

The framing of climate change by Greenpeace Australia Pacific

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Abstract

In the Anglophone discursive space, there is a variety of actors, such as the public at large, media, politicians, and independent environmental organizations (e.g. Greenpeace) that are engaged in climate change communication. In particular, Greenpeace and its national branches, for example Greenpeace Australia Pacific (further – GAP), seem to utilize social networking sites (SNSs), for instance Facebook, in communicating their opinions, calls for action, and news on the issue of climate change. Currently, however, little is known about how GAP frames its climate change communication on Facebook, which is considered one of the leading SNSs worldwide. To fill the existing research gap, the article describes and discusses a qualitative study that aims at learning about how GAP's climate change communication is framed on Facebook. This is done by means of applying a qualitative framing methodology developed by Entman (1993, 2007, 2010) to the corpus of GAP's status updates on Facebook. The results of the qualitative framing analysis have revealed that GAP utilizes the following frames in its climate change communication on Facebook: *Climate Justice*, *Climate Strike*, *Deep-Sea Mining*, *Extreme Weather Events*, *Fossil Fuel*, *Fossil Fuel Corporations*, *Green Technology*, *Rising Sea Levels*, and *Urgency*. These findings are further discussed and illustrated in the article.

Key words

climate change discourse, frame, framing, Greenpeace, Greenpeace Australia Pacific

**Framing zmiany klimatu
przez Greenpeace Australia Pacific****Abstrakt**

W anglojęzycznym dyskursie istnieje wielu aktorów, takich jak szeroka publiczność, media, politycy i niezależne organizacje ekologiczne (np. Greenpeace), które zajmują się komunikacją dotyczącą zmian klimatycznych. W szczególności Greenpeace i jego oddziały krajowe, na przykład Greenpeace Australia Pacific (dalej – GAP), wydają się wykorzystywać serwisy społecznościowe (SNS), na przykład Facebook, do komunikowania swoich opinii, wezwań do działania i wiadomości na temat zmian klimatycznych. Jednak niewiele wiadomo o tym, w jaki sposób GAP formułuje swoją komunikację dotyczącą zmian klimatycznych na Facebooku, który jest uważany za jeden z wiodących serwisów SNS na świecie. Aby wypełnić istniejącą lukę badawczą, artykuł opisuje i omawia badanie jakościowe, którego celem jest poznanie sposobu, w jaki komunikacja GAP dotycząca zmian klimatycznych jest formułowana na Facebooku. Dokonuje się tego poprzez zastosowanie jakościowej metodologii framing opracowanej przez Entmana (1993, 2007, 2010) do korpusu GAP na Facebooku. Wyniki jakościowej analizy ujawniły, że GAP wykorzystuje następujące framing w swojej komunikacji na temat zmian klimatu na Facebooku: Sprawiedliwość klimatyczna, Strajk klimatyczny, Górnictwo głębinowe, Ekstremalne zjawiska pogodowe, Paliwa kopalne, Korporacje paliw kopalnych, Zielona technologia, Podnoszący się poziom mórz i Pilność. Wyniki analizy są ilustrowane w artykule.

Słowa kluczowe

dyskurs na temat zmian klimatu, frame, framing, Greenpeace, Greenpeace Australia Pacific

1. Introduction

In the Anglophone world, the issue of climate change attracts attention of a score of media, political, and societal actors (Dunwoody 2015, Kapranov 2023), such as Greenpeace, which is an independent international environmental organization with a number of national branches, for instance, Greenpeace Australia Pacific (further in the article – GAP). In its environmental and climate change-related activities, Greenpeace in general and GAP in particular are known to rely on SNSs in order to communicate their views, opinions, news, and calls for action (Coombs 2014). To date, however, there is insufficient research on GAP’s climate change communication on SNSs and, to be specific, on Facebook. Furthermore, there are no published studies that report on how GAP frames its climate change communication on Facebook. Given that SNSs, inclusive of Facebook, represent a potent means of climate change communication (Shah et al. 2021), a study on how GAP frames its climate change communication on Facebook appears timely and relevant.

