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VISUAL IMAGES AND THE RHETORIC OF
ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCACY

BY

COLLIN JACOB SYFERT

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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OF
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ABSTRACT

This project investigates visual representations of staged environmental protests that are produced and distributed by the environmental-activist organization Greenpeace, and broadcast through international news media. By examining eight images taken from four separate Greenpeace image campaigns, this thesis shows how these demonstrations generally, and images of them more specifically, draw attention to climate change issues through their rhetorical capacity to challenge dominant cultural values that have enabled climate-changing human activities to persist. As such, the rhetorical capacity of these images further demonstrates Kevin DeLuca's *image event* theory, which suggests how visual demonstrations can be designed to attract mass media attention that then leads to public advocacy and adherence. More specifically, this thesis argues that a novel understanding of Kenneth Burke's paired concepts of *identification* and *disidentification* can show us precisely how Greenpeace's rhetorical agenda unfolds, how their visual representations of extreme environmental activism and advocacy challenge cultural values that support environmentally damaging industrializing practices and the subordination of nature to human progress.

To support my argument, Chapter 1 establishes a context for environmental advocacy, describing both the scientific consensus surrounding climate change issues, as well as the mixed opinions held by the public about these very same issues. Chapter 2 examines the academic literature concerning visual rhetoric and environmental advocacy, and introduces DeLuca's image event theory and Burke's

concepts of identification and disidentification as exploratory lenses through which visual representations of extreme environmental advocacy can be studied. Chapter 3 performs a close reading and analysis of eight images from Greenpeace demonstrations, and outlines the mechanisms through which they achieve their rhetorical effects. Lastly, Chapter 4 posits that visual representations of extreme environmental activism and advocacy provide Greenpeace with a much larger mouthpiece in the world than they could ever achieve using traditional approaches to advocacy and conventional channels of public and political debate. As such, the study concludes that the visual rhetoric of environmental activists has the capacity to perform ideological critique in the process of reshaping public perceptions of climate change issues.

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PREFACE

Politics is democracy's way of handling public business. There is no other. We won't get the kind of country in the kind of world we want unless people take part in the public's business.

David Brower, 1977

We need to find a way of thinking about opinion formation that recognizes the distinctiveness of a process that relies more on the image than the word, a process that is more figural than discursive, a process that creates “meanings” in which the cognitive content is underarticulated and is dominated by highly charged visual components

Andrew Szasz, *EcoPopulism*, 1994

CHAPTER 1: PUBLIC UNCERTAINTY ABOUT CLIMATE CHANGE

CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PUBLIC PERCEPTION

The environmental advocacy group Greenpeace has made it their mission to stage striking demonstrations around the world, images of which garner the attention of news media and their viewing publics. These images directly showcase effects of climate change on the environment and on human life. For instance, in Switzerland on August 18th, 2007, Greenpeace activists ironically posed nude in the Alps to illustrate the effects of climate change on a warming and melting glacier. Likewise, but in the reverse, activists in 2009 recreated a beach scene in the center of Budapest and played dead in front of the Prime Minister's office to present a ghostly vision of a hot and noxious future. The images also call attention to the cultural values and industrial practices that harm animal and human life while also contributing to global climate change. Greenpeace activists in Belgium, on July 14th, 2010, covered themselves in oil and stood in front of the European Union headquarters to critique the costly extent to which oil companies go to quell the ever-growing human dependence on fossil-fuels. In 2012, activists in Argentina took over a Shell station while dressed in polar bear costumes to attract attention to the plight of the animal due to oil dependency and rising temperatures which have damaged the polar bears' habitat. In these locations and others, Greenpeace has staged dramatic demonstrations which make clear to the public some of the many ways in which the changing climate has negatively impacted our world.

While making visible the potential risks of climate change is necessary to Greenpeace's advocacy campaigns, this alone may not be enough to encourage the public to take actions to address the issue. I argue that images taken of Greenpeace image campaigns appeal to news media's attraction to the novel and dramatic, and once broadcast through international news media, these image-oriented provocations engage the public through their rhetorical capacity to challenge and reshape dominant cultural values that have enabled climate-changing human activities to continue. Using Kevin DeLuca's *image event* theory (1999) as a theoretical lens, the thesis shows how environmental advocacy campaigns are designed to attract mass media attention. Furthermore, a novel understanding of Kenneth Burke's concepts of *identification* and *disidentification* explain how environmental image campaigns have the rhetorical capacity to challenge cultural values that support environmentally damaging industrializing practices and the widespread belief in the subordination of nature to human progress.

The current study expands on DeLuca's analysis of image events staged by environmental groups (Delicath & DeLuca, 2003; DeLuca, 1999; DeLuca & Peeples, 2002) by assessing whether or not these image events serve to critique ideologies in industrialized nations. Given that Greenpeace is an international organization, and that climate change is a global concern, the power of images to garner mass media attention and to reshape public opinion in a globalized society has not been sufficiently examined. This study also complicates DeLuca's argument by suggesting that Greenpeace International's image campaigns are persuasive because they appeal to concerns of human wellbeing. DeLuca, in his analysis of American environmental

image campaigns, suggests that environmental image events are persuasive because they make appeals to ethos and logos. He explains that environmental image campaigns make ethical appeals to their public audience through rearticulating environmental issues as social injustice and inequality. DeLuca also posits that public audiences can be persuaded to a conservationist agenda through logical appeals, by revealing the economic limitations to industrialist discourses.

The current study, however, suggests that in addition to ethos and logos appeals, Greenpeace visually unifies the health of the environment with human health for persuasive effect, appealing to pathos. Using Burkean identification and disidentification, images of Greenpeace demonstrations are demonstrated to dissolve public commitments to dominant cultural values and reform them with sustainable alternatives. Through unifying environmental health to human health and reshaping public commitments toward environmentally-friendly value systems, Greenpeace images create a sense of public urgency with climate change that warnings from climate change scientists have been unable to cultivate.

While there exists a consensus among scientists that our climate is changing (IPCC, 2007; Oreskes, 2004; Royal Society, 2001; UNEP/GRID Arendal, 2004) and that this change is primarily the result of human intervention, there is also growing concern among Greenpeace and other environmental activists that public opinion does not appreciate the severity of the threat posed by climate change, despite increasing occurrences of extreme weather, sea level rise, and intense heat waves (Anderegg et al., 2010). Many scientists have predicted that, if left unchecked, these changes will only accelerate and will lead to massive environmental devastation and challenges to

life the environment supports (Ward, 2007, 2008). Since the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century, human activities have resulted in a rise in global temperatures. The burning of fossil fuels, for example, has led to an increased production of CO₂ and other greenhouse gas emissions, such as methane, nitrous oxide, and ozone, which accumulate in the atmosphere and alter our climate. Environmental scientists and economists (Constanza et al., 1997) assert that our culture of consumerism and the political influence of fossil-fuel-related interests shape our economy and sustain the production of carbon.

Despite scientific consensus, a 2012 poll from the Pew Research Center indicated that only 39% of Americans see climate change as a serious problem (Pew Research Center, 2012). Furthermore, even the causes of climate change symptoms are in question. When Hurricane Sandy hit the East Coast in 2012, the New York Times (Kaplan, 2012) reported, “Most New Yorkers Think Climate Change Caused Hurricane,” but when the U.S. News & World Report covered a Quinnipiac poll, they suggested that “Voters Don’t Blame Hurricane Sandy on Climate Change.” Even at a global scale the threat of climate change is met with public uncertainty. When asked “How serious of a threat is global warming to you and your family” (Gallup, 2008), 41% of the global adult population reported global warming to be a very serious or somewhat serious threat. Clearly the scientific consensus about the causes and severity of climate change is not shared by the public.

The mixed public opinion regarding the causes and severity of climate change can be partially attributed to the insensible and often latent nature of climate change risks, which only become visible over time in the form of melting glaciers and

changing weather patterns (Allan, Adam, & Carter, 2000). The invisibility of these risks has contributed to the lack of consistent climate change news coverage, a vital component in legitimizing climate change as a matter of public concern. The tepid public concern with the issue of global climate change is partly attributed to both the difficulty in representing climate change risks and to the lack of climate change news coverage, each of which stifle a sense of public urgency with the issue.

Greenpeace seeks to spark a public sense of urgency by making climate change issues meaningful and symbolically recognizable (Greenpeace International, 2004, 2007a). The group accomplishes this mission by making visible the often unseen effects of climate change, and by making immediate the potential risks associated with continued anthropogenic activity (Dale, 1996; Mormont & Dasnoy, 1995). As climate change science has been neither convincing to the public, as represented in numerous public opinion polls, nor effective in encouraging policy makers to adopt strong climate change legislation, Greenpeace image campaigns work to create a public sense of urgency around the complex issue while also working to focus public opinion in favor of their conservationist agenda.

Climate change is a complex issue that may benefit from translation for public comprehension. Greenpeace founding member Bob Hunter defined the tactic of reducing complex issues, like climate change, into news-friendly images disseminated through the media as ‘mindbombs’ (Greenpeace International, 2005). Greenpeace’s images have emerged from their various visual demonstrations, including painting cracks on nuclear reactors, positioning small inflatable boats between whaling vessels and their catch, and hanging banners from the Eiffel Tower, Big Ben, and the Sydney

Opera House, reading “Change the Politics, Save the Climate”—images all intended for mass distribution through a variety of media channels.

