

ENVIRONMENTAL LEADER OR CULT LEADER?: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS OF FRENCH AND US REPRESENTATION OF GRETA THUNBERG
AND CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSE.

By

BRENNA VICTORIA MCCLELLAN

A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College
In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelors degree
With Honors in
French

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

DECEMBER 2020

Approved by:

Dr. Denis Provencher
Department of French

Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Introduction	3
Methodology	19
Analysis & Findings	25
Text-Analysis 1	26
Text-Analysis 2	35
Corpus	47
Discussion	51
Conclusion	54
References	55

Abstract

In the contemporary world, the media have expanded the space where culture, politics and science interact, which creates distinct discourses. These discourses have the ability to impact cultural beliefs and political reform. This thesis aims to investigate the representation of climate change discourse in French and US elite newspapers and employs a critical discourse methodology inspired by the work of Norman Fairclough and others. Articles from *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Le Figaro*, and *Le Monde* are used in both the qualitative and quantitative analysis of this thesis. This study claims that US climate change discourse is heavily influenced by neoliberal ideals established by the 104th US congress whereas French climate change discourse echoes political and cultural ideals of the French Republic and secularism. This critical discourse analysis is conducted in order to add to the literature of understanding how discourse is shaped by the social elements of culture and politics.

Dans le monde actuel, les médias élargissent l'endroit où la culture, la politique et la science interagissent afin de créer des discours distincts. Ces discours ont la capacité d'influencer les croyances culturelles et les réformes politiques. Cette thèse examine la représentation du discours de changement climatique dans les journaux élites en France et aux Etats-Unis et utilise une méthodologie de l'analyse du discours critique qui est inspirée par le travail de Norman Fairclough et d'autres. Des articles de *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Le Figaro*, et *Le Monde* sont utilisés dans l'analyse qualitative et quantitative de cette thèse. Cette étude conclut que le discours de changement climatique américain est influencé fortement par les perspectives de néolibéralisme qui ont été établies par le 104e Congrès américain tandis que les conclusions françaises indiquent que le discours de changement climatique français reflète les croyances culturelles et politiques de la République Française et la laïcité. Cette analyse du discours critique est achevée pour enrichir la littérature scientifique afin de comprendre comment le discours est façonné par les éléments sociaux de la culture et de la politique.

Introduction

2019 was a record-breaking year for global media coverage on climate change, including reporting in France and the United States (MeCCO 2020). The increase of coverage and expansion of media as a space where culture, politics, and climate change interact is a trend of the contemporary world (Boykoff, Goodman, & Curtis, 2009). Boykoff and Luedeke (2016), have dubbed these spaces as “cultural politics of climate change: dynamic and contested spaces where various ‘actors’ battle to shape public understanding and engagement on climate change” (p.3). These spaces create distinctive discourses that have the ability to mold cultural beliefs as well as political reform.

Discourse has been defined in various ways (Cameron, 2001, 2014; Fairclough 2003). Colloquially, discourse refers to spoken and written language as well as other forms of communication. As a linguistic term, however, discourse refers to “a connected series of utterances, a text” (Cameron & Panović, 2014, p.4). Understanding the social significance of discourse, other disciplines have expanded the technical definition to include how language communicates. Socio-linguistics defines discourse as a social practice where language plays a critical role (Cameron & Panović, 2014). Fairclough (2003) describes social practice as stabilized forms of social activity that always includes discourse. Examples of social practices include newspapers, school lectures, and friendly conversation. In this context, discourse analysis can be characterized as investigating language and its dialectical interconnectedness with other social elements, including culture and politics (Fairclough 2003).

This type of analysis is heavily influenced by the theory concerning the power of discourse. Power of discourse, also known as power of language, stems from Michel Foucault's philosophy of "le savoir-pouvoir/knowledge-power." Cameron and Panović (2014) explain Foucault's "le savoir-pouvoir" as the belief that power/knowledge resides with those in power who are licensed to define, classify, and describe things and people (p.7). Language then becomes a dominant tool when shaping power because those who have the control have the ability to shape perceptions and beliefs through linguistic and social choices. Therefore, in the context of climate change, power of discourse analysis reveals how different actors impose frames, ideologies, and culture on the discussion of climate change. Identifying frames, ideologies, and culture can "explain how some ideas and people come to dominate the discussion and delimit what is acceptable as policy" (Mills-Nova, 2019, p.5), as well as popular belief.

Due to the complexities and scale of climate change and its discourse, media are a key means to communicate and legitimize claims and narratives to the "lay" public (Young and Dugas, 2012, p.27). Through the power of discourse, traditional media like newspapers shape the representation of climate change that is developing across the larger political and cultural context (Boykoff, 2011). This representation engineers cultural politics of climate change by assembling distinct and influential institutions and actors, practices and discourses, creating exchanges between scientists, policy actors, and the public (Boykoff, 2011). This thereby positions the media as gatekeepers of the public understanding of climate change.

Recognizing the need for a global uniform response to climate change, this paper briefly analyzes the representation of climate change in French and U.S.

American newspapers. I assert that the variations in cultural and political perspectives shape how climate change and its discourse are perceived and hence prevent a uniform response. I argue that once these cultural and political perspectives are identified, humans have the ability to change perspective to form a uniform understanding of climate change. In this thesis, I examine specifically the frames of discourse that shape the conversations in the news reporting in each context. Moreover, I analyze the sentence-level mechanics that assists in the overall framing of culturally and politically specific conversations. This includes an analysis of grammar structures, i.e., verbs, adjectives, key phrases (lexical choices) and other syntactic structures (i.e. nominalization) of both the French and English languages/ or French and English speakers, as they refer to climate change.

This paper has chosen French and English because Anglo-American discourses and journalism have dominated the field of climate change and related discourse analysis. This paper defines Anglo-American as relating to both British and US, specifically language, culture and politics. The Anglo-American journalistic model is described as informative and it follows specific norms of balance, fairness, accuracy, and objectivity. Additionally, entertainment and attention to a particular issue are also valued highly in this model (Boykoff, 2007; Brossard, 2004). Since environmental issues “intrinsically lack qualities that keep public attention” (Brossard, 2004, p. 362), U.S. American journalism is known to personalize, dramatize, and create novelty out of climate change and environmental coverage (Boykoff, 2007). Another important factor specific to US journalism is that all news organizations are privately owned, with the exception of NPR. Being privately owned, US news organizations function as

entertainment in order to maintain and augment viewership, since viewership and participation is directly linked to funding.

Compared to the U.S., France has less autonomy from elites due to its dependence on financial support from the government (Kuhn, 1995). This has meant that the French Press is regulated by the state and aligns more transparently with parties and their political agendas (Kuhn, 1995). Funding from the state reinforces the belief that the media should function as a public service rather than a form of entertainment (Mancini, 2005, p.90). As a public subsidy, French journalists lack resources compared to their US counterparts at privately owned corporations. According to Brossard (2004) this has led French journalists to turn to written and published documents rather than interviews. The reproduction of published work in French journalism may also be linked to France's greater belief in the current reality and cause of climate change when compared to Anglo-American countries (European Social Survey, 2016). Although the relationship between the state and the French media can be described as servile, French journalists still perceive themselves as "unveiling the truth" (Boundana, 2014), however this truth often fits with the political ideology of the press organization.

Arguably, the largest difference is the characterization of French journalism as opinion-oriented, in contrast to its U.S. American counterpart, which is an information-oriented model (Brossard 2004). Compared to the U.S. American journalistic standard of objectivity, French journalists understand that objectivity is an unattainable standard because journalism itself is subjective (Boudana, 2010). Furthermore, French journalists argue that promoting journalism as objective is not desirable because it hides malicious

intentions and allows mainstream ideologies to be naturalized (Boudana, 2010). This follows the scholarship of Stoker (1995), who argues that objectivity directs journalists to be spectators of facts surrendering moral agency. Therefore, a subjective, opinion-oriented approach determines a journalistic model that prefers “comment, interpretation and evaluation of events and situations” (Mancini, 2005, p.85). Being an interpretive voice, French journalists can have a greater impact on shaping cultural and political reforms and outlooks because there is a clear intention of being social actors.

Additionally, France’s cultural and political beliefs towards climate change are comparatively different to those of the United States. These differences come from France's own cultural and political history. One of the greatest aspects is France’s secular identity. This historical commitment to secularism began during the Age of Enlightenment, a pivotal moment in France’s cultural and political history, where absolute religious ideas were replaced with a new secular order of thought. This new secular order of thought was based in laws of nature and reason (Artz, 2011, p.30). Indeed, the secular identity has diminished the power of religion and augmented reliance on and beliefs in science. France’s' secular identity is in complete contrast to U.S. religious affiliation; the US claims to have a distinction between State and Church, however, the line has never been clearly marked, permitting religious culture to have a greater impact on US politics and policies. In the context of climate change, religion in the US has been a cause for denialism and skepticism.

The French Revolution, which established the French Republic, has undeniably had the greatest impact on France’s culture and politics. The cultural and political legacy of the French Republic is in a highly centralized and bureaucratic state, where

social justice, equality, and solidarity are eminently valued (Hughes, 1998, 496). This is amplified by France's motto "liberté, égalité, fraternité" [liberty, equality, fraternity]. More contemporary adaptations used by politicians like President Macron have substituted "fraternité" with "solidarité". This shows both the cultural and politico significance of a government that upholds social rights for all citizens of the Republic.

The French Republic also created a welfare state. As a welfare state, France functions on a need for social cohesion because social projects distributed by the highly centralized state need higher overall concession. Social cohesion describes a strength in social relations, equal opportunities, shared values and communities and identities (Berger-Schmitt, 2002, p. 3). According to Berger-Schmitt (2002), social cohesion creates inclusion and exclusion. This is because in order to be recognized in the social community individuals must conform to the social agreements of the welfare state. These agreements are not always just, resulting in individuals being excluded based on race, age, sex, and other cultural/political beliefs. Social conflict can occur when individuals fail to be included or feel that shared values and identities misrepresent and harm them. Social conflict can result in protests, revolts, and civil wars, and in France, this is exemplified by protest following the French Revolution.

In contrast To France's welfare state the US political and cultural identities are greatly tied to neoliberalism, which is an economic philosophy that favors limited government regulation and promotes private entities and a free market (Fairclough, 2003). The government's role is to help promote market competition rather than the security of citizenship (Wilson, 2017). Additionally, welfare, social protection, and

environmental regulations are seen as hindrances to individualism and entrepreneurship (Wilson, 2017).

