play. According to Seibt, the progress and innovation that came along with fossil fuel is something that climate alarmists want to shut down and make us feel ashamed of. As she mentions ‘scientific progress’ and urging citizens to keep questioning the narrative ‘out there’ it can once again be argued that innovation is a discourse present in Seibt’s speeches. In Thunberg’s speeches on the other hand, innovation discourse has also been detected but in a slightly different matter. Innovation can be defined as *“creation or implementation of something that changes the established method or perception, for instance of technical or scientific kind”* (Den Danske Ordbog, 2018) and it is safe to say, that Thunberg wants to implement new actions and change how decision-makers treat the climate change crisis for instance by implementing new laws or changing the focus upon fossil fuels from being economically beneficial to being a plague (app. 1:1).

The apocalyptic discourse and biblical is applied in both speakers' texts but in different ways. Thunberg portrays and compares climate change issues to apocalypse by using keywords such as shame, sacrifice, no hope etc. where it could be argued that she implicitly is using the bible for references and therefore intertextuality.

Seibt looks upon it with an apocalyptic view in the way that if humans lose their freedom all life on earth is over. She states that "*If we disregard moral principles in a free society harm will come our way (...)*" (app. 2:8) and "*We've heard it today, they draw their conclusions before even testing their hypothesis, (...) And I believe, unfortunately that the goal is to shame humanity. Climate change alarmism, at its very core, is a very despicable anti human ideology.*" (app. 2:10) both statements underlining how freedom includes the right to think freely. For instance to question research displayed in society or the media. She also states that climate change alarmism with its lack of critical approach to various research or the freedom to doubt it without being a minority thinking wrongly, is an anti-human ideology.

In some of Seibt's quotes cited above she uses words such as 'guilt' and 'shame' wherefore it could also be argued that she as well refers to the bible implicitly: "*we are told to look down at our achievements with guilt , with shame and disgust, and not even to take into account the many major benefits we have achieved by using fossil fuels as our main energy source.*" (app. 2:7). Here she mentions shame and guilt which draws lines to the Fall of Man, a concept explaining how Adam and Eve were forbidden by God to eat from the tree of life and the tree of knowledge whereafter they would obtain knowledge and enlightenment and afterwards degrade from a utopian paradise-like state into a more beastly and infantile state (Stéfanson, 2009). It could be interpreted in a way that Seibt praises this enlightenment and knowledge, and that it is something that should not be referred to as guilt or shameful. Further, it could be interpreted that the biblical or christian references could insinuate a typical western discourse.

Throughout Thunberg's speeches it can also be interpreted as if a biblical/apocalyptic discourse is being revealed. By mentioning that there is no hope, that we are running out of time, and mentioning sacrifices being made for others it could be interpreted that intertextuality comes at play here. It can be argued for that her phrases carry biblical messages with them, and since apocalyptic prophecies were entirely pessimistic about present conditions (Berry, 1943) it can be equally compared to Thunberg's tone in her speeches. She uses the bible as a reference in order to explain the severity of the situation.

When several discourses are present like here it is what Fairclough describes as *interdiscursivity* (Fairclough, 2008:68). Interdiscursivity means that several discourses are present in the texts and mixed at once, associated with institutional and social meanings in a single text. Interdiscursivity, with the opportunity for endless combination of discourses and genres, is limited by the state of hegemonic relations and hegemonic struggle (Fairclough 2010:95). Fairclough distinguishes between intertextuality where other texts are included explicitly in the communicative event and interdiscursivity where other types of discourse are brought in implicitly yet still affecting the production of the communicative event causing it to possibly generate new discourses and genres by retransforming the existing ones.

Manifest intertextuality is present in Thunberg's second and third speech for instance when she mentions that "*According to the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) we are less than 12 years away from not being able to undo our mistakes.*" (app. 1:2) or The Paris Agreement (app.1:2). It is categorized as 'manifest' since another text is directly and specifically included in the speech. Intertextuality is the text's ability to assign similarities or differences to other texts with the purpose of establishing a constituting addition to pre-existing texts. Here, Thunberg mentions the Paris Agreement which describes that planet Earth should not exceed a rise in temperature more than 2, and preferably 1,5 degrees celsius. By mentioning this, she strengthens her own arguments and the necessity of it. By mentioning the IPCC it can be argued that she uses ethos as a mode of persuasion in order to convince recipients through the authority and credibility that the UN or IPCC holds.

Force is the element explaining how texts are possibly using relations to affect recipients to render, adopt or acknowledge certain opinions. According to Fairclough the context here is significant, as it can reduce the ambivalence of interpretation. Thunberg held her speeches in front of EU policymakers at the European Economic and Social Committee, and therefore it seems tactically smart to address decision-makers for instance by telling them how all their previous decisions have been wrong (app. 1:1), how our civilization is being sacrificed for the opportunity of making money (app. 1:1), how the politics we need are nowhere in sight (app. 1:3), and CO2 emissions and carbon budgets. She also addresses bad rhetorics and that "*now is not the time to speak politely (...) Now is the time to speak clearly.*" (app. 1:3), "*We need*

*new politics. We need new economics where everything is based on a rapidly declining and extremely limited remaining carbon budget.*” (app. 1:5) and “*Our political leaders have wasted decades*” (app. 1:6). It is clear how Thunberg attempts to encourage decision-makers to ‘up their game’ and to make laws and decisions based on the common good of those supporting them. Further she often uses the word ‘civilization’ referring to a culturally and socially developed stage for human beings which must be the goal of every decision-maker or world leader. Moreover, it should be clarified that Thunberg has a massive segment of followers and that her speeches are available for everyone online, meaning that her communication reaches outside just those present at the conferences in Davos and Brussels at the time the speech was held. By locking in on certain discourses and texts the authors of the speeches can benefit from already existing opinions or consensus present in the recipient. For instance by mentioning that ‘personal freedom is essential’ (app. 2:8) or that ‘the power belongs to the people’ (app 1:2).

Seibt held her speeches in front of CPAC (The Conservative Political Action Conference), an annual political conference attended by activists and elected officials, and at Heartland Institute which was the site of the UN's COP25, and finally her second speech was transmitted via her own YouTube channel online. Her recipients were both decision-makers such as elected officials, but also citizens who have access to YouTube. She as well has many followers and reaches out to a large audience. At the speeches held in front of decision-makers Seibt often mentions CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (app. 2:7) and that “*it’s all about fear mongering, and using panic as a tool to restrict our freedoms and to fight against our right to be skeptics. And to impose policies on us (...)*” (app. 2:7). All points of view relevant to the recipients, as she tries to have them acknowledge that skepticism towards climate change is reasonable and that they too should have the freedom to think and question what is said about climate change.

Coherence in the speeches is seen, for instance in Thunberg’s speeches when she places decision-makers/world leaders in subject positions as those who have the power to make laws improving the climate conditions. All humans are also put in the position as those who have both the responsibility and power to change climate conditions for the better. The difference between those two is, that only some human beings choose to take actions towards saving the

planet, but the decision-makers have the power to impose bettering actions upon all human beings.

Seibt presents subject positions in the way that climate skeptics are free since they have made a choice not to follow climate alarmists panicking on the basis of self proclaimed scientists' utterings. She states that "*fear and panic incentivize us to believe our leaders, dictators, blindly.*" (app. 2:8) positioning decision-makers as dictators, climate alarmists as submissive and climate skeptics as free and independent. Recipients are affected to acknowledge it, and world leaders are characterized as dictators. This interpellation happens in a forum consisting of YouTube followers that are perhaps already on her side which only strengthens her statement and lessens the ambivalence of it.

### **7.1.2 Social practice**

In the following, on the third level of analysis, the social practice will be investigated together with how some of these discourses might have a connection to tendencies in modern society. As it has been accounted for previously in this thesis, the historical and societal frames for climate change creates a certain context for the recipients of both Seibt and Thunberg's speeches. The social practice has an indubitable influence on how 'reality' is portrayed in the discursive practice illustrating the interacting and intertwined relationship between the two practices. In the analysis of the social practice it will accordingly be investigated how some of the discourses uncovered through the two previous levels of analysis might have a connection to tendencies in modern society such as climate change communication or activism.

Today climate change is a very well discussed subject all over the world, and especially in Brussels since decision-makers of The European Commission are located there. Further, climate change is also something most people – especially the younger generation have an opinion about. To protect the future of our climate we have the Paris Agreement, The European Green deal, organisational climate laws etc. to secure clean air, safe drinking water, nutritious food supply etc. In the last years more and more from the younger generation started joining the debate and especially Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt have made a big impression, not only on all citizens but especially on the decision-makers. Given this expansion of interest, a certain context has been created to the recipients of the speeches. The

society indubitably influences how reality is spoken about in the social practice. Both Thunberg and Seibt are speaking about climate change in their speeches and they both manage to create a relation between the recipients and the statements they make.

The western discourse mentioned above in line with biblical references, could insinuate a trending focus on western privileges and perks compared to far-East countries for instance. Both Seibt and Thunberg refers to this, for instance Seibt with the quote; “*And it’s all (i.e. the redundant steps they take to save the climate) negated by your very very privileged lifestyle that you seem to not be able to take for granted.*” (app. 2:7) and Thunberg states how the biosphere is being sacrificed “*so that people in rich countries like mine can live in luxury.*” (app. 1:1). They both mention this western privilege, but Thunberg dismisses it and argues that it is not fair or advantageous while Seibt means that it should be taken for granted and embraced, and that human beings should not demonize those privileges such as dependency on cheap and reliable energy sources.

The sub-element in the social practice called *context* aims to contextualize the textual and discursive practice in relation to societal tendencies as mentioned earlier in the section about the model of analysis. Through the textual analysis and discursive practice it became clear that climate change issues have two angles. Whether it is that climate change entails a crisis and a matter of life and death of both human beings and the planet as Thunberg argues, or that climate change is just a natural phenomenon that has happened as long as the planet has existed and that it is blown out of proportions causing fear and panic to spread, as Seibt claims. The focus on climate change issues is inevitably a societal tendency in current time, as it cannot be avoided in everyday life through media, social media and popular conversations. Perhaps even more amongst the younger generation engaging in climate activism and social movements showing that they are ready to take action in order to secure the future. The discourses of panic and responsibility are contextualized in regards to all of this, since panic is both acting as a way of urging citizens and decision-makers to take action immediately, but also in the way that they should not be panicking but instead have a critical and skeptical approach to the information being put forward as there are always several sides of the same coin. Responsibility is also worth mentioning here since Thunberg clearly has the opinion that all human beings should own up to their responsibility and take action towards

saving the planet from destruction caused by human innovations such as fossil fuel. Seibt on the contrary argues that human beings should take responsibility in the way that they should be proud of the innovations that have brought process and prosperity to society's development and further to take responsibility for being enlightened and critical instead of just jumping on the wagon of one-sided opinions.

Climate change issues is a relatively new debate wherefore an ambivalence arises in regards to Seibt and Thunberg's attempts to create affinity (in Fairclough's terminology) between recipients and the subject of climate change. Most members of the younger generation were born into or raised under the debates about climate change, so they have a natural connection to it and climate change debates have always been a part of their social context. But older generations probably grew up without caring that much about recycling and ending greenhouse gas emissions, and to them this might seem as a completely new issue causing the severity of it to seem smaller.

Naomi Seibt states in her third speech that; *"And of course, as a German girl, the word denier carries a lot of weight, and today it is considered an atrocious insult (...)"* (app. 2:9) referring to the historical events of the Second World War and perhaps even to the exact phrase 'holocaust denier' or denying your heritage. Holocaust deniers claim that Nazi authorities did not use extermination camps and gas chambers for a genocidal mass murder of Jews (Hull, 2017:181) and by referring to such a globally important historical event as the second world war, she creates affinity for recipients all over the world. It is safe to say that all schools or educational institutions have included world war 2 and Nazi authorities in their curricula whereas the subject is known worldwide, and even today approximately eight decades after the events of world war 2 we still see events, memorials, artefacts, museums, gruesome pictures and video clips from concentration camps, celebrations and other cultural 'reminders' of what happened in 1940-1945 causing it to be a part of the recipients' social context. Less than a month ago on May 4th the liberation was celebrated with cultural events involving light-art and symbolic gestures or traditions were performed in Danish homes, for example lighting candles in the windows as a symbol of celebration because of the liberation from the Nazi regime. So even though it is eight decades ago and many living human beings were not even present at the time of the second world war, it still has great significance for human beings today affirming the affinity Seibt tries to make by using it in her speech. The

ambivalence consists in Seibt managing to create affinity between recipients and the statement even though many of them were probably not even born at the time of the events in 1940-1945, and yet they feel the pain and importance of it.