While Greenpeace has staged numerous demonstrations in recent years, the demonstrations in this study have created images that are the most reproduced and visually striking. They were also chosen because they most clearly challenge dominant discourses of industrialism, progress, and the perceived separation between humans and nature that have permitted climate changing anthropogenic activities to continue and prevented serious corrective measures from emerging. All images used for this analysis were taken from Google image searches of all available news media sites during February, 2013. News sources that syndicated the images are listed in the analysis of each set. Similar images were posted on blogs but are not included in this study. The following analysis identifies how images of each demonstration attract media attention, critique dominant ideologies, and promote a sense of public urgency with climate change.

CHAPTER 2: THE VISUAL AND THE ENVIRONMENT

VISUAL RHETORIC IN A MASS-MEDIATED CULTURE

While studies in visual rhetoric abound, it is surprising how few scholars take seriously the visual representations of extreme environmental activism. Many scholars have examined the rhetorical capacities of images (Brouwer, 2005; Finnegan, 2005; Hariman & Lucaites, 2003; Hope, 2006), but it is in the scholarship of mass-mediated images and televisual culture that images of environmental activism introduce environmental concerns into the public sphere. DeLuca and Peeples (2002) recognize that most public discussions take place via television, computer, and front-page ‘screens,’ and introduce the *public screen* as a supplement to this contemporary form of the public sphere. They posit that it is necessary for environmental activists to utilize our reliance on the public screen for meaning-making, where images are given credence over words, emotion over rationality and distraction over deliberation for serious public discussions about controversial environmental issues to occur in our predominantly visual culture.

Certainly, studies of visual rhetoric are not new, and many scholars have studied social controversies and public debates through the lens of visual representations (Birdsell & Groarke, 1996; Blair, 1996). Scholars have found the visual to be particularly influential in the creation of social issues and opinion formation in a mass-mediated society (Gronbeck 1993, 1995a; Nelson & Boyton, 1995; Olson & Goodnight, 1994; Szasz, 1994). Gronbeck has likewise acknowledged

that “the telespectacle, for better or worse, is the center of public politics, of the public sphere . . . We must recognize that the conversation of the culture is centered not in the New York Review of Books but in the television experience” (1995b, p. 235). Our society has become increasingly reliant on images to generate social controversy and to shape public opinions.

But visual imagery is not only studied in the context of social controversies and public debates. Many scholars argue that visual imagery is essential to the communication of complex ideas, ideas that would fail to generate public interest without a visual component to them. For example, Nelson and Boyton (1995, p. 547) recognize the importance of the visual in shaping public opinion, and go further to suggest that “visual and aural argument is more vivid, visceral, and effective than the verbal phrases that it sometimes complements and other times overpowers.” DeLuca (1999) and Perlmutter (2003, p. 2) reference the ability of images to invoke emotion, becoming “powerful political tools, engaging people’s attention” and ultimately changing our beliefs. Considering the visual orientation of modern society, visual images may be more effective in conveying messages to some audiences (Foss, 1993) and are therefore a quintessential aspect of public dialogue.

Delicath & DeLuca (2003) argue how modern communication and the proliferation of communication technologies have only made these images an even more prominent aspect of our everyday lives. As they suggest, “public communication takes place in a context dominated by mass communication technology and charged by the prominence of dramatic visual imagery.” Similarly, Andrew Szasz (1994) shows how political communication relies increasingly on images rather than words

“because the means of communication require it stylistically and because it is assumed that displays of spectacular images are the only way to break through the indifference of the intended audience” (pp. 62–63). These scholars emphasize the importance of images in modern culture, but fall short of emphasizing the influence of news media in particular on public consciousness.

Where Delicath, DeLuca and Szasz fall short in examining the influence of news media, Baumgartner and Jones do not; they maintain that prominent news media attention affects the weight the public gives to certain issues (1995). Iyengar and Kinder (1987) suggest that news media offer a priming effect that can influence what issues the public consider to be most important. Gunter complicates this idea by highlighting the importance of images in news media, suggesting that while both images and words are significant in influencing public concern, images take priority over words, subordinating verbal expression to easily reproducible visual display (1987). As these scholars suggest, constant media attention can only help an audience to feel a sense of urgency with an issue.

Many scholars have examined how environmental advocacy groups gain access to national and international media channels (Carvahlo & Burgess, 2005; Hansen, 2010; Trumbo & Shanahan, 2000). DeLuca, Lawson, and Sun (2012) explain that these groups must have a presence on public screens, as it is these screens that constitute social realities. Gitlin agrees, remarking that of “all the institutions of daily life, the media specialize in orchestrating everyday consciousness. They name the world’s parts, they certify reality as reality” (1980, pp. 1–2; Meyrowitz, 1985). In our mass-mediated era, politics is a struggle over images (Mitchell, 1994) and this reality

is formed as the mass-media communicates “the cultural norms of the postmodern age” (Gold & Speicher, 1995, p. 95). As such, when activist groups use mass-mediated images to advocate environmental issues, they do more than represent reality; they actively create it (Hartley, 1992).

McChesney (1999) recognizes that while there is certainly power in the use of dramatic images, this power is limited to those who have access to the mass-media networks that allow the electronic public sphere to function. He posits that advocacy groups who want to engage the public through mass-media are often restricted from mass-media systems because private companies driven by profits own the media and many advocacy groups cannot afford to buy air time. Even if activist groups have the money to buy time on mass media channels, their content may be restricted if it runs counter to the interests of the corporations that own and advertise on the media (Donovan & Scherer, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

Gitlin (1980) acknowledges that activist groups are also constrained by conventions that filter what counts as news. He explains that news media is attracted to and emphasizes the novel, disturbers of order, and deviations from the routine. But as we will see, while the news media’s emphasis on the novel and dramatic may not necessarily lend itself to segments on global warming and climate change, they are drawn to the shocking and outrageous images of Greenpeace demonstrations. Without news media coverage, though, an environmental issue like climate change would not be legitimized as an issue of public concern (Hansen, 2000). New forms of computer-mediated communication, such as the internet, have democratized access to the electronic public sphere, but they still lack the broad audiences that traditional mass-

media provide. Access to these traditional technological mediums, then, grants access to the stage of public debate and cultural production.

Already, however, DeLuca (1999) has hinted that environmental advocacy groups do engage the public through mass media, as the images of their demonstrations provide novel material that media companies like to reproduce. DeLuca coined the term *image event* to describe the use of these dramatic visual demonstrations, or “staged acts of protest designed for media dissemination” (Delicath & DeLuca, 2003, p. 315). Even Former Greenpeace president Robert Hunter admitted that the mass media provide a delivery system for image events that explode “in the public’s consciousness to transform the way people view their world” (1971, p. 22). Warner comments that images with the most circulation “best have a natural tendency to become carriers of public consciousness” (2002, p. 87). Despite DeLuca’s explanation of how mass-media systems can empower environmental advocacy groups and Warner’s claim that images are ideological carriers, neither scholar fully explains how images used in environmental image campaigns engage their audiences and empower the public to make political and cultural change happen. While this study tests the image event theory in modern, international contexts, it also expands upon this theory to explore how appeals to anthropocentrism and identification are used by environmental groups for persuasive effect.

Delicath and DeLuca (2003) suggest that dramatic images of environmental harm, once disseminated through mass-media networks, make complicated environmental issues more accessible to their public audience. They explain that image events function as a “postmodern form of argument that employs acts of protest

to deliver images as argumentative fragments that serve as inventional resources for public deliberation” (p. 322) and in doing so allow their audiences to construct the argument. Image events can make social issues more accessible because they are “capable of crystallizing more complex political positions into a visual signifier” (p. 326). When a complicated environmental issue is signified by an image of dramatic environmental harm, the image creates opportunities for public argument by increasing the visibility of an issue, subverting the privilege of dominant environmental discourses, and expanding the range of solutions that can be considered (Delicath & DeLuca, 2003).

However, in making complicated environmental issues like climate change meaningful to the public, scholars have noted that environmental groups frequently rely on alarmist, inflammatory language and imagery in order to create a sense of drama, to draw attention, and to inspire public action (Cox, 2006, Doyle, 2007, O’Neill & Nicolson-Cole, 2009). Hulme (2007), however, argues that appealing to fear in order to generate a sense of urgency is misguided, often leading to denial, paralysis, or apathy. O’Neill and Nicolson-Cole suggest that these images “can also act to distance and disempower individuals,” impeding a sense of personal engagement with the climate change issue (2009, pp. 374–375). Buse (2007) warns that appealing to emotions to advocate climate change, in works like Al Gore’s popular 2006 film *An Inconvenient Truth*, may impede rational debate.

Remillard (2011) recognizes that the interpretations of images leading to apathy (Hulme, 2007) and impeding rational debate (Buse, 2007) may not matter, as images are often downplayed as being supplemental to the accompanying written

discourse, pairings frequently used in televisual and newspaper media. DeLuca too acknowledges this problem, claiming that image campaigns are not readily identified as rhetorical acts working for social change because they “fall outside traditional definitions of rhetoric and social movement, but also because they do not fall within the modernist frame of politics” (1999, p. 59). They are often dismissed by politicians and lobbyists as attention-getting devices, the “politics of the rude and crude” (Greider, 1992).

Cathcart argues that image campaigns like those used by Greenpeace are “an extension of communication in situations where confronters have exhausted normal means of communication with those in power” (1980, p. 268). As a result, Greenpeace advocacy has been viewed by many as primarily a way to gain attention, not as communication itself (Cathcart, 1978). As this thesis will show, gaining public attention through images is a necessary and effective means of communicating environmental issues that otherwise lack public knowledge and urgency.