One of the most harmful legacies of neoliberalism is the US cultural and political obsession with “sound science,” which is directly related to the “Republican Revolution” in 1994 (104th US Congress) and global warming (McCright, 2016; Dunlap and Jacques, 2013). Fearing that the pursuit of environmental regulation would halt global neoliberal policy, the Republican party sought to delegitimize the science behind anthropogenic (human-made) global warming. Republicans accomplished the delegitimization of science by claiming that the evidence of anthropogenic global warming was politicized and failed to be “sound science” (Brown, 1997). Since the 104th US Congress, proving scientific evidence as “sound science” has resulted in a cultural and political polarization of science, specifically concerning the environment. Indeed, this is the antithesis of French culture and politics.

Since the end of World War II, France has also had the political motivation to be a presence on the global stage. This included increasing its power within the European Union (EU) as well as directing and dictating the EU’s political agenda with Germany (Howarth and Varouxakis, 2003). Other global leadership positions in which France has participated include the membership of the G7 and G20 summit, where global leaders discuss global economic policies with other global leaders. The desire to be a global leader is even present in the context of climate change. In 2015, France hosted the COP21, the United Nations Climate Change Conference, which witnessed the negotiation and ratification of the climate treaty The Paris Agreement.

On a national scale, France is attempting to be a global model for climate policy. Although the United States spearheaded the global environmental movement starting in the sixties, France has surpassed the United States in environmental policy. Most outstanding is France's adoption of the Anti-Waste and Circular Economy Act. The aim of this policy is to transition France's socio-economic behavior to produce less waste and preserve natural resources, biodiversity and the climate (Eco-Innovation Observatory, 2020).

Some may argue that the recent protest of the *gilet-jaune* demonstrations showcases social action against climate change, however, scholars Douenne and Fabre (2019) found this to be false. Their research concludes that the public response (*gilet-jaune*) to carbon taxes was due to lack of education on the gas tax and its environmental effectiveness. Therefore the protestors were protesting the associated economic cost and not the denialism or skepticism of climate change and climate action.

In sum, then, the information above explains the journalistic, cultural, and political differences between France and the US. Key takeaways are the following:

1. *The difference of objectivity in US American journalism and subjectivity in French journalism.*
2. *The belief that French journalism is seen as a public service, while US journalism is valued as another form of entertainment.*
3. *France's cultural and political ideologies value secularism and a highly bureaucratic state that protects equality and solidarity, however social cohesion is vital for a functional state.*

4. *US political and cultural beliefs are situated around neoliberalism, which has had the detrimental effect of delegitimizing science.*
5. *The US was once a global model for climate action, but its position as a role model is being replaced by European countries like France.*

How these three elements -culture, politics and journalism- appear in climate change discourse will be discussed in the sections below.

Climate Change Discourse(s)

Involving science, culture, and politics, climate change is therefore humankind's most complex challenge of the 21st century. At the core, climate change refers to the physical process of global warming caused by increased amounts of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. The increase of greenhouse gases is linked to human activities, most predominantly the burning of fossil fuels. The burning of fossil fuels for industry and energy releases large amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Carbon dioxide along with other greenhouse gases, such as methane, nitrous oxide, and chlorofluorocarbons, trap solar radiation and heat on the earth surface, creating the greenhouse effect.

Fluctuation in the quantity of greenhouse gases has physical effects on earth systems. Presently the increased amount of greenhouse gases is having physical effects on temperature, precipitation, snow melt, and ocean acidification. These physical changes are the reasons behind increased floods and droughts, record high temperatures, decline of the biophysical environment as well as extreme natural events (forest fires, hurricanes, and severe storms) (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2019). As the

physical environment is shaped and changed by climate change so are the social-economic and political environments. Socially, climate change highlights injustices within our institutions and belief systems shedding light on poverty, racism, sexism, and numerous other -isms. Economically, climate change disrupts supply chains and threatens market stability. Politically, climate change has produced polarized beliefs as well as global recognition from policymakers.

The complexity of climate change is also reflected in its discourse. Due to politics and culture, trends in discourse can be distinguished and can include, but are not limited to: 1) Skeptic/denialism; 2) Climate change as a justice issue; 3) Market and Economy; 4) Policy and Politics; 5) Scientific Findings; 6) Anthropocene; and 7) Shared/collective problem

Skepticism/Denialism

“Skepticism/denialism” discourse has evolved over the years. In the beginning skeptic/denialism discourse refuted and wholeheartedly denied the existence of climate change. However, as scientific and physical evidence both produce themselves in real time, the discourse has shifted. Presently, skepticism/denialism sees climate change as a distant problem where immediate action is unnecessary. This discourse often negatively criticizes climate action and is skeptical of climate activist platforms. Deniers still reluctantly accept human-caused climate change, claiming that climate change is a naturally occurring event. Skeptics are less likely to accept stronger political reform and market changes, upholding the belief that the market will solve climate change.

Climate change as a justice issue

Climate change as a “justice issue” discourse highlights the social inequalities of climate change. Producers of this discourse are frequently social, climate, and environmental activists. The language highlights social effects brought on by the physical effects caused by climate change. One of the more prominent injustices being addressed in this discourse is intergenerational injustice, which is viewed as an ethical responsibility to protect natural resources, environments, and species for future generations (Gardiner, 2011). Other injustices addressed in this discourse are climate vulnerability, erasure of culture, species justice, and environmental racism. Discourse in this genre is typically hyper-critical of politicians and fossil fuel companies and supports political reform.

Market and Economy

“Market and economy” discourse focuses on how climate change impacts economic structures and the global market. This discourse is different from skeptic beliefs because it accepts the existence of climate change but frames the consequences as damaging the financial sector. Those that employ this discourse oftentimes have the objective to persuade individuals who refuse climate action, in fear of market regulation.

Policy and Politics

“Policy and politics” discourse addresses the politics of climate change and the position that governments take on climate policy. This discourse often places political regulation as the number one solution to solving climate change. Scales of “policy and

politics” include local, regional, national, and international. Policy and politics discourse can include the skeptical and denial language in order to explain political positions and ideologies.

Scientific Findings

“Scientific Findings” discourse centers around the scientific evidence for climate change. This discourse often includes figures and strong scientific evidence for climate change. Additionally, the discourse describes the physical effects of climate change on humans and the environment. Unlike other discourse that may include scientific evidence this discourse focuses on the figures and climate models and technologies.

Anthropocene

“Anthropocene” discourse arises from the belief that due to human activities, nature no longer shapes earth systems. This establishes a new geological era. The language usually highlights human activities such as burning fossil fuels, land use, water contamination, and depletion of natural resources. Since human activity is at play this discourse will also include the cultural and political elements that contributed to humans dominating earth systems.

Shared/Collective problem

“Shared and collective problem” discourse stems from the ideology that we all experience climate change, therefore a collective response is necessary. This discourse can include discussions of collective responses at multiple levels (local, national, global). Criticism of this discourse states that a collective response erases the

disproportionate responsibility of greenhouse gases emissions and requires low emitters or vulnerable countries to contribute an equal response. This thereby obscures climate justice issues.

The discourses listed above are just a few examples of the powerful discourses constructed in climate change communication. As we will see in the analysis that follows, the excerpts concentrate most on discourses of “Denialism/skepticism,” “Market,” “Climate as a justice issue,” and “Policy and politics.” This is due to the fact that the US draws heavily on its neoliberal culture and politics as well as the stance of the Trump administration. The French discourse relies heavily on its ideas of the French Republic including secularism and revolution. These concentrated discourses and others appear in journalism and other media due to frames, ideologies as well as ingroups and outgroups. The sections below describe these key concepts of discourse.

Framing

Trends in discourse develop due to framing. Anthropologist Gregory Bateson defines frames as being or delimiting a set or class of messages or meaningful actions (cited in Rawlins, 1987, p.58). He further stipulates that frames have “common functions and uses” (cited in Rawlins, 1987, p.58). For critical discourse analysis the important function of frames is what is included and excluded as well as the development of particular conceptualization or thinking about an issue and their relationship to power (Chong, 2007; Fairclough, 2003; Rawlins, 1987). For example, using a local or national frame can develop the conceptualization that climate change is directly impacting one’s local community (Geffron, 2019). This frame is constructed by excluding international issues and diminishing the idea of connectedness. Inclusion of how climate change

impacts day to day life also constructs a local and national frame. The power in a local and national frame is that this frame can be a call to action.

When analyzing framing we seek to examine the production of the meaning and the social significance in the construction of opinions and beliefs (Snow and Benford, 2005, p. 20). Framing theory also states that “any issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or consideration” (Chong, 2007). This originates from an individual's attitude towards a particular subject or objects. These attitudes then place certain emphasis and evaluation on various considerations about a subject, forming a “frame of thought.” For example, the cultural “frame of thought” of the French Republic constructs a more socially aware perspective of climate change. This is because attitudes of social justice are emphasized by France’s understanding of the government's role, which is a centralized state protecting social rights of citizens. Since any issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, climate change frames can also include skeptical attitudes seen in US climate change discourse. The US skeptical frame is constructed, for example, when an individual emphasizes the importance of the free market over the financial requirements needed for climate action.

In writing, Fairclough (2003) argues that the individual’s conceptualization and thinking on an issue, or “frame of thought,” appears in the voice of the text. Through voice authors utilize “frame of communication” to organize everyday experiences and provide meaning and significance to unfolding events, promoting particular definitions and perceptions of cultures and politics (Chong, 2007; Goffman, 1974). For instance, an author can choose to communicate through a local or national frame in order to create

the political perception that reform and regulations are needed to protect local/national communities. This choice demonstrates power of discourse because the frame has emphasized and included the particular attitudes that support local or federal government action and excluded attitudes that diminished governmental regulation or addressed international issues. Therefore, the frame was chosen to have readers support and vote on political reform and regulation at a local or national level. Critical discourse analysis seeks to analyze how voices by way of frames shape the power of discourse.

Ideology

Culturally, ideologies are positions, beliefs, and perspectives shared within a social group. According to Snow and Benford (2005), ideology can be seen as a cultural resource for framing. Snow and Benford further explains that framing involves amplifying, accenting or articulating existing beliefs and values most often associated with ideologies (p.209). Thus, ideology can be viewed as a resource or a tool in the construction of framing. In critical discourse analysis, ideologies themselves are “representation of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2003, p.9). Moreover, ideologies are a modality of power (Fairclough, 2003). As a modality of power, ideologies can act socially by being inculcated in the identities of social agents (Fairclough, 2003). This means ideologies can be durable and stable transcending texts (Fairclough,2003 p.9). Transcending texts can be described as ideologies that go beyond the written word and shape readers' ideologies, which readers uphold as they carry out daily or social action.