Hegemony is about creating alliances and integrating instead of merely dominating. It can become a part of *common sense* meaning the ‘right’ way to talk about certain things. Furthermore, it paves the way for eternal battle between parts whether it is politically, economically or ideologically. There is a constant dispute around unstable points between groups through which alliances are either destroyed or formed. Through the analysis in this thesis it is ascertained that the instability between the climate realists/skeptics and climate alarmists/activists is the question about to what degree climate change should worry human beings. The first mentioned argues that climate change is not man-made while the second group argues that it is definitely man-made.

Hegemony can be established by disarming others. Throughout the speeches it is clear how Thunberg tries to disarm the climate skeptics by highlighting all the terrible things that will happen to our planet and that human life will end eventually, in fact in less than 12 years (app. 1:2) if we don’t take action against climate change. She even describes climate change as something we should all panic about and if we do nothing to prevent it, she claims that there is no hope in the world. On the other hand we see, through the speeches held by Seibt, how she tries to persuade people to be more climate realists instead of climate alarmists and not panic about it. Seibt even describes the defeat human beings have suffered by letting the media and society tell them how they should think and what they should believe in - causing them to panic. Hegemony as mentioned earlier can cause the creativity to be inhibited meaning that changing opinions or points of view will be rather difficult.

When Seibt in her second speech tries to win connection to and acceptance of the idea of climate alarmists as the bad guys she uses ideological means such as independence, freedom, liberalism and pro-humanity. “*We can be environmentally friendly, (...) and pro-human to help each other build a better world for ourselves and others. And we do not have to sacrifice our freedom to achieve that goal. Kindness and compassion do not have to be enforced. That is the anti-humanist essence of global socialist ideology (...)*” (app. 2:9) is a quote illustrating all of the ideological means mentioned above trending through all of Seibt’s speeches. In

other words, she portrays climate alarmists as anti-human, socialist, enforcing and not making room for freedom. Liberalism can be argued as the opposite of socialism as liberalism supports individualism and that each individual's freedom is of primary significance. Socialism on the contrary supports the idea that human beings operate most efficiently in groups regardless of the fact that it might cost them their freedom. It is clear that Thunberg argues the opposite as she states that "*those numbers do not include the aspect of equity which is absolutely necessary to make the Paris Agreement work on a global scale*" (app. 1:2). She highlights the importance of equity which can be equated with equality or being impartial and can be categorized as socialist attributes weighing higher than freedom.

Hegemony can be established by for instance disarming others with the purpose of getting as much influence as possible. Thunberg does this by criticizing both decision-makers being politicians and world leaders, climate skeptics and the older generation. She criticizes them for not doing enough and ignoring the fact that climate change is a crisis that needs action-taking immediately. Thunberg further forms alliances between climate activists, the younger generation and scientists by urging decision-makers to listen to the scientists as they know the facts and severity of climate change. Seibt disarms climate alarmists, global socialist ideology, self proclaimed scientists warning about climate change, and also decision-makers and the media for creating panic, fear and imposing policies and restrictions on citizens. The alliances Seibt constructs through her speeches are between 'real' scientists questioning the severity and causes of climate change issues and climate skeptics that are also 'free' and rightfully critical thinking. Furthermore, seibt addresses the power balance directly by saying how "*we need to fight for flow of free information and a power balance between all sides of any debate*" (app.2 :9) demanding that all sides should be heard and taken seriously instead of the majority of the debate consisting of the climate activists or simply those claiming that the severity of it is high. One thing the two speakers have in common is the disarming of decision-makers but with different angles.

The discourse of difference or the constellation of 'us vs. them' is indeed represented in the speeches as mentioned earlier. Both Thunberg and Seibt sort of parts people into two groups: the climate deniers/skeptics and the climate activists/alarmists. By doing this they are creating an out-group that for Seibt is the climate alarmists and Thunberg is the climate

deniers, and an in-group which for Seibt is the climate skeptics and for Thunberg is the climate activists. This is very easy to acknowledge throughout both Thunberg's and Seibt's speeches, and indeed interesting. In the speeches held by Thunberg she makes it clear that if people do not stop being skeptical towards climate change it will become an even bigger crisis, whereas Seibt believes that we should stop being climate alarmists and start being more skeptical.

In analytical work it is only relevant to look upon modes of persuasion if arguments and linguistic instruments are applied in the text. Therefore, including modes of persuasion in this thesis and analysis seemed plausible combined with Fairclough's critical discourse analysis on the text level.

Through Greta Thunberg's speeches it is clear that she is using pathos, which is seen in the following example *"You 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. Our civilization is being sacrificed for the opportunity with a very small number of people to continue making enormous amounts of money (...)"* (app. 1:1). And further in this example *"The year 2078 I will celebrate my 75th birthday. If I have children maybe they will spend that day with me. Maybe they will ask me about you. Maybe they will ask why you didn't do anything while there still was time to act. You say you love your children above all else and yet you're stealing their future in front of their very eyes. Until you start focusing on what needs to be done rather than what is politically possible there is no hope."* (app. 1:1-2) and *"We can create transformational action that will safeguard the future living conditions for humankind, or we can continue with our business as usual and fail. That is up to you and me."* (app. 1:3). These examples appeal to our emotions by making us aware of our own responsibilities. Thunberg continues *"We must change almost everything in our current societies. The bigger your carbon footprint is, the bigger your moral duty. The bigger your platform the bigger your responsibility."* (app. 1:3-4). This example shows that there is an emotional appeal, which is being used to persuade the audience to think that if they do not do anything to reduce their climate threatening footprint and luxury lifestyle it will destroy their planet by making them feel guilty.

Logos is also a rhetorical appeal being applied by persuading the readers with reason and logic, as Thunberg presents facts that explains how we can set off an inevitable chain reaction beyond human control and reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. *“To avoid that, unprecedented changes in all aspects of society need to have taken place within this coming decade, including a reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by at least 50% by the year 2030. And please note that those numbers do not include the aspect of equity, which is absolutely necessary to make the Paris Agreement work on a global scale.”* (app. 1:5). In these cases, ethos is also being used to convince the audience by coming off as reliable by using sources and authorities like the Paris Agreement.

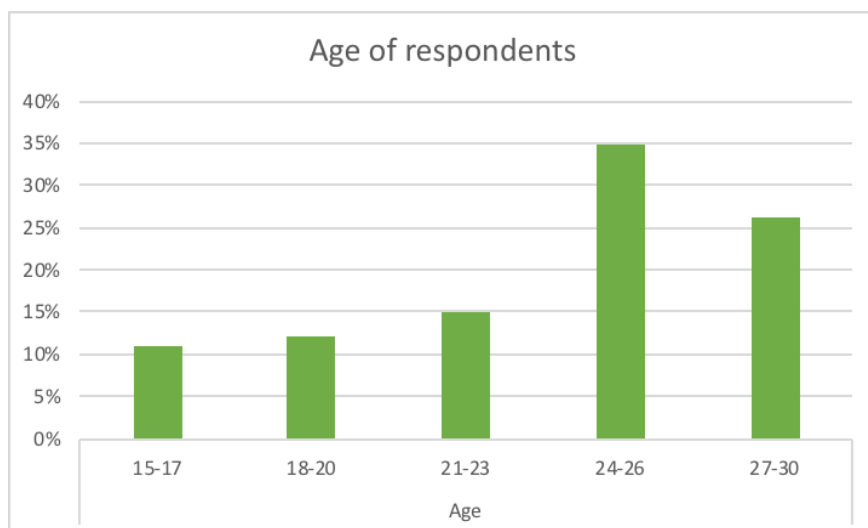
Naomi Seibt is also using modes of persuasion in her speeches, which the following example shows *“Freedom starts with you and your courage to speak up in the face of injustice and misinformation.”* (app. 2:8). This example shows that there is an emotional appeal, which is being used to persuade the audience to take action and make them feel guilty. Another example of using pathos is when she states that; *“I was an innocent young girl and I thought that by hugging the trees, I could save the planet which, quite frankly, turned out not to be true.”* (app. 2:9-10). Here Seibt is using her own story to persuade people to feel with her. She continues *“And I took pride in buying paper bags instead of plastic bags, but I didn't really make a change”* (app. 2:10) where she once again tells people about her own experiences, and by using an example from her own life she strengthens her arguments.

Through the CDA discourses were detected and climate change issues are a societal debate as it affects us all and that it is a societal problem. Thunberg thinks that it is up to the entire society to work together towards evading climate change consequences making her statements general and condescending while Seibt knows that she belongs to a minority of society consisting of skeptics which makes her statements more defending. Seibt emphasizes the importance of freedom to think critically and question the majority's points of view, while clinging to the argument that we should not be ashamed of the progress we as humans have made. She includes personal experience while Thunberg speaks more generally with focus on the outcome of the future. Thunberg believes that scientists dictate the future, while Seibt again emphasizes how science should be assessed critically.

## 7.2 Survey analysis

This survey analysis refers to the process of analyzing this thesis' survey results from respondents between the age of 15-30. The importance of this survey is best framed by examining respondents' way of responding when facing different subjects, which in this case is climate change. This survey gives the respondents the opportunity to state their opinions which gives us the possibility to analyze and discuss how the younger generation from within the European Union communicate climate change to a global audience and what the dominating habits, opinions and behavioral patterns amongst the younger generation in regards to climate change are.

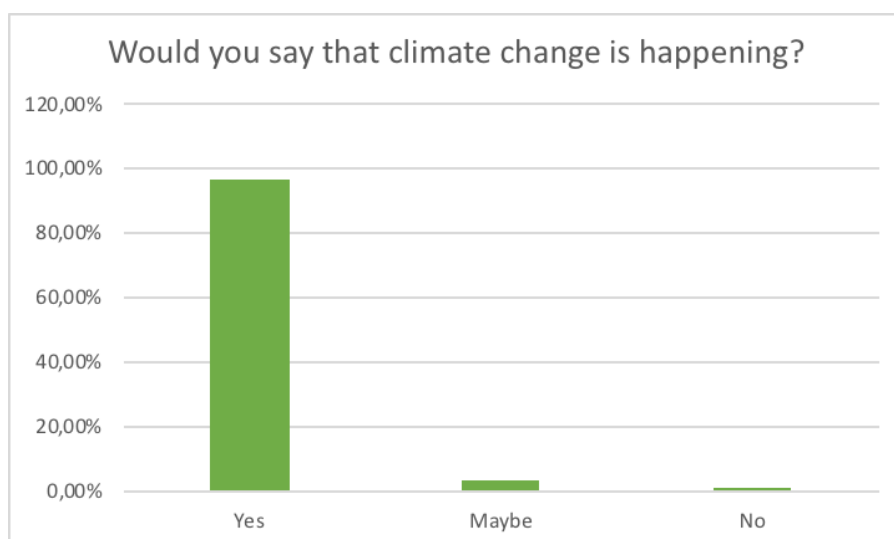
When analyzing data from qualitative and quantitative surveys, it is interesting to look at the respondents, their age and where they are from. The aim and the idea of this study was to analyze the younger generation and their habits, opinions and communication, which in this thesis is defined as the age group from 15-30. From the survey it is clear that most respondents who have answered the questions are from the age between 24-26. This group represents 34,8% of all responses (app. 3.3) whereas the one with fewest responses is the age group between 15-17 and only consists of 11% of all responses (see figure 1). The reason for this could be that the younger generation from the age group between 15-17 are not allowed to use Facebook by their parents since they have legal authority over them until the age of 18, whereas the age group between 24-26 are their own legal guardians. The age group who have also answered relatively many questions are young respondents from the age between 27-30, which consists of 26,2%. The survey also illustrates where the younger generation answering the questions are from, which includes countries such as: Denmark, Belgium, India, Ukraine, Vietnam, Pakistan, Sweden, Australia, The Netherlands and Portugal, but since the thesis is from a European perspective, only the European respondents have been used in this analysis. The survey clearly shows that most respondents are from countries within the European Union.