Far from merely attention-getting tactics, Delicath & DeLuca explain that “image events are best understood as a form of argumentative practice, the rhetoric of subaltern counterpublics who have been purposely excluded for political reasons from the forums of the public sphere” (2003, p. 318). Cassidy supports this explanation, positing that image campaigns reflect the effort of groups to empower themselves while working in hostile territory (1992). Political science professor Anne Norton expands on this idea, writing that “critical readings, directed at giving voice to the silent language of the image, are necessary for the self-determination of the subaltern

and any approach to political equity” (1993, p. 168). As such, environmental groups use image events to gain legitimacy in order to influence public discourse.

Since antiquity the public sphere has been understood by rhetoricians as a place for rational discourse, where a sense of civility prevails, even when emotional appeals weigh heavily on deliberations. Scott and Smith argue that “academic rhetorics have been, for the most part, instruments of established society, presupposing the ‘goods’ of order, civility, reason, decorum, and civil or theoretical law” (1969, p. 7). The presumption that the public sphere maintains established society poses a problem for environmental groups advocating social change that rely on guerrilla tactics, physical obstruction of logging roads and gas stations, and threats of sabotage to bulldozers and whaling vessels as the basis of their confrontational rhetoric (Short, 1991). Effectively, Haiman reports that observers may reject confrontation as a rhetorical form because it “exceeds the bounds of rational discourse” and because the “new rhetoric is ‘persuasion’ by a strategy of power and coercion rather than by reason and democratic decision-making” (1967, p. 102). Yet, as Booth (1971) argues, visual rhetoric has the rhetorical capacity to reinforce, reproduce, and reshape these basic attitudes towards life, altering societal values central to environmentalism.

THE IDEOLOGICAL BARRIERS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Scholars may have examined the particularly vital roles images and news coverage have in shaping public perceptions of climate change (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Killingsworth & Palmer, 1996; Weingart, Engels, & Pansegrau, 2000), but DeLuca (1999) suggests that simply informing the public about an environmental concern may not be enough to address the problem. He explains that commonplace acceptance of certain values in Western society have made the agendas of environmental groups difficult to realize. For example, DeLuca argues that the value we place in industrialism has led to industrial and economic processes that contribute to anthropogenic climate change through the release of greenhouse gases and destruction of the environment, but are difficult to challenge because for some they also enhance the standard of living and way of life.

Lakoff (1996) claims that industrialism is not the only value that impedes environmental agendas, because it is the belief that human life exists separate from and outside of nature that drives industrialism. He describes this commonplace value as the idea that man is above nature in a moral hierarchy, put there for human use and exploitation. This is reflected in the book of Genesis, when God created human life and told them to “be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth” (Bible, Gen. 1:28 King James Version). Rooted in Judeo-Christian tradition and central to environmental politics and industrialism, our relation to nature is one of domination (Leiss, 1974).

Leopold (1968) and McKibben (1989) claim that the dominant articulation of human progress is particularly problematic to environmentalism, as it is frequently understood to be achievable through industrialism and the use of natural resources. Carson (1962) and Killingsworth and Palmer (1996) have used apocalyptic rhetoric to reposition discourses of progress as a source of environmental collapse in order to subvert this articulation of progress. These efforts have only had limited success, as DeLuca (1999) explains that the dominant cultural understanding of progress is a firmly embedded narrative of capitalist development that has been naturalized in Western society.

Gramsci (1971), and later Cox (1987), examined how the interests of a more powerful class justify the economic status quo and suggest that the naturalization of hegemonic values emerges when dominant classes link their interests with subordinate classes, and in doing so create and maintain a social order that reproduces its own dominant position. Deluca (1999) posits that image events do exactly this, by making visible hegemonic discourses of industrialism and progress by rearticulating environmental politics as inequalities between classes, the state, and the people. It is through revealing these limits to hegemonic discourses that an audience is dissuaded with these discourses. Gottlieb (1993) maintains that examining the values maintained by discourses of industrialism requires that we also need to examine the people and environments that are exploited in the process.

DISIDENTIFICATION AND REARTICULATION

In efforts to examine the link between rhetoric and ideological formation, Michael McGee introduced the concept of the “ideograph” as a way to understand rhetoric as a “high-end abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal” (1980, p. 15). Ideographs do not have clear definitions, words such as rights or liberty, but are easily recognizable by a community as acceptable. Ideographs are invoked because they are potent tools for shaping public decisions. When environmental advocacy groups challenge discourses of industrialism, the belief that mankind exists outside from nature, and the definition of progress as economic growth, they reveal that these discourses and beliefs are not reality, but are socially-constructed ideographs. This study demonstrates how environmental groups challenge these ideological discourses in order to gain public support for their conservationist agenda.

Because environmental ideographs are so firmly embedded in the public consciousness, Charland suggests that the Burkean concepts of identification and disidentification are useful in the analysis of conflict and common-ground in environmental activism (1987). Burke, in *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969a), explains that persuasion requires an identification to occur between two parties and that these identifications occur whenever persuasion is attempted. While identifications typically happen between people, I posit that the commonplace values and ideographs challenged in images of environmental activism are themselves symbolic points of identification, as Burke suggests in *A Grammar of Motives*, that “what we want is not

terms that avoid ambiguity, but terms that clearly reveal the strategic spots at which ambiguities arise” (1969b, p. xix).

DeLuca recognizes these symbolic points of ambiguity, claiming that image events call attention to abstract representations of societal values, and in doing so are able to “contest social norms and deconstruct the established naming of the world” (1999, p. 59). Identification occurs in environmental image events when the viewer can see shared values and beliefs held by the actors in the image. Disidentification is the inverse of identification, and occurs when an image breaks the identification held by the viewer to a value or belief. DeLuca suggests that it is in this way that images persuade their viewers to disidentify with dominant cultural perspectives in order to reshape public perceptions around alternative perspectives.

Olson, Finnegan, and Hope explain that activists are able to reshape public perceptions by interrupting and disturbing the flow of authorized and commercial discourses, and redefining the public face of morality and justice (2008). Scott and Smith justify the confrontational actions of activists through “the charge that civility and decorum serve as masks for the preservation of injustice” (1969, p. 8). This literature helps to explain how environmental activists, through accusations of immorality and hypocrisy, confront the established order, and in doing so alter public discourse around environmental issues.

Lakoff (1996) explains that industrialism is challenged when activists suggest that all life has an intrinsic worth and right to live, outside of the value of human utility. This strategy of disidentification has been utilized in many environmental image events, where the act of negation creates disidentification, and in doing so

creates opportunities for generative argument. Earth First!ers, for example, wanted the public to reject the identification of the Glen Canyon Dam with ‘progress’ and to call into question the manipulation of ‘nature’ required in its construction. Creating disidentification, thus, is a creative gesture. Breaking the association of the dam with ‘progress’ not only challenges the value of the dam, it questions the concept of ‘progress’ predicated on the exploitation of nature. Delicath and DeLuca claim that this act of negation may open up possibilities for the creation of new lines of argument and new ways of thinking (2003). By challenging the assumptions of the established order, image events refute dominant discourses of industrialism and create opportunities for new identifications.

Olson & Goodnight claim that image campaigns constitute a form of oppositional argument uniquely capable of generating social controversy in that they challenge norms of public participation as well as widen the possibilities for argumentation and deliberation (1994). They explain that when environmental groups employ image campaigns, they challenge the “appropriateness of social conventions” and “draw attention to the taken-for-granted means of communication” (p. 250) and in doing so provoke discussion. Claiming that agitation is designed to capture the attention of the public, McEdwards (1968) concludes that it is only after agitation arouses public attention that the public responds to intellectual argument.

As we have seen, environmental groups frequently use images to advocate environmental issues (Cox, 2006), but these images need to be dramatic to get exposure and inspire a public who may not be initially engaged with the issue (DeLuca, 1999). Sea Shepherd Conservation Society founder Paul Watson elaborated, positing

that “the more dramatic you can make it [an image], the more controversial it is, the more publicity you will get The drama translates into exposure. Then you tie the message into that exposure and fire it into the brains of millions of people in the process” (Scarce, 1990, p. 104). Dramatic representations, then, increase the likelihood that advocacy images will get the news media coverage necessary for reaching diverse audiences.

But with all the affective potential of images, emotion may not be enough to motivate audiences to grapple these issues. Through making visible and critiquing the hegemonic value systems that have impeded conservationist agendas and that have led to environmental damages, these environmental advocacy groups use their images to suggest alternative environmental perspectives. Images of extreme environmental activism use identification and disidentification to persuade their audience that environmental problems are a threat but they also suggest that these problems can be curbed if the group’s conservationist agenda is adopted by the public. This study examines images taken from environmental image campaigns to assess whether these images do more than point fingers, but also function to make visible the hegemonic values that allow environmental harm to continue and then dissolve public commitments to these values.

CHAPTER 3: GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE CAMPAIGNS

GREENPEACE AND SOCIAL CRITIQUE

The environmental group Greenpeace has been working to change people's perceptions regarding environmental issues since their inception in 1971. They describe themselves on their website as a "global campaigning organization that acts to change attitudes and behavior, to protect and conserve the environment, and to promote peace" (Greenpeace International, 2013). The group is best known for its unorthodox, confrontational methods of bringing attention to environmental issues, through staging demonstrations in order to create spectacular images which would attract media attention and highlight environmental concerns. In their Stop Climate Change campaign, they make visible the effects of industrial and political activities that contribute to anthropogenic climate change. Beyond calling attention to anthropogenic activities, Greenpeace also uses their demonstrations to reshape public commitments to societal values which prevent serious efforts of addressing climate change. It is through publicly shaming those who contribute to environmental degradation, and challenging hegemonic societal values, that Greenpeace reshapes public perceptions of climate change.