Ingroup/outgroup

Both cultural studies and sociology describe ideologies as helping form ingroups/outgroups. Ingroup/outgroup describes the notion of social categories. An ingroup is a social category or group with which you identify strongly, while an outgroup is a social category or group with which you do not identify (Giles, 2013). An ingroup/outgroup marks identities communicatively (Giles, 2013). This is carried out through social practices such as distinctive languages and speech styles, dress codes, as well as festivals and other traditions. These social practices establish a “we” and “them” framing. In the context of climate change the generalized ingroup and outgroup labeling is climate change activist versus climate change skeptics/deniers. However other variations include politicians versus the people, activists versus Neoliberalism, science versus religion, etc.

Additionally, ingroup/outgroup solidifies group identity and ideology by strengthening core beliefs and characteristics of a group. Social identity theory states that humans participate in this practice in order to form a community or collective action (Giles, 2013). In texts, authors employ “ingroup/outgroup” discourse to establish the sense of group/collective identity, which makes the readers more likely to connect with the text and its message. This is based on the reader’s emotions and beliefs. Sociology explains that it is this sense of community along with consciences that make people act (Anderson, 1991). It is important to note that the ingroup/outgroup associations change with the voice, reflecting the ideologies held by the social actor or the author of the text.

As previously mentioned, ingroup/outgroup ideologies appear in climate change discourse. American ingroup/outgroup ideologies on climate change interact with each other by “passing the blame,” creating scapegoats, and overtly politicizing climate change. This is due to the distinct “we versus them” social structure established by the Republican Revolution. French ingroups/outgroup ideologies on climate change reflect the position of France's social and cultural identity in the international political scene (Brossard, 2004). This ingroup/outgroup discourse reflects France’s desire to be a global role model in climate action.

Methodology

This thesis reviewed and compared 60 articles. The corpus consists of 40 U.S. American newspaper articles and 20 French newspaper articles. In addition, this thesis provides 2 text-analyses of the 60-article corpus, 1 U.S and 1 French article. U.S. American articles were collected from *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*. French articles were collected from *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde*. Both US and French newspapers were selected based on the MeCCO categorization of elite media in France and the United States. The databases of *Proquest*, *Nexis Uni*, *Newsbank Access World News Research Collection*, and *Global Newsstream* were used to obtain articles. The search criteria included any newspaper articles that used the keywords of “climate change,” “global warming” or “le changement climatique,” and “le réchauffement climatique” in the year 2019 (i.e., 1 January to 31 December 2019). In addition to the aforementioned keywords, texts that adhered to a strong political or cultural discourse concerning climate change were selected. This means articles that offered advice and tips on climate change mitigation and adaptation

were excluded. Outside authorship (i.e., guest authors & editorials) and articles under 500 words were also excluded from selection.

The representation of climate change was analyzed using a critical discourse methodology inspired by Norman Fairclough and others. Understanding that representational meanings in clauses include the physical, mental, and social word of thought, Fairclough focuses his work on how structure and agency relations take on social meaning (2003). Fairclough defines structure and agency relations by first breaking them into their separate parts. First, structure is valued as how “pre-given structures and systems limit and shape and determine social events and action” (Fairclough, 2003, 224). This can include linguistic elements (i.e., lexicon, syntax, etc.) as well as social elements (i.e. ideologies, social institutions, etc.). Second, agency is the production of text, action, and events (224). Fairclough argues that structure and agency cannot stand alone, thus the two are “causal powers” and have a dialectical relationship (p.224). Critical discourse analysis through the analyzing of clausal elements and inclusion and exclusion seeks to understand this dialectical relationship.

The qualitative analysis presented in this essay specifically analyzed inclusion and exclusion, nominalization, social actors, and lexicon.

Since representation of social events brings together various elements, it is important to analyze text from a representational point of view (Fairclough 2003 136). Simply put, this refers to what is, and is not being represented within the text, or what Fairclough refers to as inclusion and exclusion (135-136). Inclusion and exclusion is determined by various factors. Most predominantly is the individual’s ideologies, beliefs and intentions. Intention in the field of socio-linguistics can be defined as “speakers

meaning” or what the speaker intended by actually uttering the sentence (Perconti, 2017). Individuals in control of the discourse use power to dictate the inclusion and exclusion of knowledge available to the recipient.

For example, articles or narratives that focus on a “shared collective discourse” may intentionally exclude representation of specific countries or specific emitters. This is to draw attention to the fact that climate change is human-caused, thus all humans must assist in climate action. The exclusion of identification in specific emitters causes low emitters or countries less responsible for climate change to lose power. Loss in power is established through the exclusion of low emitter discourse that demand(s) higher emitting countries take responsibility for their contribution to climate change. This discourse is excluded from “shared collective discourse” because it disrupts the collective frame. The exclusion also demonstrates power because the information about lack of responsibility of high emitters is not shared with the audience. Through this exclusion the audience receives limited knowledge. Therefore, elements that are included or excluded ultimately shape the discourse and its social message. The analysis of inclusion and exclusion seeks to understand the power relation within discourse.

Nominalization is the linguistic process of transforming verbs into nouns, i.e., *to destroy* becomes *destruction*. Semantically this process removes the tense, modality and agency (Fairclough, 2003,143). This makes nominalization a tool for generalization, often used in scientific and technical discourses. Outside of scientific and technical dialogues and texts, nominalization can be intentionally employed to exclude social agents and responsibility in the representation of social events (220). For instance,

climate change itself is an example of nominalization. Prior to 2006, climate change was represented solely in scientific and technical speech acts. In scientific and technological jargon, climate change generalized the changing climate and the rapid warming of Earth's surface temperature due to human-induced greenhouse gas emissions. As the term became popularized and appeared more and more regularly in daily publications and daily discourse (newspapers, policy, etc.) the agent failed to be reestablished. Nominalization has meant that the debate over the social actors and agents involved in climate change has taken place through daily discourse, where social ideologies and personalities have passed the blame onto nature or onto out-groups, rather than humankind as a whole.

Additionally, nominalization establishes entities by removing agency in order to focus on the act rather than the agent (Bilig, 2008). According to Bilig (2008) and supported by Fairclough (2003), due to nominalization these entities appear as objective elements rather than contingent results of human action. Furthermore, these entities can then be used as subjects for verbs, which designates or erases agency (Bilig, 2008; Fairclough, 2003). Excerpt 1 from The *New York Times's* article, "It's Bad, It's Real, Just Don't Call It Climate Change" by Mitch Smith and John Schwartz demonstrates how nominalization can make nature its own agent in order to dramatize the effects of climate change as well as erase blame from any social actor.

Excerpt 1

1. The Mississippi River which gushed into downtown Davenport at record
2. levels two weeks ago, has finally retreated towards its banks.

The above excerpt showcases nominalization because the focus is placed on the actions and the descriptions rather than agents. For example, in Excerpt 1, the

Mississippi River is acting as the subject of the phrase, however, the emphasis is placed on the act of “gushing” and “retreating” in order to depict severe destruction.

In contrast to nominalization authors can use social agents to emphasize the agent. Fairclough (2003) defines social actors as typically the participants in social processes (135). Participants are represented in clauses as subjects, objects or indirect objects of verbs (135). Fairclough argues that there are a number of choices available in representation of social actors. As mentioned above, the initial question one must ask is how are social actors included or excluded in representation of social events? Like other linguists, such as Halladay (1994), Van Leeuwen (1995), Fairclough (2003) states that, “which social actors get represented and in which ways is a matter of social significance” (p.222).

Le *Monde*'s article “La transition écologique doit être explicitée” [The ecological transition should be made explicit], by Patrice Geoffron gives an example of this social significance. In his article, social actors are represented as the possessive pronouns - nos/our, leurs/their, son, sa/its- and generic proper nouns - France, US, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Germany. Both these representations of social actors exclude the representation of the individual. By excluding individual and named social actors, Geoffron includes and identifies the reader as a social actor. In the case of climate change, the power of identifying the audience as social actors leads to readers seeing themselves as active agents in climate change. As active agents readers are able to identify themselves as both part of the problem and the solution, potentially leading to change in behavior or implementation of climate change policy.

In addition to inclusion and exclusion, nominalization and social actors, speakers use intentional lexicon to portray their desired messages. This intentional lexicon aids in establishing ideologies and ingroups/outgroups. For example, Geoffron was intentional in his use of words in order to create the meaning that an ecological transition is a revolution. Examples of his lexicon are listed below:

tyrannie/tyranny
charbon roi/king charbon
résistance/resistance
fractures /fractures
rapture/rapture
révolution/ revolution
inverter/inventing
réinvention/reinvention
collectif/ collective

This meaning becomes clearer if the reader shares ideologies of revolutions. Furthermore, this distinct lexicon strengthened by ideologies forms ingroup/outgroups because in order to comprehend Geoffron's whole revolutionary meaning the reader must be a part of the ingroup, in this case, a Francophile or French citizen. As a social agent Geoffron intentionally chose this frame of communication in order to inspire social action. Thus, lexicon analysis aides in the identification of frames, in-group/outgroups, ideologies and social actors.

Quantitative analysis in this article followed the same methodology, however, to a lesser extent. Analysis of all 60 articles were completed by hand. After analyzing and identifying lexical elements, I categorized the discourses. These categories include the discourses addressed in the climate change discourse(s) section of this thesis. With my methodology outlined, the sections below describe my qualitative analysis.

Analysis & Findings

The remainder of this essay is dedicated to an analysis of the 60-article corpus as well as a close text analysis of two articles (Text-Analysis 1 & 2). Text-Analysis 1 provides an in-depth analysis of the US English linguistic and cultural representation of climate change, while Text-Analysis 2 offers a similar analysis of the French counterpart.

Both articles are similar in the sense that Greta Thunberg is a vehicle for both articles' overall messages. Greta Thunberg is the Swedish environmentalist activist, who is most notable for her efforts in mobilizing youth climate strikes as well as calling out world leaders for their lack of action towards climate change adaptation and mitigation. Two year ago, this 17-year-old began her youth led movement "Fridays For Future." In August of 2018, Greta began her first climate strike when she skipped school on Fridays to protest outside of the Swedish parliament. Greta's goal was and still is to hold policymakers accountable to their agreement of keeping global warming well below the 2°C outlined by the Paris Climate Agreement. What started out as a solo school strike expanded rapidly with the creation of #FridaysForFuture (FridaysForFututre, 2020). With this hashtag Greta urges youth from around the world to join her in her strikes and demand that policymakers take action to protect their futures and the future of the environment. "#FridaysForFuture," garnered millions of the youth's voices addressing the issue of climate and more specifically that of "intergenerational justice." Greta and her followers have been so successful in their actions from 2019 that Greta and her youth climate allies dictated much of the climate change discourse that same year. Indeed, Greta has become synonymous with climate

action, both in popular culture by receiving Time Magazine's Person of the Year, 2019 for her climate action avocation, and in elite media, which is demonstrated by Text-Analysis 1 & 2. However, Text-Analysis 1 & 2 will show how her public persona includes images of a leader of climate action, a saint, a naive child as well as an enemy to the economy.