**Figure 1.** Diagram showing the correlation between age and response rates.

**Source:** own fabrication of diagram based on the responses from the survey.

The first question of the survey was about the respondents' age as mentioned above, and the second question in the survey was a 'yes – maybe – or no question', where the respondent was asked to answer if they thought that climate change was happening. This question showed that a percentage of 96,3 answered 'yes', 3,0% answered 'maybe' and 0,6% answered 'no' ( app. 3.4) (see figure 2). This indicates that the younger generation who have answered this survey believes that climate change is happening, and clearly tells us that the ruling opinion of the younger generation from the European Union believes that climate change is happening, which the diagram below also shows.



**Figure 2.** Diagram illustrating whether respondents believe climate change is happening.

**Source: own fabrication of diagram based on the responses from the survey.**

The next three questions in the survey were questions where the respondents had to answer on a scale rating from 0-10, in numbers. Here measures of dispersion are descriptive statistics that illustrates the spread of numerical data. The first question asked was about how worried the respondent is about climate change, and here the average answer on the scale from 0-10, was 7,45 (app. 3.5), which indicates that the respondents were worried about climate change to a great extent, and clearly gives us a ruling opinion that the younger generation is worried about climate change.

The next question asked was about how responsible the respondent felt about changing the future regarding climate change (app. 3.2), and here the average answer-rating was 7,15 indicating that respondents felt responsible to a great extent as well, and that the dominant opinion is that most of the younger generation feels responsible for changing the future regarding climate change. Furthermore, this shows that the majority of the younger generation are aware of climate change and that they are willing to engage and get involved when it comes to changing the future concerning climate change since they worry about it to a great extent. The last question asked from the survey with the rating options 0-10, was about how much the respondents do to prevent climate change in everyday life, and here the average answer-rating was 5,90 showing that the majority of the younger generation are worried, although they are not taking action towards preventing climate change in their everyday life. These answers from the above asked questions tell us that the younger generation is worried about climate change and that they do feel responsible - but that they find it hard to change daily habits and prevent climate change in their everyday life. Especially the last question regarding how much the younger respondents do to prevent climate change in everyday life was surprising to us since the score was relatively low compared to the other questions above that was rated *high* to a great extent.

The responses collected through the survey's qualitative questions are presented below in schemes and sorted into categories determined by the authors of this thesis with belonging keywords. This was done in order to make the responses classified and then more palpable to be analyzed. The categories were made in order to sort the many qualitative responses and sub-categories in keyword format which are listed below under 'keywords from responses'.

The categorization was made based on what responses had the same basic values and processes, whereas many of them might overlap.

Below, the open and more qualitative questions from our survey are listed followed by a list of keywords divided into categories to each of the questions. Finally, they will be analyzed following the descriptive research design.

In the survey one of the more open-ended questions sounded; Assuming climate change is happening, what do you think it is caused from? (app. 5)

Category	Keywords from responses
Agriculture	Intensive acro-farming, animal farming led by emissions of methane (CH <sub>4</sub> )
Co <sub>2</sub>	Industry, use of vehicles, overconsumption in private homes, production worldwide, our fossil-fuel industries, global economics, high emissions of greenhouse gasses
Human made causes	Human actions, human pollution, human beings thinking they have the need to go on vacation many times during the year, people being irresponsible and lazy, humans eating too much meat, dairy products, bad habits, human-made greenhouse gas emissions, human greed ‘need to have – nice to have’, overpopulation, humans accelerate the effects of the natural cycle
Consumption	Overspending, overconsumption as an inherent part of capitalism, excessive consumption, heating in houses, supply and demand, fashion, clothing, Mass production, heavy industrialization, overproduction of fx. meat, clothes and cars
Natural causes	the sun: cosmos and magnetic excursion regulated

Pollution	Cutting trees, spilling waste products/plastic in oceans, spreading of chemicals, deforestation, improper disposal of waste, CH <sub>4</sub> , Burning of fossil fuel
Transportation	Cars, airplanes, public transportation, cruise ships
Wealth	How rich countries have industrialized production, rich people who do not care, modern lifestyle, money
Technology	Fast developing technology, SoMe (images, living standards, pressure from social media), mobile phones, netflix
Bad habits	Mindset of use-and-throw-away, buy-and-toss culture, human behaviour, ignorance people being afraid to change their lifestyle, irrational thinking with the law of ethics, lack of foresight, irresponsibility
Economy	Overuse of the earth's resources, Economic system, corporate greed, outsourcing, capitalism

When analyzing the responses from the survey it is clear that most of the respondents think that climate change issues are caused by human beings in various ways. As listed in the scheme above, the category 'Human made causes', a category consisting of keywords/sentences derived from the responses where *human* was mentioned literally, include eating habits meaning that humans should eat plant based and avoid meat and dairy products, overpopulation, the use of fossil fuels caused by humans and other human habits and greed, where one of the answers states that; "*human beings thinking they have the need to go on vacation many times during the year*" and "*People being irresponsible and lazy*" calling for a change in human habits. All of the categories mentioned above, except for the one called 'natural causes' is somewhat related to human activities. In fact, almost every single response had human actions as a cause of climate change, yet in different formulations.

Amongst the high rate of responses listing humans as the cause of climate change, different angles to it were given, for instance; capitalism, consumerism, overpopulation causing over- and mass production causing CO2 emissions and pollution, bad habits, spilling waste and garbage, agriculture etc. (app. 3). Yet, 0,6% responded that they saw natural phenomena as the cause of climate change for instance that “*the sun and cosmos and magnetic excursion*” is the cause while 3,6% responded that the cause of climate change is partly human and partly natural by stating that, amongst other, climate change is; “*Partly caused by humans (Greenhouse gas emissions, deforestation etc.) and partly due to the natural cycle of the earth. We are accelerating and magnifying the effects of the natural cycle.*” or “*Human-made greenhouse gas emissions as well as natural causes.*”. This shows that the overall opinion about the cause of climate change is that it is caused by humans, some with reservations, wherefore a dominant discourse could have revealed itself.

In the survey one of the more open-ended questions sounded; Do you take any actions in order to prevent climate change? What? (app. 5)

Category	Keywords from responses
Eating habits	Eating less meat, reducing food waste, eating vegan, buying local and bio products, eating vegetarian, eating less dairy products, meat free days, eating pescetarian
Recycle	Shop less new things, more vintage furniture/clothes, second-hand shopping, sorting trash
Urging the people around them	Changing friends’ and family’s habits, reflecting on own lifestyle
Consumption	Buying single items (hand pick, for example onions, carrots, socks etc.), changing mass-consumption culture

Travel and transportation	Minimize use of car, planes etc. and use bike or walk instead, carpooling
Technology and power	Turn off devices when not in use, turn off water while applying shampoo in shower, use energy sufficiently
Plastic	Buying plastic free products, using cotton bags instead of plastic bags, using natural products (such as bamboo toothbrush)
Politics	Voting green
Organizations and movements	Joining greenpeace, joining 'green' movements wanting to prevent climate change issues, participating in demonstrations, being a member of UngEnergi (Aalborg)
Donations	Donating to various climate/nature/environment/wildlife organisations

When analyzing the responses from the survey it is clear that most of the respondents take action - the survey actually shows that 95,7% of the young people take actions in order to prevent climate change, which means that only 4,3 % of our respondents do not take any action at all. This shows that the younger generation take responsibility and wish to make a difference in order to prevent climate change. They show a willingness to change their own habits which also shows how the majority of the younger generation believes that they *can* change the future and outcome of climate change. This is the willingness that Thunberg promotes as we saw in the critical discourse analysis above, also expressing how the younger generation own up to the responsibility they are feeling. When taking a closer look at the responses from the survey it was clear that most of the respondents take actions in changing their eating habits, meaning that they eat more plant based, avoid meat or have 'meat-free-days', one of the answers states that "*I have stopped eating pork and beef. I'm*

*trying not to eat fish and chicken, but I do it sometimes (maybe 3-4 times a month) (...).*” and another one saying *“I eat plant-based food a couple of days a week, meat-free days works for me (...).*”. In fact, more than 50% of the respondents take action in changing their eating habits when it comes to preventing climate change, and the reason for this percentage being this high could be that many respondents as mentioned before are members of groups, for instance on Facebook or movements, promoting climate friendliness and most likely already have a predetermined interest. Therefore, most of them could already have changed their eating habits in order to be more climate friendly. This shows that the most popular action to take is changing eating habits, wherefore a dominant pattern between the younger generation could have revealed itself.

Another interesting change of habit to look at is recycling – meaning the younger generation’s urge to shop less new things and instead buy more vintage clothes and furniture and sorting and recycling trash. These two patterns are mentioned multiple times in the survey where one of the answers states that *“when the state give us the opportunity to grade out trash I will for sure do more of that than I do right now.”* and another one saying *“I buy mostly second hand, I reuse everything that I can and I recycle my trash (...).*”. In fact, 38,6% of the respondents take action in buying vintage and used clothing and recycling trash. This shows that it is starting to be and probably already is a trend between the younger generation, and therefore a ruling pattern in this survey. Today, labeling clothes as ‘vintage’ causes it to become more prestigious and exclusive, and further, an increase in clothing line companies branding themselves and their products as being sustainable is seen throughout.

In the survey one of the more open-ended questions sounded; Are you spreading any messages about climate change? What? How? (app. 5)

Category	Keywords from responses
Inspiring social circle and creating awareness	To turn off lights, avoid food waste, avoid animal products, be ‘greener’ and make CO2-friendly choices, educate people in a non-aggressive way, to be pragmatic

Social media	Tell people to change habits, sharing scientific articles and advice, promote influencers talking about wasting less and promotes climate friendliness, sharing posts and articles from environmental NGOs
Organizations and movements	Joining and participating in; Fridays For Future, Youth city council, conferences, climate strikes, Students for climate
Politics	Urging to vote climate-friendly

When it comes to spreading the message about climate change we found, derived from looking closely at the actual responses, that most of the messages revolved around changing habits and urging others to do it whether it was eating habits, voting differently in elections, 29,8% answered that they do not. Yet, over 50% of these add, that they “*unfortunately*” or “*sadly*” are not spreading any messages or expresses that they would like to, but that they are “*not educated enough*” to spread the message sufficiently, that they are “*too shy*”, that they do not like to “*preach*”, that they would like to change that, that “*so many others do*”, that they “*Don’t even know where to begin*” or that they feel “*guilty*” about not spreading any messages. The already high number of respondents spreading messages and urging others to change their habits (70,2%) shows that a lot of members of the younger generation in the EU promotes more climate-friendliness, meaning actions that are sustainable. This could indicate a common understanding that urging others to change habits to more sustainable ones and ‘warning’ them of the climate change issues and consequences in order to improve the future living conditions of all human beings is necessary and perhaps even correlated to the placement of responsibility or changing the future in regards to climate change issues and consequences. Furthermore, it tells us that a lot of those who are currently not spreading any messages about climate change, actually *want* to change that, which also could imply that they feel responsible for the future of the planet. And as quoted above, some even state that they feel “*guilty*” for not doing it, which shows us that a stigma around not spreading any messages or instigations follows the younger generation in the EU.

By mixing both qualitative and quantitative methods, we got the opportunity to compare both kinds of data and it is especially useful in understanding contradictions between quantitative results and qualitative findings. In the three diagrams in the appendix (app. 7), the connection between *how responsible* the respondents feel for changing the future regarding climate change and the amount of action they take in order to prevent climate change issues is shown and interesting results were found.