Alongside their critique of environmentally damaging practices and dominant cultural values that have contributed to these harms, Greenpeace demonstrations generate public concern by framing climate change as a social problem (Brulle, 2010). Schwarze (2006, p. 242) suggests that "promoting division and drawing sharp moral

distinctions can be a fitting response to situations in which identification and consensus have obscured recognition of damaging material conditions and social injustices.” Greenpeace justifies its activism by critiquing these social injustices, where “melodrama can combat discourses of cooptation, reveal ideological mechanisms of control, and expand the range of options considered” (Foust & Murphy, 2009, p. 162). In such a way, Greenpeace activism is portrayed as being exemplary of the power of citizen engagement to right the moral wrongdoings of society.

Traditional acts of civil engagement, like voting, picketing, and letter-writing may not be enough to advocate environmental issues. While the group continues to engage in traditional political channels to support its causes, its political influence pales in comparison to its opponents, who are typically lobbyists for large corporations. For example, Greenpeace, being one of the largest environmental organizations, with over 2.5 million members worldwide, spent nearly \$55,000 lobbying the federal government in 2011, whereas ExxonMobil spent nearly \$13 million in the same year (OpenSecrets.org, 2012). Szasz (1994) points out that traditional advocacy “approaches continue to emphasize the word-centered production of meaning—with central terms such as claims, rhetoric, and discourse—at a time when political communication and the production of meaning is increasingly accomplished through images, not words, through visual rather than verbal representation” (p. 57). Because of this lack of influence in traditional political channels, Greenpeace’s use of image campaigns in their advocacy efforts generates more and greater public influence.

The use of images in Greenpeace advocacy generates public influence, but the group also benefits from the ability of images to translate the content of a story more quickly than can text, enabling editors to highlight photographs in publications. For these reasons, visual representation in mass-media is essential to communicate the complexity of climate change science. The benefits of images in their ability to translate and simplify an issue make the science and the potential implications of climate change more accessible to the public. When images of Greenpeace protests are circulated in news media, they are able to influence the public by making climate change visible and the object of public discussion.

For climate change to be identified as an issue of public concern, it first needs to be visible. Greenpeace is able to access these mass-media systems because their image campaigns appeal to news media's attraction to novel, dramatic, and compelling images. Arquilla and Ronfeldt (1997) describe communication and information systems as increasing the capacity of small groups and individuals to confront larger entities, such as governments and corporations, through any of a number of guerrilla tactics, including staged protests, demonstrations, and media campaigns. When Greenpeace represents climate change as an imminent catastrophe through its image events, its activist workers are able to draw attention to the issue, when decades of science have been acknowledged and then ignored by government and industry.

Given that Greenpeace climate-change image campaigns rely on mass media representations to influence public opinion, it is necessary to look at the meaning that is made between the image and its audience. While it may be tempting to examine what meaning is formed, Benson (1986) insists that it is more important to question

how meaning emerges. He cites that the text “implies its audience and the interpretive actions of its audience” (p. 204). Meaning, then, is made through the interaction of the image and its audience. Sonja Foss similarly claims that meaning is made when audiences engage in “a critical, reflective analysis of the work or cognitive apprehension” (1986, p. 329) of an image. Greenpeace’s images, then, invite audience interpretation while encouraging specific meanings to be made.

The following sets of images, taken from Greenpeace climate change demonstrations in Switzerland, Hungary, Belgium, and Argentina, are exemplary of DeLuca’s image event theory because they are dramatic and through this aesthetic they are able to get news coverage. The following analysis suggests that his theory continues to help us understand how images taken from Greenpeace’s climate change campaigns operate, particularly on an international stage and in an era dominated by the electronic public sphere. Whereas DeLuca explains the persuasive function of environmental image campaigns lies in their appeals to logos and ethos, this study supplements his explanation by looking at how these image campaigns make pathos appeals through connecting climate change with human interests, notably human and animal health. The analysis of each image set identifies specific visual elements that attract media attention, critique dominant ideologies, and propose alternative ideological discourses. Each image set is organized chronologically into four sections. To better assess how meaning is made in the interaction of the actors and the audience, background information regarding the construction and intent of each demonstration is provided to contextualize the demonstration. This includes information describing

where the image was published, when and where the demonstration took place, and for what cause they are demonstrating.

AUGUST 18TH, 2007, ALETSCHE GLACIER, SWITZERLAND

Greenpeace has called the melting of glaciers an indisputable sign of anthropogenic global climate change. The Aletsch glacier in Switzerland, the largest glacier in the Alps, for example, receded by 300 feet between 2005 and 2006 (Swissinfo.ch, 2007). This recession coincides with a global trend of many glaciers showing a significant long-term retreat. Greenpeace, in collaboration with New York photographer Spencer Tunick, recruited 600 volunteers to pose nude on the glacier to draw attention to global warming and the shrinking of the world's glaciers. In particular, they wanted to highlight the effects of global warming on the Aletsch glacier, a UNESCO World Heritage site, which has been melting at an accelerating rate. The group has reported that most Swiss glaciers would disappear by 2080 if global warming continues at its current pace (Greenpeace International, 2007b). The organization added that it hoped the event and the pictures would make politicians and the public aware of future risks as temperatures rise. Images of this demonstration were originally published by Greenpeace and have since been reproduced in news articles by ABC¹, The Atlantic², The Australian³, BBC⁴, The Brisbane Times⁵, CNET⁶, The Global Post⁷, The Guardian⁸, The Herald Sun⁹, NBC¹⁰, Reuters¹¹, Sydney

¹ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2010-03-01/the-work-of-spencer-tunick/347098>

² Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.theatlantic.com/infocus/2012/07/the-naked-world-of-spencer-tunick/100344/>

³ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/gallery-e6frg6n6-1111120383575?page=10>

⁴ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6952930.stm>

⁵ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/articles/2007/08/19/1187462055737.html>

⁶ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://news.cnet.com/8301-17938_105-9747148-1.html

⁷ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.globalpost.com/photo-galleries/5680636>

Morning Herald¹², and The Telegraph¹³. Some of these news sources published these Greenpeace images with a corresponding story, while others contributed only a caption. While the attention these images have garnered is difficult to assess, their reproduction on news sites suggests the potential of a wide international audience.

The two images selected for analysis depict hundreds of nude individuals standing and lying on a glacier. In the first image, the people are arranged in lines along the crests of the glacier, turned away from the camera, and appearing to blend in with the landscape. The second image shows people lying down on the glacier in a large circular formation. Both images display only earth and skin tones, lacking the range of colors that clothing usually provides. The terrain is mountainous, serene, and otherwise isolated. There is no written content to supplement these images.

⁸ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/aug/19/artnews.art>

⁹ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/hundreds-strip-to-protest-global-warming/story-e6frf7m6-111114217351>

¹⁰ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/20337165/>

¹¹ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/08/20/people-switzerland-tunick-dc-idUSL1858183620070820>

¹² Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.smh.com.au/news/environment/getting-cold-to-spread-global-warming-message/2007/08/19/1187462064241.html>

¹³ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/8511150/Spencer-Tunick-a-history-of-mass-nudity.html>

Image Set 1. August 18th, 2007, Aletsch Glacier, Switzerland

GlobalPost¹⁴

The Atlantic, July 31, 2013¹⁵

¹⁴ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.globalpost.com/photo-galleries/5680636/what-protesters-do-get..?page=22#3>

¹⁵ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://cdn.theatlantic.com/static/infocus/tunick073112/s_t02_76168306.jpg

Greenpeace and Spencer Tunick created images that have attracted the attention of several news agencies through their dramatic and unusual depictions of mass public nudity, juxtaposed against the backdrop of what should usually be considered a frigid and cold glacier. Clearly, these images meet the first aspect of an image event, as they are carefully staged protests designed for media dissemination. The demonstration taking place in the isolation of a mountain glacier highlights its dependence on media coverage in order to have an audience. While images of glaciers have been a hallmark of environmental media campaigns, human congregation in desolate landscapes is striking, and has caught the attention of news media. This demonstration was constructed to generate widespread and reinvigorated attention around climate change through mass media coverage. News coverage, then, grants these images and their climate-change claims access to larger audiences than would be possible without media coverage.

These images challenge the cultural belief that man is separate from and above nature as described in Lakoff's (1996) conservative moral system, because these images render the activists and the landscape as a unit. Lacking clothing as a social signifier, the large mass of bodies begins to appear as part of the landscape. The distinctness of the individual is removed to create a sense of human equality and solidarity. This aesthetic transforms people into a living sculpture. With no company names or political institutions represented in the image, no single party is targeted as contributing to climate change and glacial recession. Mankind itself is read to have an effect on the health of the environment.

When nude bodies are exposed to the whims of the elements, they create a sense of vulnerability, forming a symbolic relationship between the human body and the ice. The vulnerability of the nude body corresponds with the vulnerability of glaciers to climate changes. Whereas we think of ice and mountains as strong, and unyielding, the vulnerability of nude human bodies is immediately invoked. If something as solid and durable as a glacier is melting, what hope do soft human bodies have of weathering these elemental forces? Identification is created between human vulnerability and the less obvious vulnerability of the environment to climate change. The two unite as the impact of climate change on the environment is shown to in turn impact people. These images make visible the vulnerability of human existence by correlating human life with what remains of the glaciers. As such, the latent, abstract risks of climate change are reified and shown as harmful to human life.