Text-Analysis 1

Text-Analysis 1 is an example of the US English representation of Greta Thunberg and climate change discourse. Text-Analysis 1 analyzes *The Wall Street Journal's* article, "St. Greta Spreads the Climate Gospel; A movement that believes in sin, penance and salvation doesn't sound very scientific," by author Gerard Baker. Baker's article represents the most recent climate rhetoric as a cult movement following blindly in the footsteps of Greta Thunberg and her youth army. Baker argues that environmentalism has become "the modern world's secular religion" (Baker, 2019). The author also claims that this new "religion's" apocalyptic rhetoric is impeding the growth of development, threatening neoliberal ideologies, and abolishing innovation and invention of technology that could help in the fight against climate change.

Baker is a British writer who has ascended the ranks at *The Wall Street Journal*. From 2013-2018, he served as the journal's Editor-in-Chief and in 2018, he left his post to become Editor-at-Large. Baker's ideology can be described as right-wing conservatism concerned more about the economy than social issues. His role as Editor-at-Large enables him to infuse his beliefs throughout the ideology of the paper. Therefore, Baker's views ultimately shape the discourse found within *The Wall Street Journal* as well as his own articles. The *Wall Street Journal* is described as being one of

the few centrist journals in the United States (Ad fonte media, 2020). However, on the topic of climate change and under the leadership of Baker, the journal resembles right-wing media beliefs, preserving denial and skepticism of climate change. Baker's rhetoric along with other authors of *The Wall Street Journal* uphold skepticism of climate change in order to advance a neoliberal agenda to its viewership.

Baker's article constructs "Skepticism/Denialism" discourse by framing environmentalism as a secular religious cult; his articles also set up ingroup/outgroup discourses, includes the representation of social actors, and relies heavily on religious culture. For the purpose of Baker's article, religious culture here includes the teaching of Christianity including its beliefs and icons.

Baker's denial/skeptic discourse is framed through the analogy that environmentalism is the modern world's secular religious cult. It is important to note that this analogy also demonstrates the oxymoron, "secular religion." Secular means not relating or pertaining to religion, thus a secular religion is a contradiction. It is uncertain if this was Baker's intention, however, the oxymoron helps Baker to discredit environmentalism because it slanders the scientific claims made by the movement. Culturally science is seen as the antithesis of religion (Mooney, 2006). This conflict of interest is based on science's foundation of testing falsifiable hypotheses with straightforward methods and evidence (Haught, 1995), whereas religion is founded on blind faith, sophisticated rhetoric, and performances of devotion (Warf and Arias, 2008). Science rejects religion based on the simple fact that religions have failed to provide any concrete or unbiased evidence on the existence of God (Haught, 1995). Since science is a fundamental building block to the environmental movement the association

with religion questions the legitimacy of the science cited and supported by environmentalism. In fact, it leads readers to associate the science of environmentalism with bias and contradictory evidence, thereby achieving Baker's objective of slandering environmentalism.

Excerpt 1.

1. Now its proponents will scoff, of course, and say there's a critical difference:
2. The climate imperative is science based, the opposite of religion.

Excerpt 1 reiterates the cultural belief that science is the antithesis of religion.

This is executed through the inclusion of the adjectives *opposite* (line 2) and *critical* (line 1). Since *opposite* is describing religion, science then represents the contrary and the assumption is made that the climate imperative is scientifically sound with unbiased and concrete evidence. The separation of science and religion is further emphasized through the adjective *critical* (line 1). *Critical* is describing the noun *difference*, therefore readers surmise that the difference between the *climate imperative* and *religion* is of great importance. Together these lexical choices reiterate the contemporary belief of the separation of science and religion.

With this clear distinction made Baker is able to use it to contradict environmentalism. He achieves this by identifying the speaker of Excerpt 1 as individuals supporting the climate imperative. He represents this collective with the noun *proponents* (line 1). This representation depicts the statement, "science and the climate imperative are contrary to religion" as strict rhetoric of proponents of climate change. Baker, through credible religious associations or analogies, which this article argues, represents environmentalism to be contradictory.

Not only does the framing describe environmentalism as a religion, but it further emphasizes the illegitimacy of the movement by representing it as a cult. Robbins and Dick (1982) among other scholars define cults “as authoritarian, centralized, communal and ‘totalistic’” (p.58), which are led by charismatic leaders. Cults are loose in organization with no clear-cut boundaries and oftentimes resemble a group who has made “a radical break with the dominant religious culture” (Robbins and Dick, 1982, p.59). In contemporary history, cults have also been heavily associated with violence, danger, and brainwashing (Cowan and Bromley, 2015). Therefore, Baker’s representation of environmentalism as a cult links the movement with the contemporary and cultural tropes of cults. Excerpt 2 demonstrates this rhetoric.

Excerpt 2

1. this near-religious fervor among the climate change activists—a growing
2. fanaticism that recalls some of the more troubling traits of extreme
3. religious cults.

The lexicon of *fanaticism*, *extreme*, *religious*, and *cults*, emphasizes Baker’s framing of environmentalism, and therefore climate change action, as egregious beliefs based on unreliable and unproven evidence. The specific choice of *fanaticism* establishes a sense of blind faith because the noun refers to an uncritical enthusiasm. Culturally, blind faith is only tolerated, accepted, and praised in religion (Cook, 1919), thus this association infers that environmentalism is rooted in an uncritical enthusiasm of climate change. Framing environmentalism as a secular religious cult achieves an increased support for skepticism, denial, and criticism of climate change because it paints environmentalism as a brainwashed cult based in blind faith rather than science.

Baker’s lexicon draws heavily on the repetition of religious nouns, noun phrases as well as adjectives and adjectival phrases such as:

High Church of Environmentalism
Climate theology
Original Sin
Apocalyptic
Climate Change Gospel
Biblical
Mortal
Repentance

Excerpts 3 and 4 below demonstrate how Baker's framing and lexicon work together to create exaggerations of environmentalism to support Baker's religious analogies.

Excerpt 3

1. from the Original Sin of a carbon-unleashing industrial revolution to daily
2. transgressions with plastic bottles and long-haul flight- is as central to its
3. message as it was to the Catholic Church.

Excerpt 4

1. Its bishops are Nobel-winners; its biblical texts are peer-reviewed papers

As mentioned previously, religion is created through sophisticated rhetoric. At the center of this rhetoric is a creation story that informs believers of their ancient origins (Warf and Arias, 2008). These stories depict "conformity of religious" practices. Present day believers replicate conformity through the participation in patterns, rituals, and other devoted performances (Warf and Arias, 2008). Excerpts 3 and 4 demonstrate how Baker's analogies of Christianity shape the narrative of his ideas on environmentalism as a religion. For example, in Excerpt 3, the analogy, "the Original Sin of a carbon-unleashing industrial revolution," introduces his religious narrative of environmentalism. The analogy alludes to the creation of environmentalism as the industrial revolution. Since this era saw the birth of cities and the path to a more contemporary lifestyle, it can be associated with a new world order. Baker then correlates the creation of this new world order to God's creation of Adam and Eve. Using this context, the original sin is the

use of carbon. According to Baker, carbon symbolizes the forbidden fruit because it has steered humans to do bad things.

Next, the inclusion of the analogy of “daily transgressions with plastic bottles and long-haul flight” in Excerpt 3 builds the rhetoric of the religion of “environmentalism.” Finally, excerpt 4 illustrates authoritarian figures (bishops and Nobel-winners) in this proposed religion as well as its teachings.

These analogies provide the reader with the patterns and rituals members of Baker’s fictitious religion perform to uphold their beliefs. Although these analogies are compelling and appeal to the beliefs of the skeptic ideology, the argument emphasizes correlation vs. causation. Statistics informs us that correlation fails to imply causation. Therefore, the correlations that Baker establishes through his analogies may not be deduced as a legitimate cause-and-effect relationship.

Furthermore, the analogies and representation of environmentalism and Greta’s movement as a religious cult creates a paradox. This is due to the US having political and cultural traditions of upholding “religious freedom”. “Religious freedom” culture has extended be on the first amendment to impact political decisions, such as women’s rights to an abortion, school curriculum, refusal of service, and marriage laws. “Religious freedom” oftentimes establishes the argument that an action or political decision can be refused because it is against an individual’s beliefs. The irony is that Baker’s representation of Greta’s movement and environmentalism as a religion means that activists would have grounds to reject US politics as well as require respect from the political and economic community. However, the association of Greta’s movement and environmentalism as a cult means that respect is revoked because US

culture and politics views cults as brainwash and coercion. However, it is important to note that there is a fine line between cults and freedom of religion in the US.

In addition to reinforcing the article's frame, the repetition and frequency of analogies and (religious) lexical items increases the likelihood for the audience to agree with Baker's representation of environmentalism. This is because repetition associated with emotion moves information from working memory to long-term memory (Siegel, 2015). Working memory is the memory that allows humans to remember up to 7 pieces of information at a time, for instance a phone number or recipe. Repetition then moves the information from working memory through the hippocampus to long-term storage. When emotions are associated with information, as in religious beliefs or perceptions of religion, the repetition builds on these emotions and solidifies beliefs (Hanson, 2009).

Baker represents his outgroup as acceptors/supporters of the "High Church of Environmentalism," the fictitious representation, by Baker, for environmentalism. He identifies the "parish" (outgroup) as environmentalists, youth activists, and any individual reducing their carbon footprint. Throughout his article Baker frames the outgroup rhetoric to fit religious depiction, which is demonstrated in the excerpts included in Text-Analysis 1. Baker excludes the ingroup from his article, making it hard to detect. However, using the ideology of the author and *The Wall Street Journal*, it can be deduced that the ingroup consists of climate skeptics and critics. Economists can also be included in Baker's excluded ingroup. This is due to Baker's criticism of the outgroup's attack on economic growth.

