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## **Discourse to discourse to action: Fridays for Future's influence on the European Green Deal**

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**Discourse to discourse to action:  
Fridays for Future's influence on the European Green Deal**

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# **Discourse to discourse to action:**

## **Fridays for Future's influence on the European Green Deal**

### **1. Introduction**

That the problem of climate change constitutes a complex global challenge is not a revelatory statement. Its impacts threaten everything from biodiversity numbers to agricultural production to human livelihood (NASA, 2021). Counterintuitively, however, connecting with and mobilising the public, governments, and the international community against climate change has proved (and proves) difficult. This is partly because the problem of climate change is both scientifically complex and has become distorted by interests more concerned with the short-term benefits of exploiting the environment than the long-term consequences of such actions. The effects of climate change are also not immediately perceptible. This has made substantive political action to address it hard to achieve. As such, one of the main questions within the climate change problem regards how to best frame climate change so that the dangers surrounding it are not only understood but acted upon as well (Sikka, 2019). Fridays for Future (FFF), the international social movement of youth who skip Friday classes to strike for environmental political action, could be the social movement that helps achieve an answer to this question.

FFF constitutes a historical turn in climate activism. Although it began small, as a weekly school walkout led by Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg, it has evolved into an international movement of youth activists whose mobilising discourse addresses issues of intergenerational equity and public trust (Sikka, 2019). Their message: that current generations' failure to address climate disaster has endangered the future of next generations (FFF, 2021). No youth movement, or in fact environmental movement, has ever had such a global reception before. During their Global Week for Future in September 2019, FFF organised 4,500 strikes across over 150 countries, gathering an estimated 6 million protesters (Barclay & Resnick, 2019). In reply to the demonstrations, Thunberg was invited to address political leaders within different national parliaments, but also at the United Nation's climate summit and at the European Parliament (EP). She asked for a greater sense of responsibility, and visible change in policy initiatives (Thunberg, 2019). In December 2019, only a couple months after her EP visit in April, the European Commission (EC) presented the European Green Deal (EGD) – a set of policy initiatives for a climate-neutral Europe by 2050 (EC, 2019).

Although the presentation of the EGD cannot be traced solely to the emergence of FFF – the European Union’s (EU) aim to building a greener and fairer Europe has been clear since the 2015 Paris Agreement – it is not untenable to suggest the social movement’s appearance on the scene was a contributing factor to the mobilisation of this goal. Or, at the very least, a contributing factor to the change in discourse surrounding the mobilisation of this goal. Further, it is not untenable to suggest it was the appeal to intergenerational justice and public trust found within FFF's discourse that allowed the social movement to impact the EU environmental policy context, whether that be solely at the level of discourse or additionally at the level of policy action. This begs the question – to what extent did the FFF movement influence EU climate action?

In answering this question, this study attempts the following. Firstly, to make clearer whether it is viable to claim a social movement can influence changes at the institutional level. And secondly, to test whether an appeal to intergenerational justice and public trust is the framing environmental movements should focus on to mobilise their constituents and make an impact on environmental policy moving forward. The question is theoretically relevant because its answer will provide further knowledge into the influence of social movements on policy change, or at the very least on the change in discourse surrounding policy, as well as the impact of discourse on policy action. It is practically relevant because its conclusions might help solve a real-world challenge, regarding how to properly frame the dangers of climate change so they are understood and politically acted upon. This could be critical not just for climate management action and negotiations moving forward, but for future survival.

The paper is structured as follows. A first segment reviews the social movement literature to examine scholarship views regarding the influence of social movements on political institutions, and the conditions that might explain influence. A second theoretical section discusses how a combination of political mediation arguments and discursive institutionalism can be applied to hypothesise that calls to intergenerational equity and public trust within FFF led to a renewed sense of climate urgency that forced EU environmental action. Next, a methodology segment explains the reasoning behind conducting a qualitative typical case study on the EGD and the use of discursive textual analysis to do so. This section also includes an operationalisation of key concepts. The analysis examines whether a change in climate action can be applied at the discourse level, at the policy level, or both. The results evidence the study's expectations, that a change in EU climate action at the level of discourse and policy change did occur, and that FFF played a part in influencing it. Discourse to discourse to action. A social

movement *can* influence institutional action and appeals to intergenerational justice and public trust *are* suited to impact current environmental policy contexts. Finally, a discussion and conclusion ensue, including a restatement of the research's main findings, its limitations and proposals for future research.