These images provide an alternative to the discourse that posits human life above nature, understood as a storehouse of resources. Instead, the images suggest that humans and nature exist in a complex interconnected ecosystem, and that impacts on the environment mutually impact human life. They suggest mutual vulnerability and interconnection between mankind and the environment, and in doing so, create disidentification with discourses that posit humans as existing separately from the environment. These images do not directly provide a solution to climate change. Instead, they serve to raise awareness of the issue. They create agency in their audience by removing the sense of individuality, as is seen among the nude activists, that climate change is only the problem of some people, to instead show how climate changes impact all human life, including the viewer of the image.

DECEMBER 4TH, 2009, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

Two years after Greenpeace staged their climate change protest in Switzerland, Greenpeace staged another demonstration in Hungary, outside the office of Prime Minister Gordon Bajnai, days before the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen. Unlike the Swiss demonstration held in the isolation of the Alps, the Hungarian demonstration was held in the center of Budapest. It was the intention of the activists to both raise public awareness with issues of climate change and to pressure the Prime Minister to address Greenpeace's 11,000 signature petition which asked the Hungarian government to actively persuade world leaders at the Copenhagen conference to create a legally binding treaty to address climate change. Greenpeace was concerned because climate change scientists recommended emissions cuts of at least 40% for rich nations by 2020 with continued decreases until near-zero emissions by 2050 (Greenpeace UK, 2009). What was instead proposed was a collective emissions reduction of 10–17% by 2020. Images of this demonstration were taken by Greenpeace staff member Kappel Judit and posted on the Greenpeace International website¹⁶. Shortly after this initial publication on Greenpeace's website, these images were reproduced and circulated in Hungarian media by 168óra¹⁷, Blikk¹⁸, and Vegyél Vissza¹⁹, and internationally by The Globe and Mail²⁰, and The Telegraph²¹.

¹⁶ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://archiv.greenpeace.hu/hirek/i200/p25>

¹⁷ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.168ora.hu/itthon/vigyazo-szemetek-koppenhagara-vessetek-47692.html>

¹⁸ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_aktualis/telen-is-nyar-lesz-2055-ben-2005935

¹⁹ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from http://vegyelvisza.hu/hirek/reszletek/720/nyakunkon_a_tropus/

The images depict several men and women in bathing suits collapsed on a beach. Their umbrellas have fallen over and there is a haze in the air. An inflatable beach ball with the image of the Earth lies on the ground. There is a sign in the center of the demonstration that reads 'Magyarország 2055,' or 'Hungary 2055.' Buildings and bystanders can be seen in the second image, just beyond the beach scene, juxtaposing the beach with an urban environment. These bystanders look perplexed by the staged beach in the middle of the city and at the dozen bodies lying collapsed upon it. These images are taken from a medium distance, appearing more the work of a photojournalist than a professionally lit and framed shot.

This image attracts the attention of news media because the staged demonstration recreates a beach scene in the metropolitan center of a landlocked country, an unusual spectacle for this location, having an aesthetic appeal. Secondly these images juxtapose dead bodies with a setting that would normally be associated with recreation. The beach-goers look as if their deaths were sudden and unexpected. Littered among the bodies are beach toys that contribute to this effect of juxtaposition. Such a scene, outside of the Prime Minister's office no less, is a disconcerting and unexpected sight. The striking aesthetics attracted the attention of news companies in addition to the bystanders at the scene, identifying the protest as an image event.

²⁰ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/greenpeace-protests-go-global/article1391137/?service=mobile>

²¹ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/theweekinpictures/6729102/The-week-in-pictures-4-December-2009.html?image=2>

Image Set 2. December 4th, 2009. Budapest, Hungary

The Telegraph, December 4, 2009²²

Vegyél Vissza, December 7, 2009²³

²² Retrieved February 5, 2013 from
http://i.telegraph.co.uk/multimedia/archive/01537/beach_week_1537578i.jpg

²³ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from
<http://www.vegyelvissza.hu/images/images/14781741944b1d13637a7a7.jpg>

These images primarily challenge discourses that posit mankind as existing separate from the environment, and in being separate, are not directly impacted by harms to the environment. The activists make this dominant discourse visible by giving their audience a preview of what Hungary in December 2055 will look like if climate change is not given serious consideration and political commitment. The sign ‘Magyarország 2055’ or ‘Hungary 2055’ contextualizes the scene. The changing climate is not readily visible, so this demonstration creates an image of the future to make it so. It is important to note that Hungary is landlocked, suggesting that the beach scene would result from rising ocean levels, submerging the neighboring country of Slovenia, giving access to the Adriatic Sea. As such, the dramatic impact of climate change on the physical landscape may be surprising, but it also demonstrates the relationship and shared vulnerability between the environment and the people. While the immediate cause of death is unclear, the swimsuits and haze-like smoke present in the second image suggest scorching temperatures and pollution. In this way, human life, and in particular Hungarian human life, is impacted by climate change, in much the same way as rising sea levels will submerge nations.

Unlike the demonstration in Switzerland, these images occur in a setting that allows them to challenge the discourse that posits the economic benefits of industrialism are worth the environmental risks. The demonstration coincides with a petition for the Prime Minister to seriously tackle climate change issues in the upcoming Copenhagen conference. The activists want him to push for a legally-binding treaty that requires countries to begin reducing carbon emissions at the levels recommended by climate scientists, in order to avoid the worst risks of climate

change. This vision of the future depicts the consequences of climate change in Hungary and its people if carbon emissions are not curbed. Industrialism, then, is held as the primary contributor to climate change.

Disidentification with discourses of industrialism is created through scenes of a changing landscape and affected people that expose limits to these discourses. These images do this by relying on the apocalyptic rhetoric of the image event to create a visual representation of actualized climate change risks. These images break the association between a beach setting and recreation, rearticulating sunny days and beaches as symbolic of death and decay. Where once industrialism was considered the means to better society, these images suggest that when industrialism damages the environment, it also damages human life. The location, the corresponding petition, and the upcoming conference all work to create a context that allows this image event to challenge and create disidentification between their audience and industrialist practices, whose emissions cause the seas to rise and air to spoil.

Considering the climate change petition, and the location of the demonstration, these images provide an alternative discourse, that this depicted future is preventable if we actively seek government regulation on carbon emissions and form collaborative international efforts to address the issue of climate change. The scare tactics of the disturbing beach scene creates a public sense of urgency, while the suggestion of an alternative, better future, creates agency in their audience, who believe that if they can influence their political representatives to address climate change, much like Greenpeace is doing, that we can avoid this potential apocalyptic future. It is in Greenpeace's support of traditional forms of civic engagement that these images

create individual agency with their audience and give the public a sense that the issue is not too abstract or too far removed for intervention.

JULY 14TH, 2010, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

Following the Greenpeace International demonstration in Hungary, Greenpeace activists in Belgium again staged a demonstration, this time in response to British Petroleum's proposal to drill for oil off the coast of Europe. Greenpeace claimed that off-shore oil drilling is a risky endeavor, citing the drilling accident that occurred on the Deepwater Horizon in the Gulf of Mexico on April 22, 2010. Great blame was placed on British Petroleum by American citizens and environmentalists worldwide for the release of an estimated 4.9 million barrels of oil into the Gulf Coast. Greenpeace blamed BP for disaster and attributed it to the pursuit of oil into ever-more risky locations, while also claiming that this pursuit contributes to climate change through sustaining oil dependence at any cost, and preventing serious investment into green energy technologies (Greenpeace International, 2010).

The activists demonstrated in front of the European Union headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, awaiting the arrival of 18 oil company CEOs who were meeting with the European Union energy commissioner Günther Oettinger and environment commissioner Janez Potočnik about future drilling in European waters. Oettinger had earlier proposed to establish a de facto moratorium on deep-sea drilling until investigations into the causes of the Deepwater Horizon spill were completed and regulations are adapted to take account of drilling risks. The Greenpeace activists were there to support Oettinger's proposal and to encourage him to maintain it throughout the talks. These images were taken by Associated Press photographer Thierry

Monasse and reproduced in the International Business Times²⁴, Sulekha.com²⁵, Spokesman-Review²⁶, Times-Picayune New Orleans Area²⁷, Washington Post²⁸, and USA Today²⁹.

The images depict stern-faced individuals in swimwear covered in an oil-like substance, standing outside of the European Union headquarters, whose flags are clearly visible behind the activists. In the first image, the activists are holding a large photograph of an oil-soaked bird. They all seem to be staring at something behind the camera. The image is taken at a low angle that makes the flags and the building in the background more imposing. The second image shows the activists standing around yellow oil barrels with the logos of British Petroleum, Aral, and Shell. The barrels are leaking an oil-like substance which is forming pools on the ground. One activist is sitting on a metal structure that resembles a drilling rig. There is a large yellow banner displayed above the activists that reads 'Stop Deep Sea Drilling! Greenpeace.'