Rather than constructing a dialogue between groups, Baker's article concentrates its attention on the outgroup and the representation of a religious cult. The

emphasis on the outgroup not only solidifies a polarized “we versus them” rhetoric, but it also deflects the responsibility and agency of the ingroup. This highlights a common theme in “skepticism/denialism” discourse of passing the blame and defamation of character. These themes ultimately undermine the outgroup's rhetoric and in this case paint them as cult extremists. Furthermore, the over exaggeration of the outgroup rhetoric for climate change solutions makes Baker’s argument for economic growth with fossil fuels as the sensible action, highlighting power of discourse.

Baker includes both proper and generalized nouns in his representation of social actors. The most prominent representation of social actors is through the generalized nouns of *environmentalist(s)* and *environmentalism* and *climate activist(s)*. Through these generalizations Baker establishes a flexible collective. This means any individual that adheres to climate rhetoric can be classified in Baker’s representation of the social actors: *environmentalist(s)* and *environmentalism* and *climate activist(s)*. It is important to note that through the use of nominalization, Baker has established *environmentalism* as a social actor. This is due to giving the movement agency and responsibility of climate action.

Environmentalism is an example of the few cases of nominalization throughout Baker’s article. Baker’s framing and representation of the outgroup and social actors can lead us to assume that lack of nominalization was intentional. Since nominalization removes the responsible agent, a lack of nominalization here indicates that Baker actively wants his readers to identify the agents of the secular cult religion “environmentalism.” In the few other occasions where Baker uses nominalization, it is to ensure that no responsibility of agency is linked to the ingroup. For example, Baker

uses extinction and *economic growth*. Since these nouns are nominalized there is no indication of social actors, therefore, readers fail to associate *extinction* and *economic growth* with fossil fuels or the ingroup.

In this article the focus on the social actor removes agency rather than provide the movement with a platform. This removal of agency is seen in Baker's description of social actors. Excerpt 5 depicts the eradication of agency by identifying social actors as "people who express a strong adherence to the climate change gospel." In this identification Baker removes the agency by stating that this collective is lacking intelligence about their own rhetoric. By comparing climate advocates and activists to the intelligence of *medieval villagers* (Line 3), Baker is using the social understanding of religion and education during the Middle Ages. Prior to the John Wycliffe translation of the Bible, biblical texts and the Bible were written in the vulgate of the official Latin of the Middle Ages (Poleg, 2016). For this reason, readings of the biblical text were unintelligible to the layman. This meant dissemination of biblical teachings like *Creation* or *trans-substation*, were mediated orally through charismatic leaders (Poleg, 2016). Thus, villagers understood as much as they were told. By associating climate advocates and activists with these villagers, Baker stipulates that this group is persuaded by the oral storytelling of individuals like Greta Thunberg, rather than understanding the science.

Excerpt 5:

1. But people who express a strong adherence to the climate change gospel
2. know and understand as much about the science of carbon emission or
3. the greenhouse effect as the average medieval villager understood about
4. the Creation or trans-substantiation.

Although Baker's article constructs a "Skepticism/denialism" discourse, underneath the criticism and exaggeration of the environmental movement, Baker is not in complete denial of climate change itself. The article demonstrates that Baker views climate change as a market problem and not a social justice issue. This is seen by his acceptance that the "case for man-made climate change is highly compelling" and his warning that rhetoric that is concerned more with social issues could stunt the economy. What his discourse demonstrates is that Baker may accept climate change as a market problem but not the immediate problem endorsed by environmentalism. This discourse reflects the more current belief among skeptics in the United States.

The power of discourse established in this article shifts the attention away from denial of climate change to discrediting and politicizing those that support environmentalism and climate action. This discreditation is carried out through the frame of environmentalism as a secular religious cult, ingroup/out group discourse, and slandering of social actors. Through exclusion of an ingroup and social actors that support and defend fossil fuels, Baker focuses the discourse on the outgroup of climate change activists and environmentalists. Therefore, the reader is fixated on Baker's representation of environmentalism as a secular religious cult led by Greta Thunberg and made up of "pseudoscientists." Baker's discreditation and removal of the agency of environmentalism has the power to shape the political and cultural landscape because climate action is lobbied and advanced by environmental organizations and climate activists.

Text-Analysis 2

In contrast to the depiction of Greta as a cult leader in Text-Analysis 1, which showcases neoliberal tendencies to delegitimize science and climate reform, Text-Analysis 2 highlights France's cultural and political recognition of social justice through the representation of Greta and her youth movement. "Les ados institués nouveaux leaders écolos; À 12 ou 15 ans, leur parole remplace celle des experts dans l'espace médiatique pour défendre le climat" [Adolescents appointed new ecological leaders; From 12 to 15 years old, their voices replace those of experts in the media in order to defend the climate] by Marie-Estelle Pech of *Le Figaro*. Pech is a journalist at *Le Figaro*, who specializes in education and society. The ideology of *Le Figaro* is centrist-right, however in comparison to the centrist-right of the United States, *Le Figaro* is considered to be more left, especially concerning climate change and other social issues. *Le Figaro* excludes denial discourse from its articles; however, some skepticism is still visible. The skeptic discourse reflects the fiscal conservatism of *Le Figaro*.

Pech's article addresses the French youth joining Greta in her movement, providing the reader with examples of the forms of protest taken by adolescents. These include protesting in the streets, participating in zero waste picnics, addressing the media, interrogating President Macron and other governmental officials. Pech's article creates a platform for the youth's dialogue to be represented, thus giving the youth movement agency, power, and voice. By highlighting the youth movement Pech's article contributes to the climate change discourse by representing climate as a justice issue. This is accomplished through generational framing, "ingroup/outgroup" discourse, and the inclusion of named social actors. Most crucially Pech represents the youth's rhetoric that climate change is an intergenerational justice problem.

Pech's generational framing is supported through the format and the structure of her article. For example, Pech opens with the focus on adolescents depicting their rhetoric and their actions in order to draw attention to the intergenerational injustice occurring. Following the explanation of the youth movement, Pech includes the comments of adults on youth activists and their movement. The sections are distinct because adolescents and adults are never represented together. The groups comment on each other, however, Pech never mixes adolescent dialogue with adult dialogue. This emphasizes the generational frame because the separation creates the sensation that two disparate generations are talking through/at each other, rather than coming together as one embodiment and talking with each other to address or solve the injustice of climate change.

Excerpt 1

1. Après tout, « nous sommes les premiers concernés par le dérèglement
2. écologique », affirment ces militants du tout récent mouvement mondial
3. « jeunesse pour le climat ».

1. After all, “we are the first affected by ecological disruption” affirmed these
2. protesters of the very recent global movement “youth for the climate.”

Generational framing is depicted in Excerpt 1 through the use of the lexical items: *nous/we*; *les premiers/the first*; *jeunesse/youth*. The lexical construction of these items solidifies the distinction between generations. This is seen in the pronoun of *nous/we* (line 1 French original excerpt), which uses generalization to indicate a collective. Line 3 then instructs the reader that the *nous/we* is the *jeunesse/youth*. With the collective identified as the *jeunesse/youth*, the lexical construction of “*les premier concernés*”/ “*the first affected*” creates a separation between generations because it identifies the youth

as the first affected. Since the youth are of the age of 20 years and younger, the older generations that presently have the power will not experience the impacts, which thereby highlights the separation of climate change consequences by generations. This illustrates the climate as a “justice issue” discourse because it distinguishes the divide that the youth are addressing through their rhetoric that older generations are not concerned with the environmental future of younger and future generations.

Pech’s article represents social actors through the usage of proper and generalized nouns. Proper nouns in the article include the names of French youth (Charlie and Elma), Greta Thunberg, Emmanuel Macron, the names of French and Belgian climatologist (Jean-Pascal van Ypersele and Valérié Masson-Delmotte), and biology professor, Laurence Khivame. The inclusion of these individuals establishes a microcosm of the “Friday’s for Future”/ “les jeunes pour le climat” movement within the article. The inclusion of this microcosm grounds the movement in the present, highlighting how Fridays for Future is taking shape in France. Additionally, the microcosm underlines how France as an individual country is being depicted in the movement and injustice.

Pech is intentional in her choice of proper nouns especially concerning the inclusion of climatologists Ypersele and Delmotte. Pech uses their credentials to establish support for the youth, among climate experts, and to confirm the accuracy of the youth’s rhetoric. In addition to intentionally including the names of experts in the climate field, Pech is deliberate in the inclusion of the youth’s ages. Pech uses the youth’s age as a form of credential, thus allowing the adolescents themselves to be experts in intergenerational injustice. This links back to the generational framing

because Pech establishes that older generations will never be experts in what the youth fear and will experience as a result of climate change. This thereby gives the youth credentials in intergenerational justices, which empowers the legitimacy of the youth's discourse and how it relates to climate change.

Excerpt 2 demonstrates Pech's inclusion of generalized nouns and is a quote taken from Charlie, a French adolescent interrogating President Macron.

Excerpt 2

1. Qu'est-ce que vous entendez par écologie, puisqu'aujourd'hui des pesticides
2. polluent notre sol et donc notre alimentation [...] Quand est-ce que vous allez
3. réagir?

1. What do you mean by ecology, since today pesticides pollute our soil and
2. hence our food [...] When are you going to react?

In Excerpt 2, social actors are represented in the generalized pronouns and possessive nouns of *nous/we*; *notre/our*; and *vous/you*. The representation of social actors as collective pronouns permits the meaning of this quote to be applied at both the macro (international) and micro (national) level. The context of the quote frames the micro-level. By providing the reader with the context of Charlie interrogating President Macron, Pech identifies *nous/we*, *notre/our* and *vous/you* as the French youth (*nous/we*; *notre/our*) and Macron (*vous/you*) as the head of government. If Pech chose to exclude Charlie and Macron and identified the speaker as a youth addressing a political figure the identification of *nous/we* and *vous/you* could be used to represent both the collective global youth and collective governments at the macro-level. What is unique about this excerpt is that although the context of the article indicates that the *nous/we* represented youth around the world, the generalized nature of the pronouns means that the *nous/we*

can also address the human race as well. Therefore, the representation of nous/we and vous/you language separates the people from governments.