## **2. The political consequences of social movements: a literature review**

Whether social movements impact policy or can be consistently expected to do so is a central issue in current social movement literature. This is because, unlike the mobilisation of constituents or the creation of collective identities, policy impact can depend on factors external to social movements (Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, & Su, 2010). As such, determining social movements' influence on political institutions has become a topic of much inquiry, with wide disagreements on the extent of their political consequences as a result. Since FFF was (and is) a social movement, it is relevant for a first literature segment to examine the influence of social movements on policy more generally, to be better able to analyse the impact of its case further on. Here, a clarification. This research understands social movements as: the interactions of a collective – whether that be made up of individuals, groups, or organisations – engaged in social, political, or cultural conflicts outside the traditional institutionalised avenues of politics (Giugni, 2007; Amenta et al., 2010; Coy, 2015). This clarified, the literature review proceeds as following. First, it explores whether social movements are seen as politically influential in the literature at all, before reviewing the conditions that might explain influence. Although the conclusions are contested, it seems a social movement's successful influence on policy is rarer than one would intuitively suspect, but that regardless, it is worth examining why those that are successful, become so.

### *2.1. The extent of influence: a rare occurrence*

At first glance, it seems intuitive to suggest social movements will account for political change. No-one can dispute that the emergence of social movements in the areas of human rights or women's empowerment have had major impacts on the national policy agendas of many countries, even transforming them in some instances (Baumgartner & Mahoney, 2005). The clustering of major policy change coinciding with episodes of social mobilisation from below, as happened with the American Civil Rights movement and linked policy transformation of the 1960s, would also point to this conclusion (Piven, 2006). Additionally, this reasoning is aided by the self-perpetuating nature of policy change itself which, once enacted, makes even short-term influence prone to stronger, longer-term impact (Pierson, 2000). The European labour

movements of the 19th century are good examples of movements whose widespread impact induced the creation of political parties intent on taking political power and enacting policies to satisfy their constituents (Huber & Stephens, 2001). Similarly, the German environmental protest movements of the late 1960-70s prompted the creation of the country's Green Party which, since sending twenty-seven members to parliament in 1983, has become a prominent actor in German politics and policy (Langguth, 1984; Papadakis, 1988, 2014). In this sense, certainly, social movements can be argued strongly politically influential.

Not all movement scholars would agree, however. In fact, most are sceptical about the extent to which social movements are likely to have power over policy. The argument here is that social movements are not, as a rule, nearly as influential as they are made out to be, and are in fact rarely so (Skocpol, 2003; Burstein & Sausner, 2005). Overshadowed by the power of public opinion and political parties, collective action by social movement is deemed both ineffective and unpredictable (Burstein & Sausner, 2005). An analysis of United States (US) ecology, peace, and antinuclear protest movements between 1975-1995 show most social movements have few political consequences and that, when they do, their impact depends more on the type of protest activities, external resources used, and context surrounding the movement than the movement itself (Giugni, 2007). Additionally, a significant number of movements fail to achieve their political goals, and at times, even cause additional negative unintended consequences, such as more intrusive containment and policing of protests (McCarthy & Zald, 1997). As such, and while never completely without impact, a social movement's successful influence on policy seems more the exception to the rule than the norm.

These conclusions are supported by scholars like Amenta (2014) who, in his article tackling how to analyse the influence of movements, explains that the conclusion of social movements being powerless and typically lacking direct impact on policy change stems from the idea that those behind the movement hold little power to begin with – hence why they need a movement. To create political change, powerless actors require support, in the form of public opinion or powerful allies inside institutional arenas (Giugni & Passi, 1998; Giugni, 2007). This is something that is hard to achieve and could also partly explain their low policy change success.