²⁴ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.ibtimes.com/events-shaped-us-past-decade-2000-2010-part-3-3-252131>

²⁵ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://newshopper.sulekha.com/belgium-gulf-oil-spill_photo_1426041.htm

²⁶ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.spokesman.com/blogs/hbo/2010/jul/14/greenpeace-protest-deep-sea-drilling/>

²⁷ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://www.nola.com/news/gulf-oil-spill/index.ssf/2010/07/lawsuit_seeks_data_on_dispersa.html

²⁸ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/gallery/2010/06/21/GA2010062102575.html>

²⁹ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://mediagallery.usatoday.com/Brussels>

Image Set 3. July 14th, 2010, Brussels, Belgium

Washington Post³⁰

Greenpeace, April 5, 2011³¹

³⁰ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://www.washingtonpost.com/rf/image_606w/2010-2019/WashingtonPost/2010/06/21/National-Enterprise/Images/PHO-10Jun21-238238.jpg

³¹ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from <http://www.greenpeace.org/eu-unit/ReSizes/OriginalWatermarked/Global/eu-unit/image/2010/GP024KO.jpg>

Like the demonstration in Budapest, this demonstration emphasizes that the activists stand outside of the European Union headquarters, existing outside of the halls of political process rather than representing their concern from the inside. Their open disregard for traditional, ‘appropriate’ channels and political decorum is a trademark of any image event, which grants environmental groups access to the public sphere from which they have frequently been excluded from participating. The impressive building and the orderly row of EU flags are juxtaposed by the presence of oil-soaked activists making a mess in the street, attracting media attention through the activists’ deviation from the routine.

These images blame oil companies for the environmental, economic, and human impacts of Deepwater Horizon, and critique their pursuit of deep-sea crude oil in the Gulf Coast that led the disaster. The activists connect Deepwater Horizon with the intention of oil companies to begin deep-sea drilling in European waters, a practice that would bring the same significant risks. By depicting activists covered in oil, these images critique the value of industrialism by demonstrating that the extraction of oil from deep-sea regions cannot be controlled. Their banner reads “Stop Deep Sea Drilling,” supplementing the context in which the demonstration takes place. These images specifically critique the practice of deep-sea drilling, but more generally critique the lack of governmental regulation that has allowed oil companies take such risks to acquire natural resources in the first place.

The image of the oil-soaked bird held by the activist became iconic during the Deepwater Horizon controversy in part because it elicits emotional appeal by depicting an animal in distress. Images of charismatic megafauna, animals such as

polar bears, tigers, and whales, are widely depicted to advocate environmental issues (Clucas, McHugh, & Caro, 2008; Dale, 1996) because they have broad public appeal and through this appeal they solicit attention and support for environmental issues. While not typical charismatic megafauna, the bird in the image of the bird is portrayed as an innocent victim in the human pursuit of oil.

In addition to realizing the impact that humans have on the environment, these images challenge the human/nature dichotomy (Lakoff, 1996; Leopold, 1968) by suggesting that harmful effects on the environment are reciprocated on human life. The activists themselves covered in oil, just like the bird in the picture, challenging whether the public would be more invested in climate change and oil dependence if the effects of environmental damage were shown to directly affect human life. These images show that both the lives of animals and people are directly impacted by global oil dependency and carbon emissions that contribute to climate change.

These images suggest the possibility of a repeat of Deepwater Horizon in Europe, impacting the environment and its life, but these images also indirectly propose an alternative discourse where the reduction of oil dependence and development of sustainable energy alternatives would benefit the environment and the people. The banner supplements this suggestion, offering an alternative vision of the future, the avoidance of such oil-spills altogether. Each image makes visible the increasing lengths to which companies continue to drill for oil and how these risks are not rewarded. The images of people covered in oil, making a mess of themselves and the environment in the process, represent and challenge our dependence on the

substance. As such, they offer an alternative vision of the future rather than only suggesting the ban on deep-sea drilling.

In order to challenge the power of oil dependency in Western culture, these images create public disidentification with dominant discourses of industrialism through these images by portraying the results of industrialism. Often the effects of pollution and anthropogenic effects are invisible or unevenly felt by populations, particularly those without a voice (Peeples & DeLuca, 2006), such as the animals who were often depicted during the Deepwater Horizon controversy (Williams et al., 2011). The Greenpeace demonstrators constructed a scene that brought these environmental effects into public consciousness through anthropocentric appeal. When industrialism is made visible and rearticulated as harmful to animal life—creatures we care about—the public may more readily disidentify with this dominant discourse and be open to identifying with sustainable alternatives.

When industrialism is shown to directly affect human lives, or the lives of animals, an opening is created to cultivate a sense of urgency in the public regarding environmental issues and oil dependency. When Greenpeace gives support to the European Union, it is giving support to policies that promote energy efficiency, reductions in carbon emissions, and the pursuit of oil from unsafe sources. In addition to challenging the responsibility and accountability of oil companies, these images ask the public to support environmental policy initiatives in their government. These images and their context demonstrate the necessity of governmental regulations to address energy demands, pollution, and carbon emissions, by supporting the practices

of politicians that represent the European people and encouraging the public to support political representatives that will work to avoid the risks of environmental disaster.

JULY 17TH, 2012, BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

Two years after Greenpeace demonstrated outside of the European Union headquarters in response to Deepwater Horizon and deep-sea drilling, Greenpeace activists in the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Argentina, and other countries, organized a united protest at nearly 100 Shell gas stations. Greenpeace was again challenging unsafe drilling practices, specifically Shell's intention of drilling in the Arctic. While Shell's drilling vessels were approaching their target drilling locations, Greenpeace activists effectively shut down 77 Shell stations. Earlier in the week one of Shell's arctic drilling vessels lost control and ran aground in Alaska, sparking increased debate around Shell's ability to maintain control in dangerous Arctic waters. Greenpeace insisted that Shell cannot be trusted and that President Obama should not allow the Arctic drilling program to move forward.

In some locations, costumed activists climbed atop gas station roofs, used barriers to restrict access to pumps, chained themselves to them, and hung 'Save the Arctic' banners from Shell signs. The primary goal of the campaign was to activate the emergency shutoff switch for the pumps at each location, stopping the gas flow. Dozens of activists were arrested during the demonstration, but images of activists in costume were taken and distributed by Greenpeace³² and Reuters³³. These images

³² Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/multimedia/slideshows/Group-Action-Day-at-Shell-Station/Shell-Petrol-Stations-Shutdown-in-Argentina/>

³³ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/multimedia/pictures/detail.dot?mediaNode=c56914af-848e-40de-8a6f-a8465b7d82fc>

were reproduced by news media agencies including the BBC³⁴, Diario La Tarde³⁵, The Guardian³⁶, The Telegraph³⁷, and Euronews³⁸.

Dozens of Greenpeace activists can be seen dressed as polar bears, lying dead on the ground blocking access to a Shell station. The polar bears hold signs reading 'Save the Arctic' and a larger banner reading 'Ayudanos a Detener a Shell,' or 'Help Us Stop Shell.' This banner includes an image that mashes the Shell logo with a polar bear's head, a symbol that resembles a skull. The two activists holding the signs are the only activists standing other than unidentifiable individuals in the background watching the demonstration. The first image is taken from some distance, allowing the scope of the demonstration and its many activists to be seen. The second image is a closer shot that highlights activists collapsed on the gas pumps.

³⁴ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-18853009>

³⁵ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.diariolatarde.net/24.07.12f.html>

³⁶ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/jul/16/greenpeace-activists-shell-petrol>

³⁷ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/9402889/London-2012-Olympics-travel-chaos-live.html>

³⁸ Retrieved on February 5, 2013 from <http://www.euronews.com/2012/07/16/shell-under-fire-over-arctic-drill-plans/>

Image Set 4. July 17th, 2012, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Greenpeace, July 17, 2012³⁹

AlertNet, July 17, 2012⁴⁰

³⁹ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://www.greenpeace.org/international/ReSizes/OriginalWatermarked/Global/international/photos/climate/2012/Group%20Action%20Day%20at%20Shell%20Stations/GP045SL_layout.jpg

⁴⁰ Retrieved February 5, 2013 from http://www.trust.org/resize_image?path=/dotAsset/3ec6f250-ca44-4fd1-977b-68aa2758a1a5.jpg&w=649

These images have an aesthetic that appeals to both public viewers and news media because they depict disturbance of order and deviation from the routine (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002). The activists utilize the news media's emphasis on the novel through their dramatic rendering of dead, costumed bodies in public places, fitting DeLuca's definition of a staged protest designed for media dissemination. By closing off access to gas pumps with their bodies and hitting the emergency gas-flow shutoff switch, the activists most immediately prevented the sale of gasoline. More importantly, however, the costumes, location, and simulation of death depicted in these images invite their viewers to speculate about the people in the costumes, their conservationist beliefs, and their claims of corporate irresponsibility.

The costumes themselves draw on the popular appeal of the polar bear, one of several large 'charismatic' animals whose image has been widely used by environmentalists to enhance the visibility of environmental issues, as was done with the image of the oil-soaked bird in the Brussels demonstration. Depicting dead animals, despite being costumed people, enhances the viewer's concern with the actual animals represented in the image. These images, in depicting a combination of charismatic megafauna, theatrics, and dead bodies, work to create an image event capable of attracting mass media coverage for Greenpeace to use to amplify their voice.

Having received mass media coverage, these images critique public commitments to the cultural belief that industrialism, through dominating nature, will deliver progress (DeLuca, 1999; Leiss, 1974). These images do this by making visible the potential repercussions of Arctic drilling and the sluggish adoption of sustainable

energy. As was asserted by Greenpeace in the Brussels demonstration, the conditions are too dangerous to safely access oil in the Arctic. While this area may provide access to new oil fields, the events of Deepwater Horizon two years prior still testify to the unacceptable risks of deep-sea drilling. Highlighting these risks, typically minimized in the discourses of industrialism, also asserts that the process of deep-sea drilling inevitably results in environmental pollution, as seen in the Gulf Coast, and rising global temperatures, as seen in these images of displaced polar bears.