Although the article is dominated by proper nouns, Pech's inclusion of generalized nouns -- *jeunesse/youth; adolescents/adolescents; hommes politiques/politicians; Etats/states/governments* -- reiterates the international nature of the movement and creates the foundation of Pech's "ingroup/outgroup" discourse. In the article, the national and international youth are supported by climatologists and climate experts, which represents the ingroup. In contrast, the outgroup includes governments, politicians, and economists. Rather than utilizing ingroup/outgroup to foster shared experiences with the reader, the ingroup/outgroup discourse highlights those impacted by climate injustice (ingroup) and the individuals carrying out the injustice (outgroup). According to this article's ingroup the injustice pertains to the outgroup's efforts to revoke the right for all generations (both living and future generations) to have a viable environment and access to natural resources. In combination with the cultural reference discussed at length below, the ingroup/outgroup discourse paints a metaphorical division between youth and the government, assembling war-like camps.

Excerpt 3 is a quote from Laurence Khivane, a professor of biology. Khivane is not a notable national figure within French society, thus one can deduce that Pech's choice of including his credentials was to highlight that science is in support of the youth movement. This introduces one party that makes up the ingroup. From Khivane's statement, the definitive ingroup and outgroup are identified.

Excerpt 3

1. Nous savons que lorsque les jeunes sont dans la rue, les gouvernements
2. prennent peur et réagissent. Former des jeunes à la prise de parole, les

3. mettre sur le devant de la scène, c'est efficace car, médiatiquement, ils
4. sont neufs. Et s'ils sont motivés, c'est parce qu'ils ont conscience que les
5. États ne pensent pas aux générations futures qu'ils incarnent.

1. We know that when the youth take to the streets, governments become scared
2. and react. Training young people to speak, put them on the front of the stage,
3. this is effective because, media wise, they are new. And if they are motivated,
4. this is because they are aware that governments do not think of the future
5. generations they embody.

Through the usage of nominalization, Excerpt 3 describes the ingroup as the *jeunes/ youth* and the outgroup as *gouvernements/ governments*. This is achieved through the nominalization of the adjective *jeune/young* and the verb *gouverner/to govern*. As nouns *jeunes/youth* and *gouvernements/governments* represent generalized collectives, which allow the ingroup and outgroup to encompass all individuals that identify as youth or the government (i.e., politician, judges). The collectivity of Pech's ingroup and outgroup demonstrates the international quality of both the movement and climate change.

Within Excerpt 3 the ingroup/outgroup identification is visible in lines 1-2 and 4-5. Lines 1-2 explicitly distinguish the *jeunes/youth* as the ingroup and *gouvernements/ governments* as the outgroup through the usage of those exact nouns. The construction of the sentence (lines 1-2) also demonstrates the divide between the two groups. Culturally, the phrase "sont dans la rue" represents individuals taking to the streets to protest or show discontent. Therefore, in the context of Excerpt 3 this phrase indicates the **action** of the youth actually being in the streets and actively showing discontent. The verbs *prennent/become* and *reagissent/react* showcase the **response** of the government to the action of the ingroup. "*Prennent peur*"/ "*become afraid*" highlights the negativity of the reaction because fear is a negative response to an object, belief, or action that is against the individual's beliefs, culture, comforts, morals, etc.

Reagissent/react shows an action countering the original action of youth protesting. Since “*prennent peur*”/ “*become afraid*” accompanies *reagissent/react*, it can be deduced that the government (outgroup) is against the action of the youth (ingroup) taking to the streets in the name of climate justice. This thereby highlights the division and underscores the ingroup and the outgroup.

Lines 4-5 also reinforce the ingroup and outgroup. In this instance, *ils/they* represent the ingroup, more specifically the youth. The negative neglect of the governments (outgroup) constructed in line 5 (French original text) stresses that the youth (ingroup) are victims. However, the inclusion of “*ont conscience*”/ *are aware* addresses that the youth are no longer satisfied in their victimhood.

In a contemporary French context, descending into the streets is seen as dissent and protest. There is a long history of street protest in France that dates back at least to the French Revolution of 1789, as well as the additional revolutions of the 19th century, and other moments in the 20th and 21st centuries, like Mai ‘68 and even the riots of 2005. Pech represents this cultural connection through the inclusion of “*dans la rue*”/ “*take to the streets.*” By placing youth “*dans la rue,*” Pech illustrates the power of the youth demonstrated by France’s history of change that begins in the streets. The association also equates the seriousness of the youth’s movement to other revolutionary movements in France. Figuratively streets represent a communal agreement. When individuals protest in the streets it is a physical and metaphorical representation of objection to the current agreement. Since everyone has access to streets, streets are also valued as a democratic or egalitarian space.

Taking to the streets, the adolescents are demonstrating their protest against the communal/social agreement that politicians can disregard the securing of a safe environment and access to natural resources for future generations through their inaction to climate change.

In addition to equating the adolescent's movement to powerful movements in France's history, Pech also successfully gives youth agency, power, and voice through the association with "*dans la rue*"/*take to the streets*. This is because another metaphor of the streets is a jungle that harbors criminals, outcasts, and urchins. Therefore, the streets are "no place for children." This belief was established through political reforms starting in the 1830's which saw children as victims of society and adults (Cunningham, 2020). Notable French reform establishing victimhood in children were the 1841 Child Labour Law and "moralement abandonné." The 1841 Child Labour Law marks the state intervention on the supervision and protection of childhood (p.117). By protecting childhood, the state hoped to protect children from the streets and poverty. "Moralement abandonné" was a concept established in the 1880s in relation to child abuse (p.123). If a child was labeled as "moralement abandonné," they were seen as a threat and a victim and were taken by the state" (p.123). Furthermore, this concept shifted previous Napoleonic perspectives that children were at fault to parents receiving punishment for child abuse (p.123). These reforms translated culturally to children being powerless and helpless. In the case of the youth movement, adolescents are reclaiming their victim role and rather than relying on the agency of adults, youth participation in the youth climate movement are taking agency and power into their own hands. This reclamation of power can be seen through Pech's representation.

Pech continues the metaphoric use of a historical and cultural French system of signification (semiotics) in her representation of “jeunes pour le climat.” For example, Excerpt 4 expresses the metaphoric symbol of Greta Thunberg being this generation’s Jeanne d’Arc/Joan of Arc.

Excerpt 4

1. Elle s’exprime avec clarté et avec calme, même si son discours très direct ne
2. s’embrasse pas de nuances. C’est sans doute ce qui fait la force de cette
3. adolescente, diagnostiquée autiste Asperger à l’âge de 11 ans.

1. She expresses herself with clarity and calmness, even if her very direct
2. discourse does not embrace nuances. This is undoubtedly what gives strength
3. about this adolescent diagnosed with autistic Asperger at the age of 11.

The association to Joan of Arc is constructed through Pech’s description of Greta’s strong demeanor and inclusion of Greta’s diagnosis of autism. Jeanne d’Arc is known as France’s teenage heroine who reclaimed France’s throne from the British in 1429 thanks to the voices and instructions of Archangel Saint Michel (Warner, 2013). Marina Warner along with other scholars, describes Joan’s character attributes as a brave, noble, poignant, bracing figurehead of freedom and truth (2013). Pech emulates these characteristics in her description of Greta, highlighted above in Excerpt 4. The inclusion of Greta’s autism can be seen as Pech relating Greta’s neurodevelopmental disorder to Joan’s spiritual connections and mental state or “health” concerning hearing voices. By portraying Greta as a Joan-like figure, Pech associates Greta’s mission to that of Joan’s, however rather than saving France, Greta has been “anointed” to save the Earth.

Although Joan of Arc has been used by both liberals and conservatives in France, the National Rally (previously known as Le Front National) has claimed Joan as

a symbol of France of nationalism and patriotism (Davies, 1993). By connecting Greta to Joan D'arc, Pech disrupts the once heavily owned right nationalist symbol and reframes it as a global symbol for climate change. This also connects France to a much broader/ global movement. This demonstrates France's desire to be an international force and a model for climate action.

Although Pech's article gives adolescents control over the discourse by representing their rhetoric, there is an underlying tone of criticism towards children as political actors within the article. It is uncertain if this is representative of the conservative ideology of *Le Figaro* or related to the portrayal in general of youth in French culture (Cunningham, 2020,) The criticism is developed through the generational structure mentioned previously as well as inclusion of phrases that undermine the intelligence of the youth. The generational structure showcases criticism and skepticism of the legitimacy of youth as political actors because as mentioned before the discourses of each generation are not presented simultaneously in dialogue in the article. Therefore, in addition to the generations appearing to talk through/past each other, the author/article places the dialogue at different levels. Consequently, due to cultural beliefs that age equates to more expertise and value, the rhetoric of the youth is therefore valued less when there is a distinction between the two dialogues. Secondly, Pech includes phrases such as:

Excerpt 5

1. Certes, Charlie avait préparé son intervention avec sa mère, la veille...mais
2. elle a été relayée des milliers de fois

1. Certainly, Charlie had prepared his intervention with his mom, the night before...but it had been relayed a thousand times

Excerpt 6

1. C'est le propre de l'activisme : les contraintes économiques des
 2. responsables politiques ne lui importent guère.
-
1. This is what activism does: the economic constraints of politicians who
 2. are responsible do not matter much to it.

These phrases highlight the tone of criticism because they undermine the intelligence of adolescents. For instance, excerpt 5, which follows the quote of Charlie interrogating Macron, alludes to Charlie's inability to ask hard questions without the help of an adult about climate change and the government's stance. Excerpt 5 also hints that Charlie's ideas are not his own (line 2), therefore he is only echoing the words of adults or other climate conscious entities. Excerpt 6 demonstrates the skeptical tone that youth lack the experience and knowledge of the economy and how much climate change solutions will cost.