In order to fill in the current research gap, the present article introduces and discusses a qualitative study, whose aim is to learn about how GAP frames its climate change communication that GAP makes available on Facebook in the form of status updates. Theoretically, the study relies on the approach to framing developed by Entman (1993, 2010), who defines it “as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote particular interpretation” (Entman 2010: 336). According to Entman (2010: 336), frames “introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way”. Guided by Entman’s (1993, 2010) approach, the study seeks to answer the following research question (RQ):

RQ: What types of frames are used in GAP's climate change communication on Facebook?

Further, the article is organized in the following manner. First, in section 2, I present a brief review of the recent literature on framing in climate change discourse in Australia. Second, in section 3, the present study is introduced, inclusive of its methodology, results and their discussion. Finally, in section 4, I provide a summary of the study and propose potential research directions associated with the present research.

2. Framing in climate change discourse in Australia: A review of the literature

There is a growing bulk of published studies that employ framing and framing methodology in researching climate change discourse in the Anglophone world (Fløttum 2016, Kapranov 2017b, 2018a). It is argued in the literature that framing provides an invaluable insight into climate change discourse (Guenther et al. 2024), which is communicated by a variety of actors in different Anglophone countries, for instance, in Australia (Austin et al. 2020, Boulton 2022, Crowley 2021, Daume et al. 2023, Howey and Neale 2023, Huang 2023, Hunter and Lobo 2024, McDonald 2021, Malakar et al. 2024, McHugh 2021, Sharp et al. 2024, Wright et al. 2021). Let us briefly review the recent literature (published from 2020 to 2024) on the framing of climate change discourses by Australian actors.

A number of fairly recent studies report that Australian media actors frame climate change as a domestic issue (Crowley 2021), which is manifested by the threat posed by climate change to the fragile Australian environment (McHugh 2021), for example climate change-induced coral bleaching off the coast of Queensland (Huang 2023). The fragility of Australian nature vis-à-vis anthropogenic climate change exacerbates the daily livelihood of Australian rural communities, which are thought to be extremely vulnerable to climate change (Austin et

al. 2020). The literature shows that whilst rural Australians frame their discourses on climate change from the point of view of the environment, their framing is marked by such pivotal aspects, as financial, health and social impacts of climate change (Austin et al. 2020). Additionally, the framing of climate change in rural Australia is reflective of societal actors' concerns that are, quite often, not attended to by the political actors (Huang 2023). Therefore, it is not at all surprising that, according to the literature, the leading Australian media actors frame the aforementioned issues as a conflict between the societal and political actors, with the latter offering limited efforts towards the mitigation of the situation (Crowley 2021).

Concurrently, however, the literature posits that a number of Australian political actors appear to frame the issue of climate change through the discursive lens of "climate emergency" (McHugh 2021). In this regard, it should be, perhaps, mentioned that the framing of climate change as emergency is not at all novel in the Anglophone discursive space (Kapranov 2015a, 2017a, 2017b, 2018b). In particular, climate change is routinely framed in the United Kingdom (the UK) via the discursive constructions of crisis and emergency. Similarly, Australian political actors are reported to frame their climate change discourses as (i) emergency and risk, (ii) emergency and threat, and (iii) emergency and opportunities (McHugh 2021).

Furthermore, Australian media actors frame the issue of climate change as a threat that arises due to the constantly growing volume of gas and oil extraction by Australian fossil fuel corporations (Hamilton 2001, Howey and Neale 2023, Wright et al. 2021). Specifically, the literature specifies that the framing of climate change as a threat involves two discursive foci, namely (i) an existential threat, seen as a negative impact of fossil fuels on the rise in global temperature and (ii) a localized threat, problematized as a detrimental effect of fossil fuel extraction on the local nature in Australia (Boulton 2022, Hunter and Lobo 2024). Interestingly, the literature demonstrates that the framing of climate change as a threat to the local environment is also present

in Australia's neighbour across the Tasman Sea, New Zealand (Kapranov 2024).