To prevent these potential environmental harms from occurring, this image campaign is a calculated response to create public concern with Shell's Arctic drilling propositions while demanding that Shell reassess its influence on climate change. Shell is directly implicated in these images of proposing reckless Arctic drilling plans. Greenpeace activists assert that this endeavor must be stopped because of the imminent repercussions and history of deep-sea drilling failures. These images act on this assertion through damaging Shell's image and hurting their profits from reduced sales. Greenpeace is announcing that it is engaged in more than a publicity campaign, and will continue to pressure Shell until the company abandons its Arctic efforts.

This image campaign and its images pressure Shell to be more responsible, but the aesthetics of activists in costume also invite their audience to interpret these images in ways that create disidentification with the industrialist discourse. These images appeal to charismatic wildlife, such as the polar bear, and rearticulate industrial development, typically associated with job creation, economic growth, and increased standard of living, as harmful to wildlife with which we have an emotional investment. They draw on this appeal when they bring into view the relationship

between oil consumption and environmental degradation. Revealing this relationship allows the emotional appeal we invest in wildlife to create disidentification with common industrialist discourses that posit industrialism as beneficial to all, and comes with minimal risk.

By pointing out the activities of Shell, these images highlight a link between oil consumption and environmental degradation, but they also give the public agency by suggesting a simple form of citizen activism, through reducing their own fuel consumption. These images posit that putting pressure on oil companies will encourage them to adopt new, more sustainable policies and replace risky attempts at Arctic drilling to meet the demand for oil. Through creating awareness of the practices of deep-sea drilling and oil-dependence by closing a gas station, these images suggest that if individuals continue to reduce their dependence on these fuels, the public can directly reduce carbon emissions that lead to polar bear habitat loss.

CHAPTER 4: HOW IMAGES FOSTER URGENCY

SELF-INTEREST AS SALVATION

These images make visible glacial recession, raising global temperatures, and rising sea levels, all which demonstrate that climate change has the potential to impact the world. But these images also draw attention to the peripheral effects of human industry and globalization on human and animal life. Greenpeace images suggest that we increasingly pollute our environment and create habitat loss, without slowing down to look at the true price of progress. Climate change may have been recognized as a critical problem by scientists for more than 20 years, but as McKibben (2012) points out, “the rule is ever more carbon,” referencing the inability of policy makers to curb global carbon emissions that contribute to our changing climate.

Climate change risks are often normalized by the public and by industry as the price of economic growth and progress; a sacrifice that must be made for the common good of the people. One way Greenpeace image events function to disidentify their audience with the commonplace concept of industrialism is by rearticulating it as class discrimination, institutional racism, and corporate colonialism (DeLuca, 1999). In this way Greenpeace advocates for social change by revealing limits and contradictions in the dominant discourses of industrialism. By highlighting instances of pollution, causes of environmental destruction, and threats to biodiversity, the group reveals that industrialist discourses have underrepresented costs. Their demonstrations evoke an ethical appeal in order to frame climate change as a social problem, through revealing

that the people who often pay the price for progress do not benefit from their sacrifices.

Greenpeace, and other environmental groups, have been trying to spark a climate change social movement for some time, but in doing so have been excluded from political processes and public deliberation. When they seek to create social change, they challenge the legitimacy of the established social and political system itself which permits accommodation instead of demanding accountability.

Greenpeace's image campaigns have therefore been rejected by those in power of being a legitimate source of civic engagement because they fail to meet expectations of civility and decorum, having to work outside of conventional political channels. Yet even in their rejection, "discrediting an image may actually strengthen its acceptance" (Bennett, 1983, p. 56).

At the most basic level, the images examined in this study call attention to the actions and inactions of corporations and states that contribute to climate change. They make visible the risks and consequences of industrialism, and in so doing, bring the issue of climate change to the forefront of public consciousness. Image Sets 2 (Hungary) and 3 (Belgium) target political processes, particularly calling for political support at the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference and at the headquarters of the European Union. Image Sets 3 and 4 (Argentina) emphasize the environmentally damaging actions of British Petroleum and Shell. Image Set 4 also critiques Western society's dependence on oil, rearticulating this dependence as a social problem through its capacity to harm the environment and animal life. Only Image Set 1 (Switzerland) fails to identify a particular party as responsible for

environmentally damaging effects, instead pointing at humanity in general as the cause.

The images in Greenpeace's campaigns point fingers at groups that contribute to environmental harm, but also critique cultural values that have allowed these practices to occur. The value that mankind is separate from nature is frequently targeted in Greenpeace image campaigns. For example, Greenpeace activists have protected whales by positioning themselves between the animal and harpoon guns, but this action also functions to challenge the value that humans are above animals in the food chain, and have dominion over the fish in the sea from Biblical tradition. In doing so, they disrupt assumptions about the value of human and animal life (Delicath & DeLuca, 2003). The struggle of these minority voices is an attempt to overcome dominant notions that man is master rather than steward of the earth. These images instead suggest that we should participate in the natural world, rather than dominate it (Setterbeg, 1986; Short, 1991). The Greenpeace images in this study reject anthropocentrism and suggest a social turn toward ecocentrism.

Images of Greenpeace demonstrations have been demonstrated to challenge the concept of human separation from nature by revealing limitations to this discourse. Image Sets 1–3 specifically challenge the discourse that posits mankind as above nature in a moral hierarchy, which has led to the environment being perceived as a storehouse of resources at human disposal. Ecological science, however, shows that we have complex relationships with other living organisms and the natural environment. Image Set 1 creates disidentification with the distinction between mankind and nature by referencing melting glaciers as a symbol of the vulnerable

human body, inferring that the two objects are similarly vulnerable to the elements.

Image Sets 2 and 3 similarly bring to view the relationship of environmental damage and human wellbeing, revealing a limit to the discourse of human/nature division by suggesting that humans are directly impacted by their environment.

All of the selected images of Greenpeace's demonstrations were shown to have the capacity to create disidentification with dominant cultural discourses that posit industrialism as the means through which society can better itself. Image Sets 2–4 challenge the value of industrialism as beneficial to society. Images Sets 2 and 3 do so by making visible the potential risks of industrialism, the cause of pollution and human suffering, by creating disidentification between the viewer with the idea that the risks of industrialism are minimal and worth its economic benefits. Image Set 4 similarly creates disidentification with industrialism, but asserts the potential risk being harm to wildlife rather than to human life. These images work to rhetorically link climate change and animal life as having an indivisible relationship. In each of these image sets, the limits of the industrialist discourse were highlighted in order to illustrate the unreasonable costs and contradictions of industrialism.

It is crucial for Greenpeace to make visible the sometimes abstract risks of climate change because its causes are not always readily apparent. Climate change science and its risks are often latent and removed from the lives of individuals. Awareness and urgency with the issue is impeded because the effects of climate change are neither directly experienced nor observable. Lakoff (1996) has attributed the tendency for people to think in direct rather than systemic causation as harmful to

climate change advocacy. There is no one straightforward answer to the problem and because of this it is difficult for people to determine how to deal with the issue.

These images of international climate change advocacy meet the description of an image event, “staged acts of protest designed for media dissemination” (Delicath & DeLuca, 2003, p. 315) through their use of engaging aesthetics. Image Set 1 relies on nudity for this effect while Image Sets 2 and 3 portray activists in states of undress. The lack of clothing works to identify a vulnerability shared by the environment and its human life in the face of climate change. Image Sets 2 and 4 rely on depictions of death to attract media attention. Making visible these impacts of anthropogenic climate change challenge the value of industrialist discourses. Image Sets 3 and 4 appeal to the emotional connection people have with charismatic megafauna in order to get their audience engaged with the image. People care about animals, and in showing them in distress, these images grab the attention of their audience and encourage them to offer help.

Image events work by flattening complex issues into easily understood visual signifiers. Because image events create meaning in the interaction of the image and the viewer, and because aesthetic appeal is subjective, viewer interest and engagement will widely vary. Image campaigns attempt to authenticate their vision of reality to an audience, but rely on their visual symbols to suggest specific interpretations. The interpretation of symbols is heavily invested in cultural norms and experiences which can be assumed by the image creator but not controlled.

The purpose of Greenpeace image campaigns is to create images which attract mass media and public attention so that the group is able to have a larger audience to

advocate their conservationist agenda. While the images in this study have been reproduced on a number of different news sites, this does not prove that they had an extensive audience, but only that they have the potential of having one. Like their ability to create specific meanings, image events are constructed to appeal to the widest range of people, and while what interests people and draws their attention might have similarities—the novel, disturbers of order, deviations from the routine—there is no guarantee of this. Advocacy images posted on labyrinthine news media sites that show numerous images a day can easily get lost in the mix and never make it to their eyes of its intended audience. For these reasons, images can be ignored or never seen, but it is in appealing to as many people as possible, through as many mass-media sources as possible, that Greenpeace likely reaches many with their advocacy.

Yet despite these drawbacks, Greenpeace continues to use image campaigns, relying on their ability to get news coverage for environmental issues. Image Set 1 is unique in that it engages the public while its demonstration took place in isolation. While the other three demonstrations were staged in populated public areas, the demonstration in Image Set 1 was held on a glacier, without any known primary audience. This signifies that the intent of image events is to attract media attention in order to have an audience. While Images Sets 2–4 have an in-person public audience, they are periphery to the mass-mediated audience facilitated by news coverage.