Putting aside the slightly critical tone of youth as political actors, Pech ultimately shifts the power of discourse in favor of the youth in their fight to combat the climate injustice of intergenerational disregard. The power of discourse found in Pech's article is its ability to reestablish agency within climate change discourse. This is accomplished by representing the youth's rhetoric. The agency is found within the youth's platform of exposing governments' and politicians' lack of action in the protection of the environment, for all generations, from climate change. By actively addressing the leaders' inaction, youth have become their own agents in the fight against climate change and the intergenerational injustice. Pech further supports this by placing the youth "dans la rue" in order to juxtapose the cultural stance that the streets are no place for children, equally identifying "les jeunes pour le climat" as a revolutionary protest equating to France's cultural tradition and history. Lastly the overall generational

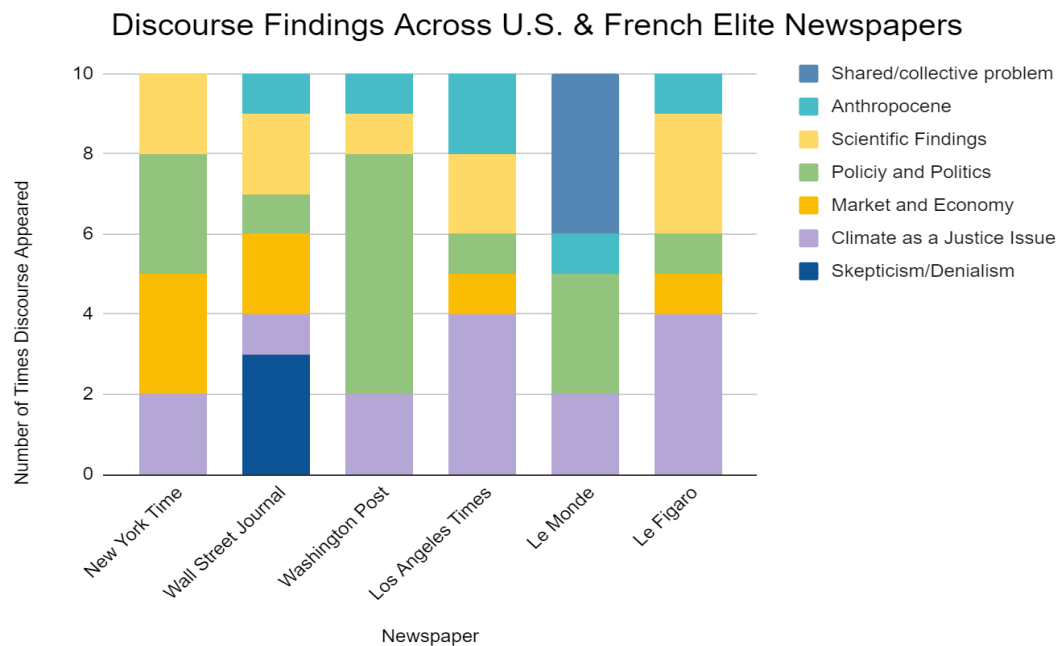
framing of the article permits the adolescent's generation to stand out from older generations as the experts in intergenerational justice because it is their lives that are literally on the line.

Corpus

Accompanying Text-Analysis 1& 2 this thesis performed a brief quantitative analysis of 60 articles. 20 articles from *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* and 40 articles from *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* were coded using the methodology detailed under the section Methodology.

Figure 1 presents the findings across each newspaper and charts the number of times the specific discourses -- detailed in this thesis's section titled Climate Change Discourse (s) -- appeared. Coding of the 60 articles were completed by hand, then tabulated using Microsoft Excel.

Figure 1



Note. Figure 1 demonstrates the number of times the specific discourses: 1) *Skeptical/denialism*; 2) *Climate change as a justice issue*; 3) *Market and Economy*; 4.) *Policy and Politics*; 5.) *Scientific Findings*; 6.) *Anthropocene*; 7.) *Shared/collective problem* appeared in the newspapers *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Le Monde*, and *Le Figaro*.

Findings in Figure 1 illustrate that *The New York Times* includes more variation in climate change discourse. *The New York Times* was also more likely to adhere strictly to balance and objectivity. Almost all its articles included commentary from both sides of the argument. Figure 1 also displays that compared to other American Newspapers *The Washington Post* published more articles representing “policy and politics” discourse. The higher number of *The Washington Times* articles that demonstrate “policy and politics’ discourse may be linked to the fact that *The Washington Post’s* office is located in Washington D.C. Location may also help explain why the *Los Angeles Times* produced more articles that represented climate as a “justice issue” discourse. Articles in the *Los Angeles Times* were also more likely to include the pronoun *we* in comparison to other American newspapers. Articles in the *Los Angeles Times* more closely resembled articles in the French newspapers than other American newspapers. Findings from *The Wall Street Journal* match the description of skepticism/denialism ideology discussed in Text-analysis 1. Also, being more fiscally concerned *The Wall Street Journal* included more figures and numbers in articles, even when articles contributed to other discourse, not just “market and economy” discourse.

Surprisingly, *Le Figaro*, France’s conservative newspaper, included more climate as a “justice issue” than *Le Monde*. However, in comparison *Le Figure* includes more figures and numbers in its articles. Although “shared/collective problem” was the more popular discourse out of the 10 articles found, articles that represented this discourse also focused on climate change injustice. These articles were coded as rather than climate as a “justice issue” because the author’s stance was that as a human race or the French nation everyone must contribute, therefore more strongly representing a

“shared/collective problem” discourse.

Table 1 Climate Change Discourse Represented in US and French Elite Newspapers

Discourse	US	French
Skepticism/Denialism	8%	0
Climate as a Justice Issue	23%	30%
Market and Economy	15%	5%
Policy and Politics	28%	20%
Scientific Findings	18%	15%
Anthropocene	10%	10%
Shared/collective problem	0	20%

Note. Table 1 demonstrates the percentage of climate change discourse(s) represented in US and French elite media.

Table 1 shows the percentage of climate change discourses represented in US and French newspapers. Findings in Table 1 reinforce the cultural and political structures of the US and France. Table 1 also demonstrates differences and similarities in climate change discourse in US and French newspapers. Unsurprisingly the US newspapers include more articles that represent a “market and economy” discourse. Climate as a “justice issue” was the most represented discourse in French newspapers. Although the US articles included more “policy and politics” discourse, the article content was quite different from French articles in the same discourse. The US content focused on the Trump administration’s rollbacks and political commentary of climate change. French articles centered on climate change as the responsibility of the state and highlighted present and future climate regulations. Despite the US presenting a high percentage of climate as a “justice issue,” the majority of the articles were from the *Los Angeles Times*. Therefore, representing climate injustice was not evenly distributed across US newspapers, unlike in France. Table 1 shows that French and the US

newspapers shared the same percentage of “Anthropocene” discourse. It is important to note that French articles were more likely to include recognition of anthropogenic climate change in articles where an “Anthropocene” discourse was not the focus. In contrast, the US articles were less likely to mark climate change as human caused.

Other notable differences and similarities included the representation of social actors in US and French articles. US articles were more likely to include social actors from the private sector. US articles properly identified more individuals, showcasing more personal stories. Both US and French articles include social actors such as academics and politicians quite evenly. Furthermore, the pronouns *nous/we* and *our/notre* were more prevalent in the French articles, with the exception of articles from the *Los Angeles Times*. Rather than connecting climate change to humans, US articles more often used nominalization of nature and climate change.

The presentation of science was another difference. In addition to scientific findings as its own discourse, when science was included in US articles, authors spent more time explaining and portraying the methodology of the scientific findings. In contrast, science in the French articles was intertwined with more social and political information.

Lastly, when searching for articles for this analysis, French articles included and used “réchauffement climatique” more than “changement climatique” compared to US articles that used “climate change” more than “global warming.”

Discussion

Findings from Text-Analysis 1 & 2 as well as the 60-article corpus support that US and French culture and politics impact how the media shape climate change discourse. By comparing Text-Analysis 1 to Text-Analysis 2, a clear cultural and political distinctions can be made. Firstly, the individual discourse of each Text-analysis highlights French and US culture and politics. “Skepticism/Denialism” discourse in Text-Analysis 1 highlights the neoliberal social and political culture of the United States. This cultural and ideological structure is specifically visible in Baker's derogation of the current climate movement. By derogating the science of the present climate change activist, Baker is following the neoliberalism argument of “sound science,” in order to protect the free-market. “Climate as a Justice issue” discourse of Text-Analysis 2 is greatly shaped by France's political and cultural ideology of the French Republic. The social justice ideal of the French Republic is visible in Pech's representation of the injustices against young people. Additionally, the inclusion of support of youth protest amplifies the legacy of the French Revolution as one of mobilization against establishments that fail to uphold social justice. Politically, Pech's localization of the youth movement both on the global and national scale reiterates France's political desire to remain a major world leader on this issue.

Secondly, the representation of Greta Thunberg and her fellow youth activists were held in different respects. Text-analysis 1 depicted Greta as a leader of an environmental cult. Not only does this representation display neoliberal sentiments of delegitimizing environmental regulation; it also signals US religious culture and the paradox of cults and religious freedoms. On the other hand, Text-analysis 2 represents

Greta as the modern world's Joan of Arc, symbolizing a global leader of environmental change. In addition to being rhetorically linked to a French cultural icon, Pech depicts Greta and French youth allies as experts giving them the qualifications and legitimacy to control climate change discourse.

Power of discourse also demonstrates differences between US and French representation. The power of discourse produced in Text-analysis 1 enables the agency of climate action. This is because Baker through the use of neoliberal and science versus religious traditions delegitimize the credentials of present-day climate activists. Therefore, the information being presented to the public revokes climate activists' power because they are seen as cult extremists. As mentioned previously this shapes the political and cultural landscape because climate action is lobbied and advanced by environmental organizations and climate activists. Power of discourse in Text-analysis 2 is illustrated by Pech's replication of the French youth's rhetoric of intergenerational injustice. By replicating their rhetoric, she gives climate activists power because their dialogue is shaping the information distributed to the public. Therefore, it changes the power structure of politicians, scientists or economists controlling climate change discourse and gives activists control.

The influences of culture and politics seen in Text-analysis 1 & 2 are further supported by the findings of the 60-article corpus. The findings of more "market and economy" discourse in US articles demonstrate that US culture and politics focus very strongly on discussion of economics. This can most likely be linked to the contemporary beliefs of capitalism and neoliberalism. Another influence of neoliberalism was the extensive representation and explanation of science found within the US articles. This

specifically highlights the “sound science” argument of the 104th congress. Additionally, the inclusion of industry voices through interviews and representation of social actors indicates the power of the private industry on US culture and politics. The neoliberal characteristic of individualism was also present in the representation of more individuals’ stories. The benefit of this approach is that climate change can become more relatable, however, readers may also be more likely to compartmentalize the impacts of climate change. There also may be a political reason as to why climate change resulted in more findings in the year 2019. According to Boykoff (2011) the George W. Bush administration actively excluded global warming from discussion on changing climate and preferred climate change because it appears less alarming (p.8). The impact of this exclusion can be seen as one of the reasons why articles in the US, in 2019) use the key work climate change over global warming.

The US journalist dependency on entertainment for viewership had an impact on the over dramatization and use of nominalization in US articles. This can cause problems because it presents climate change as an unsolvable problem or a “plot” in apocalyptic narrative without a solution. The problem becomes unsolvable due to exaggeration of the cause and elimination of agents. In contrast the French journalist characteristic of the press as a public service resulted in a more optimistic approach framing climate change as a political and social challenge rather than an unsolvable problem. This was further supported in the representation of social actors. The inclusion of the pronouns *nous/we*, *notre/our*, *nos/ours* reminds readers that we as humans play an active role in climate change therefore we have the ability to choose our desired outcome.