In addition, the literature reveals that Australian discursive contexts are characterized by the securitization of the issue of climate change (McDonald 2021). Specifically, it has been found that the link between climate change and security is framed in Australia as “the deployment of military resources in response and the existential nature of the threat to people and ecosystems” (McDonald 2021: 1). In other words, the Australian political actors tend to equate the issue of climate change with security-related problems and frame them accordingly (McDonald 2021).

Apart from the frames that involve the portrayal of climate change as a threat and a security issue, other manifestations of climate change-related framing in Australia involve moral and leadership foci that are associated with the climate change debate among a number of Australian corporate actors (Wright et al. 2021). Notably, the Australian corporate world frames its climate change discourse through the prism of hegemony, ideology, and corporate image-building (Wright et al. 2021). The focus on corporate image-building by Australian fossil fuel corporations, particularly, aligns with the literature that shows the importance of positive image-building vis-à-vis climate change by fossil fuel corporations in a number of Anglophone countries, for instance, in the UK (Kapranov, 2015a, 2018a, 2018b).

It should be mentioned that just like the current framing of climate change in the UK and New Zealand, the framing of climate change by political and societal actors in Australia involves the so-called “net-zero framing”, which presupposes zero emissions of greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere (Kapranov 2017a, 2017b, 2024, Malakar et al. 2024; Prosser and Whitmarsh 2022). Referring to the frame “net-zero”, the literature posits that currently in Australia this frame is instantiated as the frames (i) “electrify everything”, which involves the focus on green technology, (ii) “place matters”, which encapsulates liveability, inclusivity, sociality, and the environment in general,

(iii) “going green”, which addresses sustainability, and (iv) “innovation hotspot”, with problematic net-zero economy (Sharp et al. 2024).

It follows from the literature review that the major foci that are involved in the framing of climate change by Australian actors pertain to presenting climate change-related problems as a threat, a security issue, an emergency situation, a moral problem, and an aspect of corporate image-building, to name just a few. The literature, however, does not inform the readership about the types of frames that are employed in climate change discourse by GAP, i.e. Greenpeace Australia Pacific. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, there is no published research that reports on the types of frames that are used in GAP’s climate change discourse on Facebook. Below, in section 3 of the article, I present and discuss a qualitative study that aims to address the current gap in the literature.

3. The present study

The present qualitative study forms part of an ongoing research project that investigates climate change discourses by several national branches of Greenpeace that are located in the Anglophone countries in the Southern Hemisphere (see Kapranov 2024). The aim of the project is to identify and analyze Greenpeace’s country-specific discourses on the issue of climate change in the aforementioned region. In this regard, it should be, perhaps, specified that the Southern Hemisphere is particularly heavily impacted by the process of climate change (Robinson and Erickson III 2015). From the vantage point of poignancy of the issue of climate change in Australia, which is one of the biggest Anglophone countries in the Southern Hemisphere, it is relevant to learn about how the Australian branch of Greenpeace, GAP, frames its climate change discourse in its communication on SNSs. Given that GAP maintains a substantial online presence on SNSs (Hendriks et al. 2016, Ritter and Brevini 2017), it looks pertinent to (i) find out about its framing

of climate change on Facebook (see the RQ in the introduction) and (ii) identify a set of frames that, perhaps, are specific to GAP, if any.

Arguably, the relevance of knowing more about GAP's framing of the issue of climate change on Facebook resonates with the literature (Arts 2004), which points to the global-local nexus in climate change discourses by Greenpeace. Let us illustrate this contention in more detail. As far as the local and global dimensions of climate change discourses by Greenpeace are concerned, it is quite possible to assume that whilst the Southern Hemisphere branches of Greenpeace, namely GAP and Green Peace New Zealand (Aotearoa), might share the same language, general tonality, and typical framing of climate change-related topics, their climate change discourses may involve distinct frames that are reflective, potentially, of the differences in (i) discursive strategies of climate change communication and (ii) local discursive foci in climate change communication, to name just a few. In line with this reasoning, it would be pertinent to identify a potential number of frames that are employed in climate change communication on Facebook by GAP and, in future studies, compare the frames with those of other branches of Greenpeace in the Southern Hemisphere.