When a social movement's goals are too broad, or when they try to influence too many different institutions, the likeliness that they will influence policy also becomes lower, the result of being spread too thin (Amenta, 2014). Moreover, because social movements come in a variety of shapes and sizes and are also distinct in their focus and tactics when trying to

operationalise strategies, the internal structure of a movement can be more of an influencing factor for their impact on policy than its mere presence (Coy, 2015). The contextual conditions of the institutions they are aiming to impact also matter (Amenta, 2014; Coy, 2015). In a paper by Parris & Scheuerman (2015) it was found that the reason the LGBT movement was able to influence LGBT hate crime policy passage in the US from 1983 to 2008 was not just the strength in presence of the movement, but the country's political instability and liberal government ideology. Similarly, Valiente's (2015) account of the feminist movement in Francoist Spain from the 1930s through 1975 serves as a reminder of the impact an inhospitable political climate can have for social movements – non-democracies being extreme examples. As such, both internal structure and external context matter for successful impact on policy.

It seems claiming all social movements always have the power to influence policy lacks empirical and theoretical backing. However, movements do sometimes help transform policy and it is important to demonstrate and explain that influence (Amenta, 2014). This has led movement scholarship to a second debate, to do with identifying the circumstances most suitable for policy impact.

## *2.2. A lack of catch-all conditions*

When it comes to determining the conditions for policy influence, movement literature can be sorted into four groups of arguments. The first three stem from the three main hypothesised determinants of mobilisation itself – mobilising structures, framing strategies, and political opportunities and contexts (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Amenta et al., 2010).

The first – mobilising structures – argues that the act of mobilisation itself is enough for a social movement to be influential. This stems from the logic that having at least some degree of influence is necessary for a movement's survival (Amenta et al, 2010). As such, it focuses on the organisational characteristics that promote it to explain influence on policy (McCarthy & Zald, 2002; Amenta et al, 2010). Proponents of this view find, for example, that a bureaucratic structure is the most likely to facilitate a movement's successful influence in the policy sphere (Gamson, 1990). Additionally, greater strategic resources, informal ties to members and complex leadership structures are also always an asset for movement survival and influence (Ganz, 2000; Andrews, 2004).

The second and third lines of thinking – framing and context – put attention on circumstance. For the second group of hypotheses, the claims-making and framing within protests and electoral activity is crucial for extent of influence (Amenta et al, 2010). For a



movement to have policy impact it must successfully identify problems, provide clear rationales, and pose credible solutions backed by concrete evidence (Cress & Snow, 2000; McCammon, 2009). While framing strategies look to internal circumstance to explain policy influence, the third line of thinking looks to external. This third view argues that, once set up, it is the political context surrounding movements that determines their successful influence on policy, rather than the social movement itself (Amenta et al., 2010; Valiente, 2015; Parris & Scheuerman, 2015). As in, whether a country is a democracy, its political instability and ideology, or how bureaucratic the targeted political institutions are, etc.

These groups of hypotheses argue that the circumstances leading to social movement emergence also aid them in their attempts to later impact policy (Amenta et al., 2010). Policy influence success stems from mobilisation success. But research has shown no strategies, frames or contexts that always guarantee policy change and as previously concluded, there are many movements which fail to mobilise properly at all. Assuming the conditions that lead to mobilisation will also explain policy change ignores how these same conditions can constrain influence at later policy stages (ibid., 2010). For example, the frames that help certain radical movements like the Ku Klux Klan mobilise supporters tend to have the opposite effect on policymakers, inhibiting election and policy influence beyond causing a stir (McVeigh, Myers, & Sikkink, 2004). As a result, movement scholarship has turned to political mediation arguments to explain the successful influence of certain social movements on policy.