The higher percentage of climate as a “justice issue” in French articles supports that social cohesion and addressing unequal balance of power is an important part of the French republic. “Policy and politics” being the second highest discourse represented in French articles also illustrates the cultural and political belief of a highly centralized bureaucratic government that functions for the people. The integration of science highlights secularism because French authors trust that their readers understand and respect the scientific evidence. Secularism may also explain why French articles were more likely to include recognition of the Anthropocene throughout and across the articles. This is because once the conclusive consensus in the scientific community was that Earth had entered into a new epoch French authors may have found no need to question the findings.

Overall, this paper argues that French representation of climate change presents a better more holistic view of the challenge at hand. This can be seen as a correlation to France's political and cultural ideals that values science and social justice. The public service quality and subjectivity of French journalism means that information distributed to the public is less dramatized and upholds a clear intention of shaping political and cultural beliefs. In the case of climate change this intention is to be a model for climate action globally.

Conclusion

This thesis sought to identify the cultural and political influences on how US and French elite newspapers represented climate change discourse. In order to make these identifications I performed qualitative text-analysis and quantitative analysis of 60 English and French articles. Using a methodology inspired by Norman Fairclough,

analysis of inclusion/exclusion, nominalization, social actors, and lexicon were used to evaluate articles. My findings suggest that indeed climate change discourse is being represented differently in France and US due to political and cultural beliefs and legacies. My key conclusions are that US climate change discourse is being dictated heavily by neoliberal ideals established during the Republican Revolution. And that France's representation of climate change thanks to the influence of the ideals of the French Republic and secularism provides a more holistic and nuanced representation of the challenge at hand.

The findings presented in this paper support further research in climate change discourse. First, further expanding the quantitative analysis in this thesis could be completed to thoroughly affirm observations. Secondly, comparing the representation of climate change discourse in French and American policy could be explored to evaluate how media representations impact outcomes of political action. Lastly research on public opinion and perception of climate change in the media could be conducted to show the efficiency of climate communication. The performance of more research would add evidence to the understanding that discourse forms certain ideas, which can be acted upon by humans. Once these ideas are identified as social actors' humans then have the ability to change social and political outcomes. And in the case of climate change, this includes their ability to create a uniformed political and cultural representation of climate change.

References

Ad Fontes Media, & University of Michigan. (2020, November 19). Interactive Media Bias Chart - 2. Retrieved from <https://www.adfontesmedia.com/interactive-media-bias-chart-2/>

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities : Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed.). London; New York: Verso.

Artz, F. B. (2011) *The Enlightenment in France*, The Kent State University Press, ProQuest Ebook Central.

Baker, G. (2019, September 20). St. Greta Spreads the Climate Gospel; A movement that believes in sin, penance and salvation doesn't sound very scientific. *The Wall Street Journal*.

Berger-Schmitt, R. (2002). Considering Social Cohesion in Quality of Life Assessments: Concept and Measurement. *Social Indicators Research*, 58(1/3), 403-428.

Billig, M. (2008). The language of critical discourse analysis: The case of nominalization. *Discourse & Society*, 19(6), 783-800.

Boudana, S. (2010). On the values guiding the French practice of journalism: Interviews with thirteen war correspondents. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 11(3), 293-310. doi:10.1177/1464884909360921

Boudana, S. (2014). 'Le spectateur engagé': French war correspondents' conceptions of detachment and commitment. *Journal of European Studies*, 45(2), 137-151. doi:10.1177/0047244114559340

Boykoff, M. (2011). *Who speaks for the climate? making sense of media reporting on climate change*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boykoff, M., & Boykoff, J. (2007). Climate change and journalistic norms: A case-study of US mass-media coverage. *Geoforum*, 38(6), 1190-1204.

Boykoff, M., Goodman, M., Curtis, I. (2009). *Cultural Politics of Climate Change: Interactions in Everyday Spaces*. 9

Boykoff, M., & Luedecke, G. (2016). *Elite News Coverage of Climate Change*. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Climate Science, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Climate Science

Brossard, D., Shanahan, J., & McComas, K. (2004). Are issue-cycles culturally constructed? A comparison of french and american coverage of global climate change. *Mass Communication & Society*, 7(3), 359-377. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.arizona.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/docview/60548855?accountid=8360>

Brown, G. E. (1997). Environmental Science Under Siege in the U.S. Congress. *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, 39(2), 12-31.

Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with spoken discourse*. London; Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Cameron, D., & Panović, I. (2014). Discourse and discourse analysis. In *Working with written discourse* (pp. 3-14). 55 City Road, London: SAGE Publications, Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781473921917.n1

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 99-118.

Cook, E. (1919). Blind Faith. *The Biblical World*, 53(2), 173-180. Retrieved December 13, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3136365>

Cowan, D., & Bromley, D. (2015). *Cults and new religions: A brief history* (2nd ed., Wiley-Blackwell brief histories of religion).

Cunningham, H. (2020). *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (Studies In Modern History). Milton: Taylor and Francis.

Davies, P. (1993). The Political Symbolism of Joan of Arc in Front National Discourse. *Politics*, 13(2), 10–17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9256.1993.tb00223.x>

Douenne, T., & Fabre, A. (2019). Can We Reconcile French People with the Carbon Tax? Disentangling Beliefs from Preferences. FAERE Policy Paper, 2019-05.

Dunlap, R. E., & Jacques, P. J. (2013). Climate Change Denial Books and Conservative Think Tanks ... Retrieved December 13, 2020, from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0002764213477096>

Eco-Innovation Observatory, & European Commission. (2020). *Eco-innovation in France 2018-2019* (Rep.). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/environment/ecoap/sites/ecoap_stayconnected/files/field/field-country-files/eio_country_profile_2018-2019_france.pdf

European Social Survey, Wouter Poortinga, W., Fisher, S., Böhm, G., Steg, L., Whitmarsh, L., & Ogunbode, C. (2018). *European Attitudes to Climate Change and Energy: Topline Results from Round 8 of the European Social Survey* (Rep. No. ESS Topline Results Series Issue 9). Retrieved from https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/findings/ESS8_toplines_issue_9_climatechange.pdf

Fairclough, N.(2003). *Analyzing discourse textual analysis for social research*. London ; New York: Routledge

Fridays For Future. (2020). Fridays For Future is an international climate movement active in most countries and our website offers information on who we are and what you can do. <https://fridaysforfuture.org/>

Gardiner, S. M. (2011). *A Perfect Moral Storm (Environmental Ethics and Science Policy Series)*. Cary: Oxford University Press.

Geoffron, P. (2019). La transition écologique doit être explicitée. *Le Monde*.

Giles, H., & Giles J. (2013). Ingroups and outgroups. In A. Kurylo *Inter/cultural communication* (pp. 140-162). 55 City Road, London: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781544304106.n7

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis : An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Halliday, M. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* , 2nd edition, London: Edward Arnold.

Hanson, R., & Mendius, R. (2009). *Buddha's brain : The practical neuroscience of happiness, love, and wisdom*. Oakland, CA: New Harbinger.

Haight, J. F. (1996). *Science and Religion: From Conflict to Conversation*. 64(12), 1532-1533.

Kuhn, R. (1995). *The media in France*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Leichenko, R., & O'Brien, Karen L., & EBSCOhost. (2019). *Climate and society : Transforming the future*.

Mancini, P. (2005). Is there a European model of journalism? In *Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues* (pp. Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues, 2005-06-15).

MeCCO. (2020). MeCCO Media and Climate Change Observation. Retrieved December 13, 2020, from http://sciencepolicy.colorado.edu/icecaps/research/media_coverage/index.html

Mills-Novoa, M., & Liverman, D. M. (2019). Nationally Determined Contributions: Material climate commitments and discursive positioning in the NDCs. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews. Climate Change*, 10(5), E589-N/a.

Mooney, C. (2006). *The Republican War on Science*. New York: Basic Books.

Pech, M. (2019). Les ados institués nouveaux écolos; À 12 ou 15 ans, leur parole remplace celle des experts dans l'espace médiatique pour défendre le climat. *Le Figaro*.

Retrieved <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2019/03/14/01016-20190314ARTFIG00186-les-ados-institues-nouveaux-leaders-ecolos.php>.

Perconti P. (2016) An Epistemic Commitment in the Very Idea of “Speaker’s Intention”. In: Allan K., Capone A., Kecskes I. (eds) Pragmemes and Theories of Language Use. Perspectives in Pragmatics, Philosophy & Psychology, vol 9. Springer, Cham. https://doi-org.ezproxy2.library.arizona.edu/10.1007/978-3-319-43491-9_39

Pierre-Louis, K. (2019, July 19). Climate Change Bolsters The Threat of Heat Waves. New York Times, A18(L). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A593771953/AONE?u=uarizona_main&sid=AONE&xid=8516b9c2

Poleg, E., & Rigby, S. H. (2016). Approaching the Bible in medieval England (1st ed., Manchester Medieval Studies). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Rawlins, W. K. (1987). Gregory Bateson and the composition of human communication. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 20(1-4), 53-77.

Robbins, T., & Anthony, D. (1982). Cults, Culture, and Community. *Marriage & Family Review*, 4(3-4), 57-79.

Siegel, D., & EBSCOhost. (2020). *The developing mind : How relationships and the brain interact to shape who we are* (Third ed.).

Smith, M., & Schwartz, J. (2019). It's Bad, It's Real, Just Don't Call It Climate Change. *The New York times*, pp. The New York times, 2019-05-16.

Snow, D. A., Benford, R.A.(2005). Clarifying the Relationship Between Framing and Ideology. *Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective* (pp. 205-212). United States: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Stoker K (1995) Existential objectivity: freeing journalists to be ethical. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 10: 5–22.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1995) ‘Representing social action’, *Discourse and Society* 6 (1): 81–106.

Varouxakis, G., Howarth, D., & Varouxakis, G. (2014). *Contemporary France*. Taylor and Francis.

Warner, M. (2013). *Joan of Arc*. Oxford: Oxford University Press USA - OSO.

Warf, B., Arias, S., & ProQuest. (2009). *The spatial turn interdisciplinary perspectives* (Routledge studies in human geography). London ; New York: Routledge.

Wilson, J. (2017). Neoliberalism (Key ideas in media and cultural studies).ProQuest.

Young, N. & Dugas, E. (2012). Comparing Climate Change Coverage in Canadian English- and French-Language Print Media: Environmental Values, Media Cultures, and the Narration of Global Warming. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 37(1), 25-54.