The qualitative identification of frames in the study was based upon a corpus of GAP's Facebook status updates on the issue of climate change, which were publicly available at <https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific>. The corpus collection was facilitated by the manual search for the following keywords, which were taken from the prior studies on climate change discourse (Fløttum and Dahl 2012, Fløttum and Gjerstad 2017, Fløttum et al. 2014, Kapranov 2015a, 2015b, 2018a, 2018b, Nerlich and Jaspal 2024, Tvinnereim and Fløttum 2015): *climate change*, *climate change activism*, *climate change activist/activists*, *climate change adaptation*, *climate change demonstration*, *climate change legislation*, *climate change mitigation*, *climate change protest/protests*, *climate risk/risks*, *CO2 emission/emissions*, *extreme weather event/events*, *global*

warming, green technology, and renewables. The corpus cut-off was set at six months, which, according to the prior studies (Kapranov 2017a, 2017b, 2024), was deemed to be sufficient for the collection of SNS-based discourse data for the purposes of framing analysis. Based upon the cut-off criterion, the GAP's Facebook status updates, which were posted between 1 June 2023 and 30 November 2023, were downloaded and saved as Word files. Further, the Word files were processed in the statistical program Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.0 (IBM 2011) in order to compute the descriptive statistics of the corpus. In total, the corpus was comprised of 147 Facebook status updates, which involved 7 385 words (mean words 50.2 and standard deviation words 40.9).

The present framing analysis followed the literature that described a qualitative procedure of the identification of frames (Entman 1991, 1993, 2007, 2010, Kapranov 2016, 2018c, 2020). Informed by the qualitative approach to frame identification, I examined each Facebook status update in the corpus in terms of (i) a climate change-related problem, (ii) explicit and/or implicit cause/causes of the climate change-related problem, (iii) a moral interpretation of the climate change-related problem, and (iv) a possible solution that was associated with the climate change-related problem. The aforementioned considerations were critical in the identification and labelling of frames. Importantly, it should be noted that whilst the present analysis acknowledged the involvement of multimodality (for instance, emojis, hashtags, pictures, videos, etc.) in framing, the framing analysis did not aim at shedding particular light onto the multimodal elements, since they were deemed to merit a separate investigation. The results of the qualitative framing analysis and their discussion are given in subsection 3.1 below.








3.1. Results and discussion

The results of the qualitative framing analysis have revealed that the corpus of GAP's Facebook status updates on the issue of climate change is characterised by nine types of frames that are summarized in Table 1. It should be worth noting that Table 1, in addition to enlisting the frames, provides typical examples that illustrate them. Also, it should be specified that all the examples in Table 1 are taken from GAP's official Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific>.

Table 1

The Framing of the Issue of Climate Change in GAP's Facebook Status Updates

#	Frames	Examples
1	<i>Climate Justice</i>	There is no climate justice without First Nations justice. 🖤👉❤️ That's why we have joined 43 other organisations and groups (representing more than 2 million Australians) and signed a public letter saying YES to the Voice. 👉 https://www.yes.org.au/ #yes23 #writeyes #yestothevoice
2	<i>Climate Strike</i>	School students across the country are striking for the climate once again this Friday, November 17. 🙌🌍📱 Come show your support by joining them (including outside Woodside's HQ in Perth) at your local strike. See you there! 👉 ss4c.info/nov17 #ShiftThePower
3	<i>Deep-Sea Mining</i>	Have you heard about fossil fuel giant Woodside's plans to drill in Western Australia's precious oceans? It's all a part of their deep-sea gas project known as the Burrup Hub - the most climate-polluting fossil fuel proposal in Australia today. Help us #StopWoodside 👉 https://act.gp/3ELUpHt