The relevance of the intention for Greenpeace to attract news media attention rather than engage in traditional protesting toward those that make the laws and policies directly is in the image event's ability to get images reproduced in the news. Rather than engaging in traditional protest that requires bodily presence, image

campaigns appeal to a larger mass-mediated audience who may be able to apply the public pressure needed to create social and policy change. All protests are likely to get some news coverage, but the use of dramatic, staged demonstrations to get images reproduced reveals the value Greenpeace places in their visual rhetoric, suggesting that they intend to do more than draw public attention to an environmental issue.

Greenpeace images rely on an appeal to anthropocentrism to influence their audience to develop a sense of urgency with climate change. This is a different interpretation than proposed by DeLuca (1999), who suggests that image events function to identify limitations to the discourses of industrialism, nature, and progress, and rearticulate them as relations of oppression, effectively persuading an audience to disidentify with the dominant discourse. DeLuca argues against anthropocentric appeal, as it is this appeal that has led to the adoption and expansion of the same values that contribute to climate change. This suggests reliance on ethical appeals and logic which runs counter to the emotional appeals that image events initially produce. Rather than just showing that the periphery and long-term repercussions of a dominant discourse are oppressive systems and that do not pan out economically, each image in this study connects environmental health with human welfare. I posit that only through appealing to viewers self-interests by connecting environmental damage with direct human harm, is the necessary urgency and immediacy created by these images to reshape public commitments with discourses of industrialism, nature, and progress.

While all of the image sets provided arguments of anthropogenic impact, three of the four image sets challenged the human/nature value directly through linking environmental harm to human wellbeing. This rhetorical strategy relied on making

visible the effects of climate change through demonstrating the vulnerability of human life to environmental forces. The fourth image set used this same strategy, but highlighted how industrialism harms the animals with which we have an emotional connection. In this way, all of the images examined in this study can be read to promote public immediacy with the climate change issue, whether calling upon personal health or the health of the animals we care about.

Greenpeace's image campaigns attempt to reach a large mass-mediated audience, but do so as a way to promote civic engagement around climate change. Rather than functioning simply to publicize environmentally-damaging practices, Greenpeace reveals faith in the political system, one that requires the push of public pressure. The examined images present proof that their audience, by advocating to the public rather than to those in power, have the ability to enact the political and social change needed to take actions against climate change.

Measuring the effectiveness of their campaigning relies in part on their ability to reshape public perceptions of climate change and cultural values that have led to the acceleration of the problem, but it is through their ability to create agency that is ultimately most significant. After an image rhetorically identifies dominant discourses that enable anthropogenic climate change, visually displays the limits to these discourses, and creates disidentification with their embedded values, they operate to create urgency in their audience. This is done through making the risks of climate change visible and connecting those to human interests. By creating this sense of urgency, and reminding the public of their ability to influence the political sphere, Greenpeace image campaigns have the potential to create agency.

In Image Sets 2 and 3 agency is created by suggesting the importance of political representation with the issue. Greenpeace's audience is empowered to act on climate change by supporting certain policies and representatives. Image Set 4 grants their audience agency by showing how directly limiting fuel consumption can reduce carbon emissions which damage the environment, but also by giving their audience a target to blame. The reliance on the public for corporate earnings is indirectly referenced, giving the images' audience the power to exert pressure on companies to change their policies to better address a changing climate. Image Set 1 does not directly grant its audience agency as it critiques anthropogenic climate change generally. It calls for recognition of the issue through our interconnection with the environment, but does not provide a specific course of action to address the problem.

This study sought to assess the rhetorical capabilities of environmental image events by Greenpeace in a new century, and staged around the world. Compared to the early image events examined by DeLuca (1999) of Greenpeace activists engaging Russian whalers in June of 1975 off the Californian coast, recent image events have become more dramatic, more spectacular. It may be that the media and the public are becoming desensitized or overexposed to sensational images, especially as Western culture reaches new levels of consumerism, a continuation of the observations made by McLuhan (1962). The expansion of capitalism and the electronic public sphere has spread the Western values of industrialism and its components throughout the world, allowing for ideological critiques to have wider audiences that share the same values. The benefit of this expansion is that the image campaigns of climate change, an issue affecting all people, can offer images of ideological critique that engage and empower

their audience. DeLuca's concept, then, survives into a new century, and perhaps with renewed rhetorical potential.

The images may be read to have the potential to reshape public consciousness and civic engagement around climate change. More generally they suggest that the public has the ability to create social change, and must influence rather than wait for action from those that represent them in the political sphere. Images, then, are invested with a rhetorically capacity to transform how their audience sees and understands the world. Through emotional appeal and identification images can challenge dominant cultural values and highlight the limitations of discourses that are not readily seen.

The use of images in advocacy campaigns is a powerful and necessary form of activism for marginalized and underrepresented groups that lack political clout. While it may be argued that both emotional appeal and identification can influence the creation of opinion by dissolving commitments to dominant value systems, I would argue that the public then need solid facts and evidence to establish stronger, lasting commitments to alternative values and articulations of progress. Greenpeace uses shock tactics to bring attention to climate change, priming their audience to the issue. Once primed, and if the science is made meaningful, the public becomes more receptive to the logic of scientists. Similarly, other groups intending to create social change may rely on the dramatic to get attention, and then make longer lasting appeals to reason.

Social change has never been easy to achieve, but when we begin to recognize social problems and work to overcome them, these cultural shifts become monuments to human progress. Research into the identification of social inequalities, injustices,

and the obstacles to social change is necessary to continue to improve human wellbeing. This research needs to emphasize the necessities of social responsibility in an age of globalization and increasing population, where natural resources may be scarce and the climate continues to become unpredictable. In this modern, interconnected global society, our actions affect the lives of those across the world, and often out of our view.

Study Limitations

A primary limitation of this study was its reliance on images published online. News media have relied traditionally on print and television formats which require significantly larger efforts to locate specific examples of Greenpeace demonstration coverage. The images in this study may have also been reproduced in print and television mediums, and likely have a larger viewership than can be determined by focusing solely on online reproductions. This study was also limited to images of demonstrations taking place since 2007. News coverage of older Greenpeace demonstrations may have been temporarily reproduced online, but have since been removed from digital news sites. Because of this, Greenpeace images may have had more media coverage than can currently be found through internet searches. The images selected for this study were found using Google image searches using a variety of key word combinations, including: Greenpeace, climate change, demonstration, protest, activism, oil, polar bear, news, and dramatic. Other images that may have supplemented my analysis of image events and disidentification might not be locatable online because they are labeled in another language or were labeled with arbitrary

keywords. In all probability the images selected for this study, and other images of Greenpeace demonstrations, have a greater distribution and larger audience than the news sources listed in my analysis because of the specificity of the image search.

While efforts were made to remain unbiased, bias may exist in the subjective nature of any analysis, especially of politically charged images from environmental demonstrations. Personal values, experiences, and political beliefs may influence the interpretation of activist intentions and effectiveness, not to mention the initial desire and objective to study the matter in the first place. Effectively, certain aspects of the examined images may stand out as more significant to one researcher than to another. While the images selected were exemplary of visually-dramatic staged acts of protest and were reproduced on a multitude of new sites, these image choices may not accurately represent the aesthetic appeal nor contain the overt ideological critique of all Greenpeace campaign images. Other image campaigns may have received little media attention, rendering them ineffective, which suggests a limitation on what types of image events attract the attention of news media.

The Greenpeace image campaigns examined in this study place blame on Shell, British Petroleum, Aral, the European Union, and the Hungarian Prime Minister, but I did not find any responses by these corporations and governments to these campaigns. While they may exist, I was unable to find press conferences or public statements by these groups concerning the aforementioned Greenpeace campaigns. News agencies reported on these demonstrations but did not provide commentary, opinions, or quotations other than from Greenpeace organizers. Because of this lack of response, it is difficult to determine without testimony to what degree

Greenpeace's image campaigns influenced government and corporate accountability, responsibility, and the creation of new sustainability policies.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research is necessary to explore how these images spread virally through social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter. My initial investigations into the distribution of Greenpeace campaign images found that Greenpeace themselves not only organize demonstrations, but usually take the pictures that they then distribute through social and news media. The images Greenpeace uses in social media are often the same images that the group distributes to news media for broadcasting, making it redundant to study the same images without considering their medium. Future studies could look at how Greenpeace images are spread through social media, especially as news companies become increasingly reliant on social media to share news and expand their audience.

To evaluate the effectiveness of environmental image campaigns, future research also needs to assess the quantitative effect these images have on reshaping public commitments to environmentally-conscious values and measure the extent to which these images increase acts of civic engagement. Communication researchers could design an experiment to quantify image persuasion where volunteers would complete a questionnaire before and after being exposed to images of climate change demonstrations, to measure their opinions about climate change issues. Any changes in public perceptions between the two measures could be followed up with an ethnographic interview, to clarify which cultural values were challenged, what was

engaging about the images, and what emotions were felt while viewing the images presented in the study. Follow-up surveys and interviews may also help to determine the capacity for image campaigns to stimulate citizen engagement. These surveys would examine in what ways images encourage individuals to take actions to address climate change, whether in their daily activities, in spreading information about the issue, or in pressuring governments and corporations through their own activism.

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