The first 150 respondents were included in the diagrams, fifty respondents in each (app. 7), and the green pillars show the amount of action they take and the blue pillars show the amount of responsibility they feel. The numbers in the bottom of the diagram are the respondents, each with their own number. The results came out as interesting as it showed how some respondents were feeling responsible for changing the future to a great extent but the amount of action they take in order to improve climate change issue conditions were minimal. For instance respondent number 9, 68 and 123 (app. 7) are feeling responsible to a great to very great extent rating the degree at 10, 10, 6 on the 0-10 scale. The first two are taking action to no extent at all adequate to 0 in the rating scale and number 123 takes only very little action adequate to 1 on the rating scale. Apart from the deviations the majority of respondents fit very well into the theory one might have, that the more responsibility they felt the more they would take action towards improving the climate conditions. That there were deviations gave insight and material for further discussion. The opposite was also discovered, that those feeling little to none responsibility took action to a great extent, for instance respondent number 3, 4, 20, 146 etc.

In the survey, the last question was “*Is there anything else you would like to add?*” (app. 6) and the question was optional, therefore 21 responses were received other than those stating “*No*” for instance. The question was made that open in order to create space in which the respondents could unfold their minds without restrictions which might have opened up for passions or feelings as well. Including this question in our survey resulted in a lot of angles and opinions about the subject which were not expected (app.6) and provided further insight into the topic which could be suitable for further research. It could be argued that in line with the responsibility discourse the respondents add extra information in order to ‘educate’ and

enlighten the recipients further and at the same time establish that they own up to their responsibility by doing something.

The survey contributed further to the empirical research of this thesis as it introduced various new themes and possible questions for further empirical research.

A stigma could also be present amongst the younger generation, since there is a polarization as mentioned above, of what is right or wrong when dealing with climate change issues - one pole is taking action (right) and the other pole is not doing anything in order to prevent climate change issues (wrong). The major disapproval of *not* doing anything to prevent climate change issues could be targeted at those not doing anything about it. Thereby the frequently mentioned “*unfortunately not taking any actions*”.

## 8.0 Discussion

This thesis focuses on a framework for the analysis consisting of how the younger generation from the European Union communicate climate change issues and this framework included a critical discourse analysis of Greta Thunberg's and Seibt's speeches, and a survey examining the younger generation's view upon and communication of climate change issues and tools such as graphs and schemes presenting the findings of the survey. In the following section we will now present a discussion of the analyses and findings which will be discussed together with other angles to the subject of climate change issues and discourse.

The younger generation has grown up with more exposure to the effects of global warming than their parents and grandparents, which is also why it is not that surprising that the younger generation are particularly concerned about climate change. To some people climate change issues and consequences are common sense, for instance when they are born into the attention and debate of it. Although the younger generation are more concerned about climate change than older generations, it is unclear how much more worried they are, and to what degree they are more engaged. However, it is clear that the younger generation are more engaged than the older generation, particularly when it comes to warning others about climate change issues, the younger generation express a willingness to engage in climate activism (e.g., climate strikes, Friday marches, climate debates etc.). But as we found through our survey-analysis, even though some members of the younger generation are worried about climate change and feel responsible for changing for the sake of the future, a number of them are not doing anything in order to change the circumstances. Some do not know *what* to do, some do not want to seem like they are preaching while others are not feeling educated enough. So could this fact change for instance by including 'how to live sustainably' in school? We are taught in sex education on topics such as ethics, consequences, emotions and natural cycles - all these areas could be directly transferred to climate change as well.

Like the atmosphere, discussion at dinner tables around the globe is heating up. The younger generation is going vegan, ditching plastic bags and plastic cups, and deciding that their Fridays are better spent on the streets than in school. The younger generation demands climate action now; "*You have stolen my dreams and my childhood*" (app. 1) Greta Thunberg

said in her speech to the United Nations climate action summit in September. Her words have been taken literally by some to draw a line between ‘you’, meaning the older generation, and ‘us’, meaning the younger generation. The implication seems clear: the older generations are to blame for climate change issues. The younger generation and future generations will have to live with the consequences caused by the older generation and so it should be the older generation’s responsibility to do something about it, yet the younger generation is more engaged in taking action towards preventing it. The face of environmental activism has changed in recent years, and the younger generation is increasingly in the spotlight of public attention. One thing is for sure, climate change is no longer just an issue that divides the population merely along political lines – it also divides generations (app. 3.8).

Social movements are determined, organized groups striving to work toward a common goal. These groups might be attempting and working toward creating change, to resist change or to provide a political voice to those otherwise incapable. In other words, social movements can create social change. Social movements start when a large number of people become distressed by a particular situation, and especially the younger generation is very determined to start social movements if they have motivation for change. Fridays For Future had a vast increase in number of members in a very short time spreading world wide. Youth movements are the organized, conscious attempts by the younger generation to bring about or resist societal change and Greta Thunberg and Naomi Seibt are two figureheads, and also members of the younger generation, who have taken leading roles in public protests and encourage citizens to take action especially when it comes to climate change. The reason for youth getting involved in social movements such as Fridays For Future could be that it reaches out to a global audience since the school strikes are conducted all over the world. Furthermore, it is a very powerful tool in getting attention from decision-makers and other young citizens, inciting them to join and make a change.

The younger generation’s political participation in independent movements, whatever their primary issue or concern or ideological orientation is, is often hard to measure or ‘see’ until the protests become visible in mass demonstrations. However, scholars of social movements, particularly those with strong connections to the movements or those who use ethnographics or in-depth qualitative methods, know that rarely if ever are these mobilizations spontaneous

outbreaks of political sentiment, but rather represent an ongoing engagement with politics in civic associations and social movement networks. An example of such engagement could be Greta Thunberg's movement *Fridays for Future* which has been going on for a long time now, and has spread rapidly to all continents. The purpose of skipping school and assembling is to make a statement and to be seen, so action against the climate issues, which according to Thunberg is a crisis, can be taken. When we shift our gaze from institutional to extra-institutional forms of political participation, the contemporary European social movement landscape is a vivid testament to the high degree of political participation of many members of the younger generation in the European Union. This also supports the findings through the critical discourse analysis of this thesis, when Greta Thunberg expresses how she has lost faith in the political leaders and decision-makers. Therefore, it could be argued that the younger generation's political participation increases when they have the opportunity to do it extra-institutionally and sort of 'around' provided for by political institutions.

From across the world, many young people are trying to find solutions to the challenges of climate change. A growing number from the younger generation around the world are major consumers of clothes, food, gadgets, communication devices, travel and entertainment. Advertising and peer pressure can be encouraging young people to adopt consumption patterns that are most often unsustainable and carried, often subconsciously, into adult life. This trend is driven by globalization with increased media, travel, communications and trade influencing ever greater numbers of young people. For young people in developed and developing countries, understanding the relationship between climate change and lifestyles can be a challenge. This challenge needs to be addressed so that positive changes in lifestyles can happen and our negative impact on the environment can be reduced. For some young people, however, these changes are already happening, either forced on them directly through changes in their local communities, or through the influence of friends and the media. Even though it can be discussed whether the younger generation are doing their best to prevent climate issues, many of them want to make a difference even though they find it hard to change things in their everyday life, which our survey also illustrates.

Furthermore, as discovered through our survey, many believe that if enough of us try, then individual actions taken together can make a difference in the long run, whereas others

believe that these small changes will not change anything, also in accordance to Naomi Seibt, and some respondents expressed that they wanted to take action but did not even know where to begin. This could indicate a wish for more education and clarification upon the subject of climate change issues. There is nothing wrong with occasionally reminding each other of good resolutions, but endless quarrels about grocery bags, recycling, eating habits is a waste of time and energy some might say, causing unnecessary fighting. Currently it seems that members of the older generations have more economic and political power than the younger generations, when it comes to trying to make the final decisions regarding climate change issues. This has the unfortunate consequence that an appeal to those in power will often be an appeal to the older generations, which can explain why it is so easy to misunderstand Thunberg's words. She is appealing to world leaders because they are in power, not because they are representing the older generation. This is not to deny that the younger generation bear any responsibility, because we are all in this together, according to Thunberg. But she believes that instead of ridiculing the younger generation's voices, the older generation should stand by their children's side as they demand climate justice, and if they are in a position to do so, they should put their words into action. Further it can be discussed how the power balance could be tipping in favor of the younger generation, since we see a rising interest and attention in the younger generation's power of influence especially with two figureheads like Thunberg and Seibt with their charisma.

Through the critical discourse analysis of Naomi Seibt's and Greta Thunberg's speeches it became clear that they have different views on climate change and climate change issues. It also became clear how some discourses revealed themselves, and combined with the survey analysis it was established what some of the most widespread discourses was amongst the younger generation in the EU. Seibt wants to let the world and society be unchanged in regards to dealing with climate change, but she wants to include more space for growth that being social or technological. She affirms how important it is with space and freedom to choose what to believe in instead of merely following the major popular opinion. With this observation it could be concluded that this is a counter-discourse as the majority of respondents in the survey agrees with Greta Thunberg that the current habits of consumption, making profit, etc. worsens conditions when it comes to climate change issues. Thunberg wants the current world and society to change drastically, in fact she wants to change the

system as we know it today, into a solidaric constellation. She wants the world to stand together in improving climate change issues and the common future. In this connection it would be relevant to include cosmopolitanism and the idea of a common home, common future and common currency. This currency is portrayed as an evaluation of what we as a community can afford to do that has negative effects on 'the future' materialized as the planet Earth. All this publicity about the future leads to the question about motivation. But what motivates human beings to improve climate change issues? Perhaps the future is exactly what motivates human beings in this connection, and as it is safe to say that younger generations have more future ahead of them compared to older generations, that is a natural fact, perhaps that is exactly why we see a trending tendency of youth getting involved in social activism promoting a more sustainable society. The motivation seen amongst the younger generation towards improving climate change issues could therefore be caused by the idea of a future or the lack of same. The consequences of the climate change issues could cause planet Earth to be inhabitable and lead to difficult and worsened living conditions. Furthermore it seems that the dominant point of view amongst youth is that everyone should *act* their way out of the climate change issues, which might be futile but creates a sense of hope for improvement of conditions and of the future lying ahead of them.

While Thunberg promotes this idea of taking action now as the only hope for the future, Seibt argues that changing eating habits, methods of production and recycling is pointless partly since climate change has always been happening naturally and therefore cannot be avoided, and further she ridicules the acts saying that they are selfish and only done in order to improve one's own ego. Due to this, again, it could be argued that there are polarities in this topic insinuating that taking actions towards improving climate change issues is the right thing to do and a dominant idea.

Through the survey analysis it became clear that the majority of respondents actively did things in order to improve conditions while underlining how important it is to take action - an opinion supported by looking at how many of them actually urged others to take action as well. We also saw the connection between how many were worried about and feeling for climate change issues, and to what degree they took action towards changing it. This resulted in a deviation, as the majority was worried and felt responsible to a greater extent but not all took action in order to change the conditions. This could perhaps be connected to the position

youth takes where action must be taken in order to change the conditions, but that some do not consider themselves as powerful enough to make a change. On an individual-level some might not consider themselves as part of the problem for instance with the fact that the eastern parts of the world experience the consequences of climate change more explicitly than the western part does. Weather conditions worsens and affect the living conditions of those living in the east while the west holds more responsibility for emitting damaging gasses etc. So when the visible changes happen so far away, some might not be able to grasp the concrete consequences climate change issues bring. But for those who do take action longing for change, what inhibits their goal of obtaining social change? Perhaps the enormous task is to change a democratic order, a well-established system, firm habits or a 'shortest way to profit' mindset. And why should they?