4	<i>Extreme Weather Events</i>	The Bureau of Meteorology has formally declared an El Niño climate event in Australia.  Bringing with it an increase of bushfire danger and extreme heat risk.
5	<i>Fossil Fuel</i>	Petrol is a dirty, polluting, expensive, fossil fuel - and with every year that passes, our reliance on fossil fuelled cars is costing Australians billions.  In April, Transport Minister Catherine King announced there would be legislation for cleaner cars by the end of this year - but now she is refusing to confirm that timeline.
6	<i>Fossil Fuel Corporations</i>	Shell is suing Greenpeace International and Greenpeace UK and threatening an \$8 MILLION damages claim for peacefully protesting their climate destruction  They are a huge multi-billion dollar corporation trying to intimidate us, but we are a movement of people determined to fight for a livable planet  Together we can fight the court case and put pressure on Shell to stop drilling and start paying for their climate damage!
7	<i>Green Technology</i>	Woolworths has committed to 100% electric delivery trucks by 2030  Coles and ALDI risk falling behind in the race to electrify, so we asked customers if they want to see Coles and ALDI stepping up to make a commitment to clean air. Here's what they had to say 
8	<i>Rising Sea Levels</i>	Nobody should lose their home to climate change.  But in Tuvalu, where Maina lives, people who have spent their whole lives by the coast are being forced to relocate inland because of rising sea levels. ...And international environmental laws fail to protect those, who don't have the resources they need to build resilience against climate change. Donate now, and help fund the fight for accountability and action on climate

		change 👉 https://www.greenpeace.org.au/donate/pacific
9	<i>Urgency</i>	Daily reminder climate can't wait

Judging from the data, we may argue that the majority of frames that are presented in Table 1 show striking similarities to the framing of climate change discourse by a score of Australian and, generally, Anglophone actors. These frames are *Climate Strike*, *Deep-Sea Mining*, *Extreme Weather Events*, *Fossil Fuel*, *Fossil Fuel Corporations*, *Green Technology*, *Rising Sea Levels*, and *Urgency*. Let us commence our discussion with these frames and, afterwards, conclude it by analyzing the frames that seem to be GAP-specific.

The GAP's framing of the issue of climate change as the frame *Climate Strike* is amply reported in the research literature (Kapranov 2023, 2024). Specifically, a number of previous studies have identified the framing of climate change as strikes and/or protest movements that take place in the Anglophone world, especially under the aegis of Greta Thunberg's climate action movement referred to as "Fridays for Future" (Niininen and Baumeister 2022, Sabherwal et al. 2021). Judging from the data (see Table 1), GAP shows solidarity with Thunberg's climate change protest movement and frames the issue of climate change accordingly, e.g. "School students across the country are striking for the climate once again this Friday, November 17" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). Hence, we may contend that the frame *Climate Strike* is neither GAP-specific nor unique to Australian climate change discourses.

Similarly to *Climate Strike*, the frame *Extreme Weather Events* is profoundly described in the literature on Australian actors' climate change discourses (Austin et al. 2020, Crowley 2021, Huang 2023, McHugh 2021). The GAP's framing of climate change as *Extreme Weather Events* lends support to the literature (Austin et al. 2020, McHugh 2021), which points out

to the crucial role of anthropogenic climate change in impacting negatively upon the Australian environment and rural life, respectively, cf. “[...] an El Niño climate event in Australia. Bringing with it an increase of bushfire danger and extreme heat risk” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). Likewise, the GAP’s framing of climate change as the frame *Rising Sea Levels* seems to amplify GAP’s heightened concern over the extreme weather conditions in Australia, which, in addition to bushfires and extended periods of drought (Austin et al. 2020, McHugh 2021), result in an increase in the total volume of ocean water, especially in the Pacific region, e.g. “But in Tuvalu [...] people who have spent their whole lives by the coast are being forced to relocate inland because of rising sea levels” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). In this regard, it should be noted that the frame *Rising Sea Levels* is often employed in climate change communication by the political actors in the UK (Kapranov 2018a, 2018b). Arguably, the presence of *Rising Sea Levels* in the present corpus imparts GAP’s discourse on climate change a touch of affinity with the British political discourses on climate change that foreground the idea of the change in global sea levels (Kapranov 2015a).