Political mediation rejects the existence of catch-all guidelines, acknowledging no strategies, political contexts or specific organisational forms will always guarantee movement influence (Amenta et al., 2010; Amenta, Andrews & Caren, 2018). There are, however, certain frames and forms that work better in specific political contexts. Making plausible claims, mobilising a large group of committed supporters and working in a democratic political system are the basics for a politically influential social movement (Kane, 2003; Amenta, 2006; Amenta et al., 2010). Favourable public opinion is an additional asset (Giugni, 2007). However, social movements are most likely to account for political change when targeted institutional political actors are convinced of the benefits policy change brings (Kane, 2003; Amenta et al., 2010). To achieve this, movements use the specific organisational forms and strategic actions that might impact specific political actors (Amenta et al., 2010; Amenta, 2014). There is no catch-all theory that achieves this in every circumstance, because the point of this argumentation is that each social movement is different – with different goals, different constituents and different

target institutions. Influence comes from the specifics of circumstance, making it relevant that the success, failure and behaviour of individual social movements are examined.

Taken together, the existing literature suggests successful social movement policy influence is more infrequent than might be intuitive. This does not mean movements never impact policy, but it does mean they cannot be routinely expected to do so. When they do, however, it is not because they followed a set of guidelines guaranteeing success – although mobilising in a democratic context with enough committed constituents and plausible claims seems to premise it – but because they have made use of the specifics of their individual circumstances to convince the relevant institutional political actors of the benefits of policy change. The existence of this occasional success makes it relevant to explore the influence (or lack thereof) of individual social movements on the policy context. The next theorising and analysis sections attempt exactly that.

### **3. Theorising: on explaining successful influence**

The above review found: (1) that social movements do not routinely impact policy or political institutions; and (2), that when they do, it is because they have convinced the relevant institutional actors of the benefits of change. As such, it is relevant to explore the conditions leading to influence success in each individual case. To do so, this next theorising section first briefly examines whether the premises of the case analysed in this study align with political mediation arguments, and secondly considers whether it could be FFF discourse that allows for influence in the environmental policy context.

#### *3.1. Political mediation*

If successful, a change in EU climate action could be at least partly explained by political mediation arguments, for the following reasons. When attempting to impact EU climate action, FFF mobilised in a democratic context – all EU Member States are democracies, and certain institutions within the organisation itself are of a parliamentary nature. It also made plausible claims – that climate disaster exists, and it endangers the existence of future generations – and demands – to decrease global temperatures 1.5 °C below pre-industrial levels, ensure climate equity, and heed the scientific community's advice. Lastly, FFF counts many committed constituents – having gathered an estimated 6 million protesters. Following political mediation arguments, these characteristics premise the influence of any successful social movement.

These characteristics alone, however, are not enough to impact policy contexts. To influence EU climate action, there must also be an additional strategy or form that impacts the institutional target, in its specific environmental and European context. For the FFF, this strategy was a discourse that appealed to intergenerational equity and public trust. The reasoning behind this claim and the importance of discourse as a strategy is examined below.

### *3.2. Appealing to intergenerational justice, public trust and urgency*

As was highlighted above, a social movement is most likely to influence policy action when the targeted institutional political actors are convinced of the advantages change brings (Kane, 2003; Amenta et al., 2010). This paper argues that it is the discourse used by FFF that allows FFF to be influential in the environmental policy context. Discourse theory maintains that our actions regarding a subject are influenced by the way we communicate about that subject (Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1997). In a policy change context, how change is discussed by social movements helps explain any actions leading to the transformation and creation of policy initiatives.

Discourse theory, however, is a broad concept, and although all theories within this broader term take ideas and discourse seriously, it is discursive institutionalism which is best equipped to explain the changes caused by FFF in an institutional context. This is because discursive institutionalism concentrates on the content of ideas and the way in which their development and conveyance informs the policies altering (or maintaining) institutions (Schmidt 2008, 2010). Directional flows of influence can emerge from the top-down but also from the bottom-up through the discourse of civil society and social movement activism (Schmidt, 2011). It is precisely this bottom-up approach that best explains the influence a social movement like FFF could have on the environmental discourse and policy initiatives of an institution like the EU.

This paper theorises it was a discourse calling for intergenerational justice and public trust that allowed FFF to influence EU climate action by creating a renewed sense of urgency around the climate problem and so forcing institutional reaction. The importance surrounding a sense of urgency is inspired by Barrett's (2014) discussion on the recent outcomes of international climate negotiations, disappointing thus far. For Barrett, urgency is the key to creating better incentives for cooperation around any problem. In his view, people need the idea of imminent danger to be forced to react (ibid., p. 263). The lack of intergenerational equity and

public trust FFF accuse political leaders of being responsible for successfully appeals to our sense of urgency, and as such causes a reaction from them.