According to climate skeptics, in this thesis represented by Naomi Seibt, the majority of human beings are demonizing progress and innovation, which according to her is a big mistake. Human beings should be allowed to feel proud of what they have accomplished through technology or "*cheap and reliable energy sources*" (app. 2:7) for instance, making living conditions less complicated. Further, Naomi could be expressing a power balance in society by saying that "*we're living in such an amazing era of progress and innovation and we're not allowed to feel proud of that at all.*" and establishing a power balance or dominance relation simply with the phrase 'not allowed'. The phrase indicates that one part dictates what the other part can or cannot do, almost like a parent-child power balance where the parent holds the major power. This could also illustrate Seibt's climate skepticism as a counter-discourse to the opposite side holding the major power represented by what Seibt calls the 'climate alarmists' or simply those who consider climate change as a serious case in need of immediate action. Further, since one of Seibt's key values is freedom, when someone decides whether some are *allowed* to do something, a freedom is taken from them.

This whole dilemma and ambivalence around the progress that society has made through decades since the industrialization (O'sullivan, 2003) improves conditions of producing and buying products at lower prices. Before the industrialization there was a deeper connection between human beings and nature, since society revolved around agriculture, and the industrialization changed society from being agrarian to industrial which brought the urbanisation. This change involved an extensive re-organisation of the economy, so if the

current society was to change industry, consumption habits etc. one could ask the question of whether such an extensive re-organisation was realistic or not. As mentioned before, Thunberg wants extensive change, and a trending opinion was discovered and strengthened through the survey analysis in this thesis, that those who actively care about the climate change issues have more visceral reactions to industrial growth and consumption. Seibt argues that industrialization is part of societal progress, an opinion that opposes most of the respondents' in the survey. In society today a lot of energy comes from sustainable energy sources such as the sun (solar panels), wind (wind mills) etc. But as mentioned in the previous analysis section these energy sources may have other disadvantages such as the demanding production of the elements or mechanisms that actually produce the sustainable energy - windmills for instance.

Through the survey analysis our studies showed that the majority of respondents, more than 70% of them, actively try to spread the message about climate change issues and consequences by urging or enlightening their social surroundings to change their habits. Through Thunberg's speeches there is a clear pattern showing how she urges, or *demands* some might say, change of habits and systems immediately. Further she claims that the media has failed to inform citizens about the consequences of climate change that we are facing (app. 1:3), a claim that is supported by looking at the survey where the reason for that many respondents taking action towards changing this could be that they agree in the lack of awareness amongst citizens. A big part of the respondents also added how they feel that the media has failed to spread the message about how severe the situation and climate change issues are, including what should be promoted in the media (app. 3.6), and something so concrete that the media should emphasize the health and climate oriented benefits of engaging in a plant-based diet for instance. Therefore, the communication around climate change issues is put in question.

Further, a part of respondents added how they think this should be taught in school which insinuates how important they think this issue is, since they mean it should be included in educational systems. This could be put in connection to the longing for laws and regulations respondents also thought should be introduced in accordance to Thunberg as well. We are all defined by our own lifestyle. But it can be argued that in today's consumer culture, it is often

only defined by our possessions and consumption - the products or services that we choose. The word lifestyle is now more often used in magazines and on social media, and advertising to sell products and services. But lifestyles should be understood as a simpler concept as it describes the world we live in and who we are. It includes everything from the moment we wake up to the moment we go to sleep, everything from the food we eat, to how we interact and the way we get around. People express their identity, values, hopes, fears, politics and social position to others through their lifestyle. Perhaps that is why such a large part of respondents refer to a change in lifestyle habits, such as a plant based diet. We are all constantly making choices. How much choice we have as individuals depends on where and how we live, how wealthy we are and whether we live alone or with others. Lifestyles are also influenced by our personal history, our friends and family, our education and work, our culture and interests, and our attitudes and beliefs. Some people have a very lively lifestyle, while others may prefer a quieter lifestyle. This could be put in connection to the question of consumption and the confusion about what is 'nice to have' and 'need to have' resulting in excessive consumption. Could it perhaps be argued that the younger generations are more willing to change their habits and lifestyle compared to the older generation who are more stuck in their habits? On a global plan it is considered a common understanding that the older generation is less willing to change. The word 'conservative' is often concatenated with 'the older generation', in fact *conservative* is defined as "*tending or disposed to maintain existing views, conditions or institutions: traditional*" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) supporting the idea of them not being willing to change their existing habits and views in comparison to the younger generation.

Our studies show that the younger generation engages in communicating climate issues from different angles through social movements such as Fridays For Future or other organizations, as well as in their everyday life where they promote a change of habits, for instance a plant-based diet, only buying second-hand clothes or skipping transportation that uses fossil fuels, which they share information about on social media. Through social movements the younger generation has a chance to be heard publicly and spread the message even further, and with Thunberg and Seibt being figureheads in this connection, there is a natural attention being drawn to the topic. This could also be a motivational factor, that two girls of such young age (17 and 19 years old) can be heard to such an extensive degree, getting valuable

speaking time at politically important events such as the Conservative Political Action Conference or the World Economic Forum. So if these young girls can be heard, then why should other young citizens not be able to achieve that? Motivation is here defined as a drive or a need, a *condition* that comes from our inside that desires a change, either in the self or the environment (Reeve, 2014) which correlates to the desire the younger generation has to change own habits as well as global politics and popular culture regarding consumption and production.

With a personality like Greta Thunberg in that format being a figurehead equivocation could arise. Respondents added in the survey that more focus should be put on her message rather than her persona (app. 3.7). Thunberg and her family published a book earlier this year called *Our House is on Fire: Scenes of a Family and a Planet in Crisis* (2020) accounting for her travel towards being involved with climate change issues to the extent she is today. She went through eating disorders and depressions causing health-threatening weight loss and a “*disappearance into the darkness*” (Pitofsky, 2020). Thunberg has went through a lot and it can be interpreted as if she sacrificed a whole lot for the sake of the climate and the future of all human beings supported by her own initiatives such as school strikes for the climate, where youth misses out on valuable education for the sake of improving climate change issues and spreading the message about it. This education is also something she sacrifices in order to save the planet and to join other young citizens in it, and on the basis of that it could be argued that her sacrifices are made in order to redeem human beings for their ‘sins’ committed climate-wise and bring them salvation. Therefore Thunberg can be seen as a Jesus-figure sacrificing her life and for the sake of the human race, just as Jesus Christ did. Further she portrays decision-makers and climate realists/deniers as the villains (app. 1:5) emphasizing the villainous role they have. This leads to the discussion of whether her aggressive strategy works or not, hence the equivocation, and since the miraculous and surreal narrative about Jesus can frighten many causing them to deviate from Christianity her methods can create an opposite effect. The sensationalism around her as a person might blur the actual message she is trying to bring (app. 3.7).

That could be why a part of the younger generation refrains from communicating climate change issues and urging others to live more sustainable - that they do not want to come off as being aggressive. They do not want to “*preach*”, a phrase seen numerous times among the

responses of our survey and most often used in religious connections, correlating with the idea of Thunberg being a Jesus-like figure.

One of the discourses found in both Seibt and Thunberg's speeches is the apocalyptic view upon the future of human life on Earth. Thunberg portrays it in the way that the planet and all its life will end if improvements are not made towards saving the planet. Seibt portrays it as an apocalypse if human beings lose their freedom, and it seems to be the way it will end up in the future if the trends continue to develop as they are currently. In the survey it seems that the apocalyptic view continues, one of the respondents wrote "*Save the planet, please!*" (app. 3.9) illustrating the urgency for changing or saving the future. Further the respondents described the actions they take in order to prevent climate change issues followed by the serious consequences it would bring if they did not take action. One of them wrote "*I don't fly, eat animal products, buy clothes etc. But most of all I reflect upon my own lifestyle and try to improve it every day*" and mentioning reflection and improvements whereof it can be derived that *not* reflecting or improving causes severe consequences for climate and life on earth. Another responded; "*Think we need more regulations. Just like we're regulating because of the coronavirus we should do something similar now* (with climate change issues)" and by mentioning the coronavirus which turned out to be severe on a global plan, the respondent equates climate change to a serious life threatening condition such as the coronavirus, whereby the apocalyptic view upon the future once again is emphasized. The coronavirus has even been spoken about as God's judgement of humans and de-creation of the world just like he did with Noah's Ark. Another respondent even stated that; "*I pray to God everyday that the conditions improve. I also feel I have to change my habits in life in order to prevent life on Earth ending.*" (app. 3.10) - a quote showing connection to God/religion and the end of all life on Earth.

Another discourse discovered in the speeches by Greta Thunberg was the responsibility discourse. Through analyzing the survey we found that this is a trend as well, since the average of feeling responsible for changing the future regarding climate change was at 7,45 at the rating scale, which equals the category of "to a great extent". This was a dominant opinion and responsibility was also seen in the connection of *who* was responsible for climate change where 95,8% answered that it was caused by humans.

In both Thunberg's and Seibt's speeches a scientific discourse was clear and it seemed as if they both built their statements on scientific research, either with it being false or factual. Yet, in the survey, respondents did not seem to include science in their considerations. Of course, it should be mentioned that the majority of information given through the media for instance is built on the basis of scientific research. Furthermore, Thunberg and the younger generation believes that the decision-makers should listen more to the scientists when it comes to climate change issues, since the scientists have been warning us about climate change for decades. And even though this warning has been happening for a long time, Thunberg does not believe that the decision-makers have been taking it seriously or focused on the issue enough, while Seibt emphasizes that science from all sides of the story should be taken into consideration and even then, approached critically.

## 9.0 Conclusion

The clock is ticking, and the future for the younger generation today will be mostly decided by generations that will be gone before the most severe impacts of climate change are felt, since the decision-makers in society mainly consists of the older generation. Through the last decades scientists have unanimously warned that climate change is happening based on our levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide by the use of fossil fuels and the change in global or regional climate patterns. Yet we have done very little about it, and therefore climate change is a global issue today.

Climate change also calls for deeper transformation, including adapting to the idea that human beings are responsible for the conditions that will be experienced in the future (O'Brien, 2012). This is not inconsequential, for acknowledging the fact that the dynamics of the climate system are not random or influenced by external sources alone but rather the outcome of human activities and decisions, is challenging to many belief systems (O'Brien, 2012). Fossil fuel consumption and greenhouse gas emissions occur mainly in the industrialized part of the world but affect the entire climate of the globe (Lilleholt et al., 2008:8). In fact, the countries where the consequences of climate change will have the most impact are the countries that contribute least to climate change (Lilleholt et al., 2008:8). Since climate change is a global issue, it requires global solutions.

The younger generation seems determined, creative and has high hopes. They have the energy and willpower to help make their communities and the world better places and the younger generation is constantly looking for the best opportunities for their future. Most of them are concerned about climate change and are ready to take action and to look for ideas and guidance on how to change and adapt their lifestyles towards more sustainable ones. Information and education are essential in empowering them and helping them to better understand not only the science of climate change and what is at stake, but also the way it relates to their daily lives and local environments, as well as to the lifestyle choices they make, especially as consumers. Most members of the younger generation are already trying

to make a difference but there are still some from the younger generation who are perceiving it as an abstract threat, too complex and too big while in fact its consequences are concrete. It is clear that the climate change debate has a great opportunity to be heard and acted upon especially due to the many social movements focusing on climate change such as Fridays For Future. Furthermore, there is a clear political interest in the topic which comes to light by the large interest of decisions-makers wanting to listen to the younger generation and their proposals. As mentioned before, a criteria for successful social movement in achieving its goals is political opportunity. It can be concluded that climate change related social movements have a great political opportunity and good basis for creating change.

Through the analysis of this thesis our findings showed that society currently develops in the direction where climate change issues are being treated as a serious matter calling for change and adaptation, which is in line with Thunberg's statements and opinions. The common ground was discovered through textual and linguistic analyses of Thunberg's speeches and by looking at the current societal context. As mentioned above, according to Fairclough the way we speak can be put in connection to the way we interact as part of society, which is why the communication of the younger generation regarding climate change issues has been linked to society and social change in this thesis.