The frame *Urgency*, e.g. “climate can’t wait” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023), does not seem to be GAP-specific, since it is quite similar to the framing of climate change by a number of political as well as societal actors in the UK. Specifically, the literature (Kapranov 2017a, 2017b, 2023) emphasises that the mainstream political actors in the UK resort to framing the issue of climate change through the lens of urgency and utter necessity, especially in the context of financial costs needed to combat the negative consequences of climate change. Additionally, the actuality of *Urgency* in the corpus buttresses the literature (McHugh 2021), which reports that Australian political actors often frame their climate change discourses via a cognate frame *Emergency*.

In addition to *Urgency*, as well as *Rising Sea Levels*, *Extreme Weather Events*, and *Climate Strike*, the frames *Fossil Fuel* and

Fossil Fuel Corporations, respectively, exhibit closeness to the framing of climate change by other Australian actors, who view the issue of climate change through the prism of fossil fuel and its negative impact on the current state of affairs (Austin et al. 2020, Crowley 2021, Huang 2023, McHugh 2021). Also, it is worth mentioning that GAP's framing of climate change as *Fossil Fuel* and *Fossil Fuel Corporations* (see relevant examples in Table 1) finds their counterparts in the literature (Kapranov 2018a, 2018b, 2024), which demonstrates that Anglophone political and societal actors, first of all, in the UK, routinely frame the issue of climate change through the lens of corporate activities associated with the extraction and processing of fossil fuel (for instance, oil and gas). In this regard, the framing of climate change by GAP that involves the foci on fossil fuel and corporate actors (e.g. The Royal Dutch Shell) associated with it are not at all specific to GAP. Rather, the frames *Fossil Fuel* and *Fossil Fuel Corporations* could be argued to represent a typical framing of climate change in the Anglophone discursive space.

Yet, one more frame that is widely used by Australian political and societal actors on a par with GAP is represented by *Green Technology*. This frame, in particular, resonates with the literature (Sharp et al. 2024), which unveils the importance of eco-friendly green technology within the context of the current transitioning to net-zero economy in Australia. Moreover, GAP's framing of climate change as *Green Technology* is evocative of the prior studies (Kapranov 2017a, 2018a), which indicate that the frames similar or identical to *Green Technology* are extensively employed in climate change discourses by political and corporate actors in the UK.

Analogously to *Green Technology*, the frame *Deep-Sea Mining* does not appear to be GAP-specific. In particular, Greenpeace Aotearoa, the national branch of Greenpeace in New Zealand, has been found to frame the issue of climate change via a relatively similar frame *Fast Track* (Kapranov 2024). In this regard, it should be explained that *Fast Track* is associated with the "Fast Track Approvals Bill", which proposes to establish

a permanent fast track approvals regime for the development of infrastructure, inclusive of deep-sea mining off the coast of New Zealand (Kapranov 2024). The frames *Fast Track* and *Deep-Sea Mining* encapsulate GAP's and Greenpeace Aotearoa's negative attitudes towards the mining of the seabed and the unbridled development of offshore oil and gas fields. More specifically, GAP highlights the deep-sea location of fossil fuel extraction in the frame *Deep-Sea Mining*, e.g. "[...] a part of their deep-sea gas project known as the Burrup Hub - the most climate-polluting fossil fuel proposal in Australia today" (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). Concurrently with the common focus that is shared between *Fast Track* and *Deep-Sea Mining*, the frame *Deep-Sea Mining* exhibits closeness to the well-documented types of frames *Fossil Fuel* and *Fossil Fuel Corporations* by virtue of its association with the development of gas fields by big corporate actors. Notably, it should be remarked that the presence of *Deep-Sea Mining* in GAP's climate change discourse is a novel finding, given that this frame is not reported in the recent literature (see Austin et al. 2020, Crowley 2021, Daume et al. 2023, Huang 2023, McDonald 2021, McHugh 2021, Sharp et al. 2024, Wright et al. 2021).