Here, an interjection. What is meant in this study by intergenerational justice and public trust? Intergenerational justice constitutes the responsibilities present generations have towards future generations (Sikka, 2019). Referring to: a right to survival and freedom, and a duty for actions of present to not harm the capabilities and autonomy of future, to not bring long-term harm (even if bringing short-term benefit), and to not cause humanity's redefinition (ibid., 2019). Within the environmental context, those duties refer to present generations' responsibility to conserve the world's natural resources, so that future generations hold the same rights to cultural and environmental resources as those that came before them (Skillington, 2019). In short, a disregard of responsibilities should not harm the quality of life of those coming after.

Public trust, as understood here, refers to trust in government or political institutions (Anderson, 2010). As in, the degree to which citizens have faith that the institutions governing have their best interests in mind (Zhao & Hu, 2017). It promotes good government because it allows institutions to function smoothly and effectively, without fear of constant opposition (ibid., 2017). As such, a lack – or an appeal to a lack – of it, is enough to cause any governmental institution – and the constituency it governs – worry.

Accusing current political leaders of a lack of intergenerational equity and public trust are both appeals found abundant in FFF speeches, especially within those of Thunberg, the movement's leader (see operationalisation and Appendix A). Intergenerational discourse confronts us with a climate disaster in our own lifetimes, or in that of our children, instead of, as had been the case till FFF mobilised, for future generations we might never meet. Additionally, a lack of public trust creates panic within those mobilising, fearing betrayal from the governing institutions they have put their confidence in. This successfully creates a 'dangerous' enough climate change game that forces reaction from the institutions governing (Barrett, 2014). As such, and by way of the discourse used, I expect FFF to have influenced EU climate action. The question remains, however – to what *extent* has FFF influenced EU climate action? My hypothesis is the following – that an appeal to intergenerational equity and public trust within the FFF movement created a renewed sense of urgency around climate change which influenced EU climate action at the level of discourse and policy change.

Empirically, these expectations shall be determined as follows. If, through its framing of climate change, FFF influenced EU climate action at the level of discourse, then a similar framing will emerge within EU discourse post-FFF mobilisation. If, additionally, FFF influenced EU climate action at the level of policy, then a translation of FFF demands will emerge within EU policy content. While I do expect the findings to give strong support for this last claim, I also expect the first to be the strongest evidenced. Interactions between the movement and the institution, as well as a visible change in discourse and policy pre- and post-FFF will further determine whether the movement has impacted EU climate action.

## **4. Methodology**

### *4.1. Research design and case selection*

To explore whether and to what extent FFF influenced EU climate action, a qualitative typical case study is conducted using discursive textual analysis. FFF's political discourse is the independent variable and the change found in EU climate action post-FFF is the dependent.

In terms of research design and case selection, this paper utilises EGD policy initiatives – and the discourse surrounding their presentation – to conduct a typical case study. A typical case study is one that uses a representative example to demonstrate a stable, cross-case relationship (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). Following this logic, this paper considers EGD discourse and policy a representative example of the impact a social movement has on policy action at the institutional level, and of the influence intergenerational and public trust discourse have on social movement success in the environmental field. Its unique standing, historically and practically, as the first set of policy initiatives of its kind both within the EU and outside of it make it of added importance to analyse. As such, it is relevant not only for its theoretical policy value, but for its intrinsic societal importance, as the conclusions will help clarify whether intergenerational and public trust discourse allow for the dangers of climate change to be understood and politically acted upon.