Both Thunberg and Seibt's communication through the speeches is charismatic and powerful. Greta Thunberg has become the voice of the planet in a way, and she shows a lot of emotion through her speeches. She speaks very passionately and it is a way of communicating that pulls a lot of followers and could turn opinions due to the engagement she shows, combined with using vivid words and authentic emotions. Further she uses the word 'you' frequently which causes a personalization and blaming which is easy to take personally and could even cause a feeling of being hurt due to disappointment from her side or self-disappointment within the recipient. Aside from her appeal to emotions, she is also successful in appealing to professionals with great professional knowledge and factuality. All together this shows her great communication skills working successfully as she is currently one of the most influential speakers regarding climate change issues. Unlike politicians, actors and other decision-makers or media-trained personalities, Thunberg is not trying to be another person, she merely gives her all to the world and her personality comes through causing a trustworthy

appearance. As mentioned in the theory section above, ethos appeals to us for instance via the way we speak or body language, for instance when Thunberg often tears up during her speeches. The tone of voice can wake feelings in the recipient, and especially Thunberg shows feelings through her voice. When watching them speak (*see the link to speeches in video-format in appendix 1 & 2*) it is clear that the two speakers have different appearances. Thunberg seems more hurting, disappointed and upset while Seibt seems more controlled and collected but yet passionate.

Naomi Seibt has become the muse of climate skeptics questioning the popular portrayal of climate change issues and the severity of it. She advocates proper scientific discourse and appeals to the logic sense in human beings powerfully - she questions the scientific consensus. Therefore, she is seen as a fresh and new voice in the climate change debate. Seibt tends to focus on values such as freedom, undermining dictation and enforcement and the urge of feeling shame amongst human beings. This could pull opinions as well, since a basic wish for all humans is assumed to be freedom. In her way of communicating she is direct and not afraid of using condescending and insulting phrases and words, and a trending tendency in society today, with self-images being altered and falsely portrayed on social media for instance, this could to some recipients seem appealing. All together this shows Seibt's great communication skills working successfully as well, and followers globally are increasing.

In the survey the younger generation's way of communicating to a global audience seems to be 'educating' since the majority of the respondents stated that they often urge their surrounding social network to change their habits in order to improve climate change issues. Many of them were actively involved in social activism promoting improvements in climate related issues and attending demonstrations in order to influence or 'educate' decision-makers about the severity of the situation and change the current initiatives around the topic. Further many of the respondents took action towards improving conditions and promoting the actions they take, in order to urge or educate others to do so as well. Our findings also showed that even though many members of the younger generation had an 'educative' way of communication, many of them did not want to 'preach' or come off as being aggressive in their educative attitudes.

The survey provided a more general perception of the younger generation's communication of climate change, while the critical discourse analysis provided an analysis based on textuality and linguistics also investigating the younger generation's communication of the topic. Further, Thunberg and Seibt are a part of the younger generation so the two analyses gave a common understanding.

It can be concluded that the younger generation from within the European Union seem to be communicating climate change issues to a global audience with affection and emotion combined with educating features. Overall, it seems that the younger generation is engaged and affected by climate change issues including the consequences of it affecting their future, while some have the opinion that it is being exaggerated and portrayed more severely than it is. Yet, the majority sees climate change issues as a serious problem being the main discourse, while those who are not that concerned about it forms a counter-discourse. On a global plan climate change issues is a subject that is spoken about extensively and we all experience this through the media or in everyday conversations. This only supports it as being the main discourse.

The scientific elements seem to be an important factor when investigating climate change issues. But since the respondents of the survey, being the younger generation from within the European Union did not refer to this, it cannot be described as one of the dominating discourses in climate change communication. The dominating discourses amongst the younger generation's communication regarding climate change issues have been identified as the responsibility discourse and the apocalyptic discourse.

## **9.1 Limitations**

### **9.1.1 “Your Europe, your Say”**

The original idea for this thesis was to participate and analyze the “Your Europe, Your Say” (YEYS) event held by The European Economic and Social Committee. This event is created to bring together younger students from all European countries, to create, share and discuss ideas for a greener world. The Committee is interested in hearing students' different ideas on how to deal with the current climate crisis and how to come closer to meeting the 2050 climate-neutral ambitions. Students would therefore be asked to represent a country and negotiate with each other, in order to come up with recommendations to stop climate change. This year's YEYS 2020 event would have been very relevant for this thesis since the main focus was on climate change, but unfortunately due the COVID-19 outbreak, the Committee was unhappy to announce that YEYS 2020 as such, scheduled for Thursday 19 and Friday 20 March, was cancelled. The decision was taken in the interest of everybody's health and safety, which was the utmost priority for the Committee, like many other organisations, companies, business etc. This obviously has had some consequences for this thesis. Though the original plan was supposed to participate in the YEYS event in Brussels and interview both younger European participants and experts on the subject and use that for the analysis and discussion, we had to change our idea for the analysis because of the unfortunate but necessary cancelation.

### **9.1.2 Access to literature**

Due to COVID-19 and the lockdown it has been more difficult to get access to and obtain literature than usual. We have not been able to visit any libraries, participate in any of our scheduled meetings with experts for interviews on this subject or attend any relevant climate events neither in Brussels or Denmark. Furthermore, people have not been interested in meeting with us, and since COVID-19 came up a lot of organizations have been extra busy handling the changes it came with and therefore more difficult to reach. In connection to the YEYS event, the original idea was to conduct expert interviews as our data collection but because of COVID-19 this was not possible, so instead we chose to do a survey focusing on the younger generation and climate change.

Although we have had access to AAU online library not all relevant articles, journals or books have been accessible, and especially if we came across literature recommended to us it has not been possible to obtain those as they only exist in physical versions.

### **9.1.3 Ethical issues**

By sending out surveys possible ethical issues could arise, for instance the use or misuse of the collected data. In our survey we made sure to inform possible respondents that responses were anonymous and that the data collected through the surveys would be used in our thesis for analysis and discussion, and some of the respondents even wished us ‘good luck with the thesis writing’ under the optional question stating: “Is there anything else you would like to add?”. Confidentiality could also be an ethical issue, but it was averted here as respondents were informed about how the data would be used and processed and further that it was anonymous.

## **10.0 Perspective - further research**

When processing the data obtained through the survey we found that many new subjects and much deeper opinions were uncovered. This opened up for further discussion and further research. Since the respondents might have been predetermined due to some of the fora consisting of members with perhaps predetermined interests in which we shared the survey-link the sample formed thereafter. For further research it could be interesting to conduct the analysis on the basis of a larger sample of members of the younger generation in order to make the responses completely neutral. Henceforth, the conceptual framework could be expanded to a global sample selection, instead of limiting geographics to 'from within the European Union' could be made in order to provide wider and more generalizable results.

Further, in line with the discourses discovered in this thesis it could be appealing to examine the different roles within these, such as decision-makers, 'victims' etc. combined with investigating the many narratives about climate change that were also discovered through the analytical process of this thesis. The research of this should then be done with fitting methods suitable for analyzing narrative. There are various narratives of climate change portrayed both in the media, by older generations, younger generations etc. for instance the 'us vs. them' constellation which also could be interpreted as a narrative about heroes and villains. In this thesis there was not found sufficient space to include or elaborate on narratives.

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## **12. Appendices**

### **Appendix 1**

#### **Speeches by Greta Thunberg**

##### **1. Greta Thunberg blasts climate inaction at Davos - “What will you tell your children?”**

My name is Greta Thunberg. I am 15 years old and I'm from Sweden. I speak on behalf of Climate Justice Now. Many people say that Sweden is just a small country and it doesn't matter what we do. But I've learned that you are never too small to make a difference and if a few children can get headlines all over the world just by not going to school then imagine what we could all do together if we really wanted to.

But to do that we have to speak clearly. No matter how uncomfortable that may be. You only speak of a green eternal economic growth because you are too scared of being unpopular. You only talk about moving forward with the same bad ideas that got us into this mess. Even when the only sensible thing to do is pull the emergency brake.

You 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. Our civilization is being sacrificed for the opportunity with a very small number of people to continue making enormous amounts of money. Our biosphere is being sacrificed so that rich people in countries like mine can live in luxury. It is the sufferings of the many which pay for the luxuries of the few.

The year 2078 I will celebrate my 75th birthday. If I have children maybe they will spend that day with me. Maybe they will ask me about you. Maybe they will ask why you didn't do anything while there still was time to act. You say you love your children above all else and yet

you're stealing their future in front of their very eyes. Until you start focusing on what needs to be done rather than what is politically possible there is no hope.

We cannot solve a crisis without treating it as a crisis. We need to keep fossil fuels in the ground and we need to focus on equity. And if solutions within this system are so impossible to find then maybe we should change the system itself. We have not come here to beg world leaders to care. You have ignored us in the past and you will ignore us again. We have run out of excuses and we are running out of time. We have come here to let you know that change is coming whether you like it or not. The real power belongs to the people!

Thank You!

*Link to the speech in video format can be found here:*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6D9iWNL2ahg>

## **2. Greta in Normandy at the World Economic Forum - “Our house is on fire”**

Our house is on fire, I am here to say our house is on fire. According to the IPCC we are less than 12 years away from not being able to undo our mistakes.

In that time unprecedented changes in all aspects of society needs to have taken place including a reduction of our co2 emissions by at least 50% and please note that those numbers do not include the aspect of equity which is absolutely necessary to make the Paris agreement work on a global scale. Nor does it include tipping points or feedback loops like the extreme powerful methane gas being released from the thawing Arctic permafrost.

At places like Davos people like to tell success stories but their financial success has come with an unthinkable price tag. And on climate change we have to acknowledge that we have failed. All political movements in their present form have done so. And the media has failed to create broad public awareness. But Homo sapiens have not yet failed. Yes we are failing but there is still time to turn everything around we can still fix this, we still have everything in our own hands. But unless we recognize the overall failures of our current systems we most probably

don't stand a chance. We are facing a disaster of unspoken sufferings for enormous amounts of people and now is not the time for speaking politely, we're focusing on what we can or cannot say. Now it's the time to speak clearly. Solving the climate crisis is the greatest and most complex challenge that Homo sapiens has ever faced.

The main solution however is so simple that even a small child can understand it. We have to stop the emissions of greenhouse gases. And either we do that or we don't. You say nothing in life is black or white but that is a lie, a very dangerous lie. Either we prevent a 1.5 degree of warming or we don't. Either we avoid setting off that irreversible chain reaction beyond the human control, or we don't. Either we choose to go on as a civilization or we don't. That is as black or white as it gets.

There are no gray areas when it comes to survival. Now we all have a choice. We can create transformational action that will safeguard the future living conditions for humankind, or we can continue with our business as usual and fail. That is up to you and me.

Some say that we should not engage in activism, instead we should leave everything to our politicians and just vote for change instead. But what do we do when there is no political will? What do we do when the politics needed are nowhere in sight?

Here in Davos, just like everywhere else, everyone is talking about money. It seems that money and growth are our only main concerns. And since the climate crisis is a crisis that has never once been treated as a crisis, people are simply not aware of the full consequences of our everyday life. People are not aware that there is such a thing as a carbon budget, and just how incredible small that remaining carbon budget is. And that needs to change today. No other current challenge can match the importance of establishing a wide public awareness and understanding of our rapidly disappearing carbon budgets that should and must become a new global currency in the very heart of future and present economics.

We are now at a time in history where everyone with any insight of the climate crisis that threatens our civilization and the entire biosphere must speak out in clear language, no matter how uncomfortable and unprofitable that may be. We must change almost everything in our

current societies. The bigger your carbon footprint is, the bigger your moral duty. The bigger your platform the bigger your responsibility. Adults keep saying we owe it to the young people to give them hope. But I don't want your hope, I don't want you to be hopeful. I want you to panic, I want you to feel the fear I feel every day. And then I want you to act, I want you to act as if you would in a crisis. I want you to act as if the house was on fire, because it is.