Having discussed the types of frames that seem to be present in climate change discourses by GAP and other Australian actors, let us consider the frames that appear to be GAP-specific. Judging from the findings summarised in Table 1, only *Climate Justice* could be argued to represent a GAP-specific framing of the issue of climate change. Whilst the frame *Climate Justice* echoes, at least partially, the framing of climate change that is reported by Wright, Nyberg, and Bowden (2021) in terms of its moral dimension that is involved in corporate image-building (see Wright et al. 2021), the focus of the frame *Climate Justice* in the present corpus is on morality vis-à-vis climate change in the context of Australian Aboriginal population. Specifically, GAP views the issue of climate change as a topic that should be treated, inter alia, from the standpoint of empowerment of Australian Aboriginals, referred to by GAP as "First Nations", e.g.

“There is no climate justice without First Nations justice” (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2023). The main message in this framing consists in interrelating the issue of climate change with a change in policies and practices associated with the Australian Aboriginal community. Arguably, the refocussing of the conventional framings of climate change through the lens of green technology, fossil fuel, etc. as the frame *Climate Justice*, which problematises justice as a moral construal that equally refers to climate change and the Australian Aboriginal population, represents a GAP-specific framing, which is not reported in climate change discourses by other Australian actors. One more critical observation should be added to the discussion of the frame *Climate Justice*. It involves the reference to Australian Aboriginals as the “First Nations”. It should be, perhaps, noted that the terms “Aboriginal” and “Aboriginal population” are widely used in the official bureaucratic jargon in Australia, and they are not negatively connoted (Altman 2018, Warry 2008). However, the noun phrase “First Nations”, which is used in the framing by GAP, is evocative of the North American discursive conventions to refer to the Native American population as the “First Nations” (Flanagan 2019, Kuper 2003). Whilst it is beyond the scope of the present paper to expand upon this finding, it, nevertheless, adds a new layer of detail to the framing of climate change by GAP.

4. Conclusions

The article has presented and discussed a qualitative investigation of the corpus of Facebook status updates by GAP, i.e. Greenpeace Australia Pacific, which is a local branch of Greenpeace, one of the leading environmental organisations worldwide. The qualitative framing analysis of the corpus has revealed the presence of nine types of frames that are employed in GAP’s climate change discourse on Facebook. The juxtaposition of the frames with those reported by the literature has uncovered that the frames *Climate Strike*, *Deep-Sea Mining*, *Extreme*

Weather Events, Fossil Fuel, Fossil Fuel Corporations, Green Technology, Rising Sea Levels, and Urgency do not appear to be specific to GAP's discourse on climate change, given that the prior studies report their presence in climate change discourses by a number of Australian and other Anglophone actors.

Concurrently with these findings, it has been established that the frame *Climate Justice* seems to be GAP-specific. As far as the specificity of the frame *Climate Justice* is concerned, it emblematises a truly localised Australian perspective, which is shared by GAP in its climate change discourse on Facebook. The perspective involves putting on equal footing the construal of "justice" that applies to (i) the issue of climate change and (ii) Australian Aboriginals, who are referred to by GAP as the "First Nations". This finding opens an avenue for future studies that could explore the nexus between the issue of climate change within the discourse on decolonisation, for instance, or within the discursive space of climate change and climate justice on the one hand and the First Nations' (in)justice on the other hand.

Summarizing the findings, it seems feasible to offer the following generalisation that stems from the corpus analysis. The framing of the issue of climate change by GAP shares multiple discursive perspectives with the other Australian actors that represent political, media, and societal walks of life. Moreover, the majority of the types of frames used by GAP seem to correlate with the analogous frames that circulate in a number of Anglophone discourses, first of all British discourses on the topic of climate change. These findings allow us to claim that GAP's climate change discourse on Facebook, essentially, has much in common with the international Anglophone discourses on climate change. These findings could be further applied to researching how other local branches of Greenpeace frame their respective climate change discourses in SNSs-based discursive environments, for instance, Facebook, Instagram, and/or X (Twitter).

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Primary source

<https://www.facebook.com/greenpeaceaustraliapacific>.

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