*Link to the speech in video format can be found here:*

[https://www.fridaysforfuture.org/greta-speeches#greta\\_speech\\_jan25\\_2019](https://www.fridaysforfuture.org/greta-speeches#greta_speech_jan25_2019)

### **3. Greta Thunberg - “We want politicians to listen to the scientists”**

10s of thousands of children are school striking for the climate, on the streets of Brussels. Hundreds of thousands are doing the same all over the world. We are still striking because we have done our homework. The Some of us are here today. People always tell us that they are so hopeful. They are hopeful that the young people are going to save the world. But we are not. There's simply not enough time to wait for us to grow up and become the ones in charge. Because by the year, 2020, we need to have the emissions curve steep downwards. That is next year. We know that most politicians don't want to talk to us. Good. We don't want to talk to them either. We want them to talk to the scientists instead. Listen to them. Because we are just repeating what they are saying, and have been saying for decades.

We want you to follow the Paris Agreement and the IPCC reports. We don't have any other manifests or demands just unite behind the science. That is our demand. When many politicians, talk about the school strike for the climate They talk about almost anything except from the climate crisis. Many people are trying to make the school strikes a question of whether we are promoting truancy whether we should go back to school or not. They make up all sorts of conspiracies, and call us puppets who cannot think for ourselves. They are desperately trying to remove the focus from the climate crisis and change the subject. They don't want to talk about it because they know they cannot win this fight. Because they know they haven't done their homework but we have. Once you have done your homework, you realize that we need new

politics. We need new economics, where everything is based on a rapidly declining and extremely limited remaining carbon budget.

That is not enough. We need a whole new way of thinking. The political system that you have created is all about competition. You cheat, when you can, because all that matters is to win. To get power.

That must come to an end. We must stop competing with each other. We need to cooperate and work together and to share the resources of the planets in a fairway. We need to start living within the planetary boundaries, focus on equity and take a few steps back. For the sake of all living species.

We need to protect the biosphere, the air, the oceans, the soil, the forests.

This may sound very naive. But if you have done your homework, then you know that we don't have any other choice. We need to focus, every inch of our being on climate change. Because if we fail to do so. Then all our achievements and progress have been for nothing. And all that will remain of our political leaders' legacy will be the greatest failure of human history.

And they will be remembered as the greatest villains of all time, because they have chosen not to listen and not act. This does not have to be. There is still time. According to the IPCC report, We are about 11 years away from being in a position where we set off an irreversible chain reaction, beyond human control.

To avoid that, unprecedented changes in all aspects of society need to have taken place within this coming decade, including a reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by at least 50% by the year 2030. And please note that those numbers do not include the aspect of equity, which is absolutely necessary to make the Paris Agreement work on a global scale. Nor do they include tipping points or feedback loops, like extremely powerful methane gas released from the thawing Arctic permafrost. They do however include negative emission techniques on a huge planetary scale that is yet to be invented. And that many scientists fear will never be ready in time, and will anyway be impossible to deliver at the scale assumed. We have been told that the EU intends to

improve its emission reduction targets. In the new target, the EU is proposing to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions to 45% below 1990 levels by 2030. Some people say that it's good, or that is ambitious. But this new target is still not enough to keep global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius. This target is not sufficient to protect the future for children growing up today. If the EU is to make its fair contributing contribution to saying, within the carbon budget for the two degree limit. Then, it means a minimum of 80% reduction by 2030. And that includes aviation and shipping. So around twice as ambitious as the current proposal. The actions required are beyond manifestos for any party politics. Once again, they sweep their mess under the carpet for our generation to clean up themselves. Some people say that we are fighting for our future. But that is not true. We are not fighting for *our* future, we are fighting for everyone's future.

If you think that we should be in school instead, then we suggest that you take our place in the streets, striking from your work. Or better yet, join us so we can speed up the process. And I'm sorry, but saying everything will be alright while continuing doing nothing at all is just not helpful to us. In fact, it's the opposite of hope. And yet this is exactly what you keep doing.

You can't just sit around waiting for hope to come. Then you're acting like spoiled irresponsible children.

You don't seem to understand that hope is something you have to earn. And if you still say that we are wasting valuable lesson time. Then let me remind you that our political leaders have wasted decades, through denial and inaction. And since our time is running out we have decided to take action. We have started to clean up your mess. And we will not stop until we are done.

*Link to the speech in video format can be found here:*

<https://youtu.be/iTvGwjCBCL8>

## Appendix 2

### Speeches by Naomi Seibt

#### 1. Naomi Seibt - at CPAC 2020

“Hi, my name is Naomi Seibt and I am a climate realist. I am not anti-Gretha and I am not a climate denier. I am not a symbol for an agenda because we don't have an agenda. We as climate realists, our agenda is just fighting for freedom. And to address the many media rumors going on, once and for all: I am not the puppet of the right wing or the climate deniers or the heartland institute either. Our work together is based on principles and values that unite us.

Well, the climate has always been changing. And so it's ridiculous to say that we deny climate change. It's been changing forever and it will continue to do so. And man vastly overestimates his power if he thinks that he can with CO2 emissions destroy the planet and mess with the vast complexity that is the self-regulation of the climate. And so, really, climate alarmists should be a little more humble when it comes to how much we as humans can or cannot do to [?] nature, to destroy the planet. And that really is what proves to me as a climate realist that climate alarmism is not really about the science in the first place. And it's all about fear mongering, and using panic as a tool to restrict our freedoms and to fight against our right to be sceptics. And to impose policies on us, that are based on just a bubble of lies and hysteria. Climate alarmism is pathetically hypocritical. So, dear climate alarmists: The recycled paper-sleeve wrap-around-your-coffee cup with a plastic lid on it is doing nothing to save the planet. Every redundant step that you take to supposedly save the climate - which does not need saving from you in the first place - is doing nothing. And it's negated by your very very privileged lifestyle that you seem to not be able to take for granted. So please stop demonizing your own dependency on cheap and reliable energy sources! And start thinking again! And stop panicking! Your hypocrisy is truly blinding and might boost your ego to collect a couple of climate justice point[s]. But, like I said, it's doing nothing to save the planet. So, my message to you and to everyone out there and especially to the climate alarmists: Stop scratching at the surface of a deep, scientific, complex topic. Stop spreading panic before looking into the science, before immersing yourself in the research. Stop shutting us down - the climate realists! And start having

debates with us again! Activism is not noble if it is shallow. So, I don't want you to panic. I want you to think. Thank you.”

*Link to the speech in video format can be found here:*

<https://youtu.be/ekiKdplqjlo>

## **2. Naomi Seibt - “Freedom in a climate of crisis”**

Hello freedom lovers from all over the world and Happy Easter to all of you. These are strange times that require odd circumstances to make this event happen. I am talking to you from my humble home in Germany in the middle of a pandemic in a global lockdown. And this sounds almost dystopian. But, and this is the message that I want to focus on today. This does not mean that we have to give up hope. And that we have to fear for our freedom.

We are free as long as we stay true to ourselves, and we protect our minds from the biggest virus, of all - irrational panic.

Freedom starts with you and your courage to speak up in the face of injustice and misinformation.

Make no mistake, this virus is dangerous. the social distancing protocol ought to be followed. And to violate such guidelines as an act of disrespect, not just to yourself, but especially to others. But freedom is not to be equated with carelessness. Freedom implies the duty to act responsibly. If we disregard moral principles in a free society harm will come our way, even without the coercion by law.

Let us be teachers to one another instead of dictators, make the responsible choice to wear protective gear and to avoid social gatherings, your freedom is still in your hands.

We don't learn from restrictions and mandatory policies. We only learn to fear the consequences of legal punishment.

But fear and panic incentivize us to believe our leaders, dictators, blindly. The Corona pandemic and climate alarmism as well, are both examples of terror causing the spread of misinformation. Unnecessary hyperbole skews our perception of the real situation. We can't afford to let cherry

pick data and false statistics impact our perception of reality and distract us from the real issues. We can't afford to neglect victims of other diseases and tragedies. Therefore, we need to fight for flow of free information, and a power balance between all sides of any debate, one sided pseudo arguments are poisonous to our society, and to our freedom. Don't let a big government and self proclaimed experts rule your understanding of the world.

We can be environmentally friendly, health conscious, and pro human to help each other build a better world for ourselves and others. And we do not have to sacrifice our freedom to achieve that goal. kindness and compassion, do not have to be enforced.

That's the anti humanist essence of the global socialist ideology, but we do not subscribe to such anti humanism. Don't underestimate our free will to be gracious and grateful.

Let me emphasize this again to cherish freedom means to inspire hope in humanity.

And that I think is exactly what we need in times like these, and forever.

Happy, and especially a healthy Easter to everybody. And the main thing that I want you to remember is: I do not want you to panic. I want you to think.

*Link to the speech in video format can be found here:*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oR7YVbHw1Ms>

### **3. Naomi Seibt - Her Journey to Climate Realism**

Thank you so much for having me.

So, um, I used to be a climate change alarmist myself, because, obviously, as a young girl, I grew up around the climate change hysteria. I grew up with it in the media, in my schoolbooks and on TV. And I was the first one to, Whenever my beliefs were questioned, I was the first one to ask the question - *So are you saying that you are a climate change denier?* And, of course, especially as a German girl, the word denier carries a lot of weight, and today I consider it an atrocious insult, but back then I didn't think about that, and I was an innocent young girl and I thought that by hugging the trees, I could save the planet which, quite frankly, turned out not to be true. And I

took pride in buying paper bags instead of plastic bags but I didn't really make a change, then eventually in 2015 roughly, I became a skeptic and at first, not with regards to climate science but rather, with regards to the migration crisis in Germany. And once you start exploring these political topics that are more on the right, I guess, or in the libertarian department, things spiral out of control and you go down the path of understanding that many topics such as feminism, gender, socialism post modernism and climate change hysteria -They're all related in some way, and paved the way for a very bad kind of totalitarianism. And I always loved science as well so naturally I had to become a climate change denier, a skeptic. Science is entirely based on intellectual humility and it is important that we keep questioning the narrative that is out there instead of promoting it. And these days, climate change science really isn't a science at all. Those self proclaimed scientists. We've heard it today, they draw their conclusions before even testing their hypothesis, and they base their assumptions on completely incoherent models which is just an insult to science itself. And I asked myself, What is the goal of all of this?

And I believe, unfortunately that the goal is to shame humanity. Climate change alarmism, at its very core, is a very despicably anti human ideology. And we are told to look down upon our achievements, with guilt, with shame and disgust and not even to take into account the many major benefits that we have gained from using fossil fuels as our main energy source. Because look around, we're living in such an amazing era of fast progress of innovation, and we're not allowed to be proud of that at all. Instead, debates are being shut down and scientists, real scientists lose their jobs for performing the most genuine and innocent form of science there is which is just real science real skepticism. And that is not just an insult to science. That is an insult to the complexity of nature, and most importantly, it is an insult to the freedom of speech. And that's why we're here today to speak up, and to bring the spirit of science, back to life again. And I hope that you will do the same with us together. Thank you so much for having me.

*Link to the speech in video format can be found here:*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v8dXpe1Pp6Q>

## Appendix 3

### Survey

#### 3.1 *Assuming climate change is happening, what do you think it is caused from?*

Assuming climate change is happening, what do you think it is caused from?

CO2: the cause of man-made global warming
Human
A combination of human activity and natural cycle of Earth
Human actions
Human pollution due to excessive consumption in general. Fossil fuels and high CO2 levels in our production world wide.
Capitalism
High emissions cause by our fossil-fuel industries, global economies and consumerism
An overpopulated Earth which has caused us to overuse everything and overproduce everything (especially meat, clothes and cars)
Many things, more than I can come up with here. But e.g. the heavy industrialization and overconsumption.
^ Hide responses ^

#### 3.1 *Do you take any actions in order to prevent climate change? What?*

Do you take any actions in order to prevent climate change? What?

Take my bike rather than car as often as I can. Eating mostly plant-based. Buying second hand clothes and furniture for me and my child. No flying, less driving.
I eat almost no meat and am conscious about some other aspects
Yes. Recycling, buying only second-hand, eating entirely plant-based, stopped flying.
I take the bike from and to work, take the train when going to another city, think about my trash so that will be divided.
I'm a vegan, and I try to travel as little as possible
Eating vegan, biking, buying second hand, not traveling by plane.
I have stopped eating pork and beef. I'm trying not to eat fish and chicken, but I do it sometimes (maybe 3-4 times a month). I buy most things used - the only thing I buy from new is underwear, and some things to the kitchen. I use my bike a lot - so I don't have to use public transport. I sort my trash I try buying veggies made in Denmark, but it's expensive sometimes and I'm a student I have bought things like reusable straws, so prevent using too much plastic.
^ Hide responses ^

### 3.2 How responsible do YOU feel for changing the future regarding climate change? And How much do you do to prevent climate change in your everyday life?

13:32

2020-03-22 13:39

No Response

2020-03-22 13:49

Much more emphasis needs to be on preventable measures to be taken by each an every one of us. More money needs to be invested in off/on-shore wind energy and renewable energy in general. Less sensationalism about greta thunberg as a person and mite focus on her actual message and the necessary steps to be taken. It starts with each and every one of us. Consume responsibly (that goes for food and clothes etc. as well) Great survey girls! Meli

2020-03-22 13:52

No Response

2020-03-22 13:53

No Response

2020-03-22 13:59

Nope

< Previous

1

2

3

4

5

Next >

Showing 11 to 20 of 164 entries

10 entries/page

4 out of 10.00

0.00

10.00

4 How responsible do YOU feel for changing the future regarding climate?

3 out of 10.00

0.00

10.00

5 How much do you do to prevent climate change in your everyday life?

3 out of 10.00

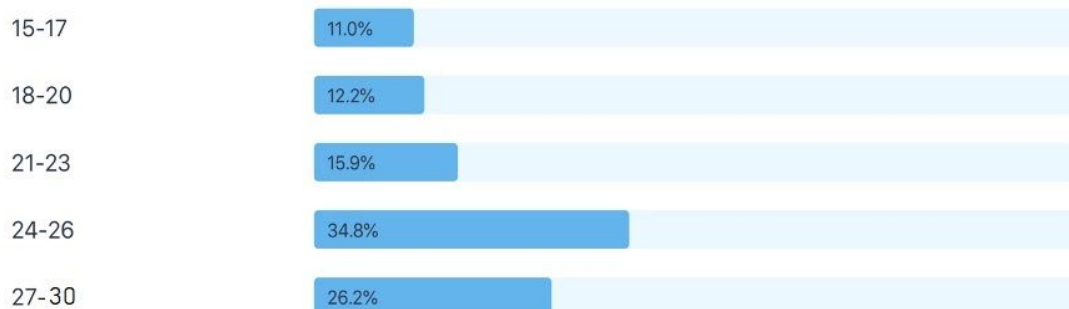
0.00

10.00

6 Assuming climate change is happening, what do you think

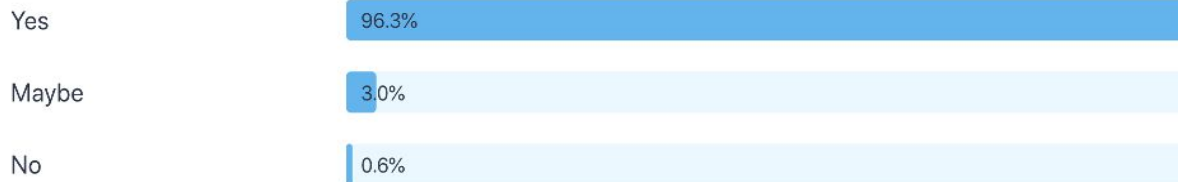
### 3.3 Distribution of respondents in age groups

Age



### 3.4 *Would you say climate change is happening?*

Would you say that climate change is happening?



### 3.5 *How worried are you about climate change?*

How worried are you about climate change?











### 3.6 *Is there anything else you would like to add?*


Is there anything else you would like to add?

message and the necessary steps to be taken. It starts with each and every one of us. Consume responsibly (that goes for food and clothes etc. as well) Great survey girls! Meli
Nope
No
No.
The Media should emphasize the health benefits more from eating vegetarian and vegan. It would move more people in the right direktion.
No
Save the planet please! I hope that the corona virus will reveal to us that it is possible to live with a lower living standard. I fear the opposite will happrn in order to get the economy "back on track" This will probably happen because of the nature of our political systems
If there was more information out in our every day lives or through education it would have a great impact. Further more older gens ^ Hide responses ^ overreact, so finding a way to








### 3.7 Is there anything else you would like to add?

2020-03-22 14:23	No Response	
2020-03-22 14:09	No Response	
2020-03-22 13:59	Nope	
2020-03-22 13:53	No Response	
2020-03-22 13:52	No Response	
2020-03-22 13:49	Much more emphasis needs to be on preventable measures to be taken by each and every one of us. More money needs to be invested in off/on-shore wind energy and renewable energy in general. Less sensationalism about greta thunberg as a person and mite focus on her actual message and the necessary steps to be taken. It starts with each and every one of us. Consume responsibly (that goes for food and clothes etc. as well) Great survey girls! Meli	
2020-03-22 13:39	No Response	
2020-03-22 13:32	No	

### 3.8 Is there anything else you would like to add?

Submission Time	Is there anything else you would like to add?	
2020-03-22 19:36	Til den der læser det her: hvis du ikke allerede er veganer skulle du tage og blive det 😊 både for din egen sundhed, for dyrene og for klimaet	
2020-03-22 19:09	If there was more information out in our every day lives or through education it would have a great impact. Further more older generations tend to think I overreact, so finding a way to convince them would make a big change	
2020-03-22 18:57	No Response	
2020-03-22 18:52	Save the planet please! I hope that the corona virus will reveal to us that it is possible to live with a lower living standard. I fear the opposite will happrn in order to get the economy "back on track" This will probably happen because of the nature of our political systems	













### 3.9 Is there anything else you would like to add?

Submission Time	Is there anything else you would like to add?	
2020-03-22 20:14	No Response	
2020-03-22 20:00	No Response	
2020-03-22 19:28	Good luck with your project :)	
2020-03-22 19:36	Til den der læser det her: hvis du ikke allerede er veganer skulle du tage og blive det 😊 både for din egen sundhed, for dyrene og for klimaet	
2020-03-22 19:09	If there was more information out in our every day lives or through education it would have a great impact. Further more older generations tend to think I overreact, so finding a way to convince them would make a big change	
2020-03-22 18:57	No Response	
2020-03-22 18:52	Save the planet please! I hope that the corona virus will reveal to us that it is possible to live with a lower living standard. I fear the opposite will happrn in order to get the economy "back on track" This will probably happen because of the nature of our political systems	

### 3.10 Is there anything else you would like to add?

Preview responses by:

Do you take any actions order to pre ▼

Submission Time ▼	Do you take any actions order to prev...
 2020-05-26 15:11	I pray to God that the conditions improve. I also feel i have to change my habits in life in order to prevent all life on earth ending. 
 2020-04-25 21:56	Sorterer affald. Tænker på strøm og vandforbrug. Har pilerensningsanlæg til spildevand. 
 2020-04-21 17:13	None what so ever, but i dont have a car og bike so i walk 
 2020-04-20 22:18	Planting trees, advocating for climate change and extinction of animals 
 2020-04-20 02:17	No , we must take precautions 
 2020-04-19 16:54	I think about my spendings in general which can cause the global upwarming . Ex I try to eat less meat and more vegetables. In addition, every time I go somewhere, I consider whether I can either ride a bike or take public transport instead of driving. in addition, I also sort my waste 

## Appendix 4

### Shared survey-link on social media



**Ellen Sarrajian** ▶ **Climate Change**

18. april • 🌐

...

DO YOU WANT TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE? Due to thesis writing we are seeking information about youth and climate. If you are between 15-30 years old, and a resident in a European country, please answer this survey. It will take less than five minutes and would be a great help to us! 🌍 🙌 🌳






APP.INVOLVE.ME  
**Climate change**  
This interactive content has been created with involv...

 Synes godt om    Kommenter    Del

## Appendix 5

### Survey - the layout and questions asked



**Climate - do you care?**

Your feedback is valuable


Gender

Country

Age

Select

**Start survey**



**Would you say that climate change is happening?**

Yes

Maybe

No

**Next**



Answer the following questions on a scale from 0-10, with 0 being to no extent at all and 10 being to a very great extent.

How worried are you about climate change?



How responsible do YOU feel for changing the future regarding climate?



How much do you do to prevent climate change in your everyday life?



Next



Please answer and write something to the following questions:

Assuming climate change is happening, what do you think it is caused from?

Do you take any actions order to prevent climate change? what?

Are you spreading any messages about climate change? what? how?

Next



Is there anything else you would like to add?

Finish

## Appendix 6

Additional answers to the last question:

**Is there anything else you would like to add?** *(This question was optional)*

1.	Assuming climate change is real - I think everyone else than Donald Trump has moved from that statement. 97% of scientists working with this says its real
2.	I believe that the reason why a lot of people (sometimes including myself) do not take individual actions to save the climate, is because there are many diverse opinions as to what role humans play in terms of climate change. People hear a lot of various opinions from scholars about this. Also, I think that many do not believe that their individual actions can make a difference - like recycling, using less hot water and so on.
3.	Much more emphasis needs to be on preventable measures to be taken by each and every one of us. More money needs to be invested in off/onshore wind energy and renewable energy in general. Less sensationalism about Greta Thunberg as a person and mite focus on her actual message and the necessary steps to be taken. It starts with each and every one of us. Consume responsibly (that goes for food and clothes etc. as well).
4.	The Media should emphasize the health benefits more from eating vegetarian and vegan. It would move more people in the right direction.
5.	Save the planet please! I hope that the corona virus will reveal to us that it is possible to live with a lower living standard. I fear the opposite will happen in order to get the economy "back on track" This will probably happen because of the nature of our political systems.
6.	If there was more information out in our everyday lives or through education, it would have a great impact. Furthermore, older generations tend to think I overreact, so finding a way to convince them would make a big change.

7.	Til den der læser det her: hvis du ikke allerede er veganer skulle du tage og blive det både for din egen sundhed, for dyrene og for klimaet
8.	It is important to keep the means of information simple yet analyse it holistically - or you'll only get a percentage of the whole story.
9.	We need laws to make us all change, I think that would be a good fight for society right now.
10.	Compare your research to previous and also add this covid-19 phase - see if one/two weeks have made a difference positively.
11.	I find it problematic, how difficult the subject is to talk about without anyone feeling attacked
12.	Think we need more regulations. Just like we're regulating because of the Coronavirus we should do something similar now.
13.	Climate change is a threat as long as there is no consensus on a global scale of how to manage it. Not prevent; but manage. That's why the entire debate is obscure and falls for deaf ears - everybody focuses on the extremes and not in the actual solution that includes both sides, and as long as the opposition is treated like an enemy, no one wants to cooperate.
14.	100 corporations are responsible for 71% of climate change. Their names can be found through this link: <a href="https://fortune.com/2017/07/10/climate-change-green-house-gases/">https://fortune.com/2017/07/10/climate-change-green-house-gases/</a>
15.	I'm sometimes finding it very difficult to do more to help the climate. The trash-sorting systems in the bigger cities need more attention.
16.	I trust the climate movement and my fellow youngsters that we will make a change big enough to turn this around. I know it.
17.	It is not up to the people to make efforts to correct the state's mistakes.

<b>18.</b>	I would say that most people are unaware of the facts about CC, we should aware more n more people
<b>19.</b>	I believe that the Montreal Protocol has succeeded because the developed countries are affected by it while there is no action on global warming as certain developed countries may not be as disadvantages or may even have certain advantages from the same.
<b>20.</b>	Yes. Stop reproducing. Start killing other humans so that the virus of human civilization is wiped out. Spread this message.
<b>21.</b>	Save the bees (and insect life generally)!

## Appendix 7

Diagrams showing the connection between how responsible the respondents feel for changing the future and the amount of actions they take to prevent climate change in their everyday life.