### *4.2. Data selection*

The data used is taken from EC leader speeches and statements surrounding EGD implementation, and the content of the policy initiative itself. As such, this paper utilises the EC's public website, which provides the open data required. EC discourse is considered representative of EU discourse because the EC is effectively the EU's executive body, responsible for proposing legislation, executing Council decisions, and enforcing EU law (EC,

2021). Change is, therefore, most relevant at the EC level over other EU institutions. The following texts are analysed: vice-president Timmermans's statement at the Opening Plenary of the Ministerial Segment of COP25; an opinion piece by president von der Leyen on the presentation of the EGD; president von der Leyen's press remarks on the adoption of the EGD communication; vice-president Timmermans' closing statement at the EP Plenary Session on the adoption of the EGD; president von der Leyen's speech in the EP Plenary Session at the debate on the EGD; two factsheets on the EGD; and the communication from the EC to all other EU institutions on the EGD. All were published December 11, 2019, in Brussels, Belgium, except for the statement made at the Opening Plenary of the Ministerial Segment of COP25 in Madrid, Spain on December 10, 2019.

To be able to properly see a change in EU discourse pre- and post-FFF, an additional discourse analysis (Appendix B) of three EC speeches on the 2015 Paris Agreement is conducted. These are three speeches by Commissioner Arias Cañete at the press conference on the results of COP21 climate conference in Paris, France, on December 14, 2015; at a Bruegel event in Brussels, Belgium on February 8, 2016; and on the ratification of the Paris Agreement in Brussels, Belgium on December 16, 2016.

### *4.3. Operationalisation and method of analysis*

This research focuses on the concepts of intergenerational justice, public trust, and a sense of urgency to operationalise FFF discourse. An analysis of three key FFF speeches (Appendix A) was carried out to do so, to identify how the appeals are worded in practice. The speeches analysed are: Thunberg's climate strike concert speech in Stockholm, Sweden on September 8, 2018; Thunberg's EP speech in Strasbourg, France on April 16, 2019; and Thunberg's speech at the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) event "Civil Society for rEUnaissance" in Brussels, Belgium on February 2, 2019. The first was chosen because it constitutes one of Thunberg's initial climate strike talks, marking the beginning of appeals to intergenerational justice and public trust. The last two constitute talks given at EU institutions, which are of relevance to this research as proof of interaction between the EU and FFF but also by taking place at the organisation analysed. As FFF's leader, this research considers Thunberg's discourse with regards to climate action to be representative of that of the entire movement. A summary of the elements found within this discourse is found below, in table 1.

**Table 1. Operationalising intergenerational justice, public trust and urgency within FFF discourse.**

<b>Appeals to intergenerational justice, public trust and urgency within FFF discourse</b>	
An appeal to intergenerational justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to younger/future generations sacrificing their education [reference to schools, schoolchildren] so current generations understand/act: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to uncertainty for future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to having to ask/cry for help that has not been provided: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of current generations.</li> <li>+ Reference to climate justice, equity.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</li> <li>+ Reference to the lack of choice for change of younger/future generations as opposed to current generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Use of an ‘us vs them’ [future vs current] sentiment.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the future has for current [generations, actions].</li> <li>+ Reference to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs [directed at current generations].</li> <li>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</li> <li>+ Use of an accusatory tone.</li> </ul>
A call for public trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of an accusatory tone.</li> <li>+ Reference to a purposeful misinformation/lack of information of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to a sense of betrayal from political institutions and actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for political institutions/actors to act on the responsibility awarded to them by the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future outcomes on current political action/actors.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the general public has for political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to a wish for political institutions/actors to earn the general public’s trust back.</li> <li>+ Critique of political institutions/actors valuing action needed in different sectors [economy, Brexit, etc.] as more relevant/important than the climate crisis.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to the power for change political institutions/actors hold.</li> </ul>
A sense of urgency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of hyperboles.</li> <li>+ Use of the word crisis.</li> <li>+ Reference to future catastrophe approaching.</li> <li>+ Reference to a lack of time/little time left to implement change.</li> <li>+ Reference to a cry for help that has not been provided.</li> <li>+ Reference to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</li> <li>+ Reference to a wish to be listened to.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</li> </ul>

A discourse analysis is conducted. This method is appropriate for a study on the use of language, in this case how FFF discourse affects EU climate action at the level of discourse and policy change. As such, this method is applied to the texts mentioned above. An additional content analysis is carried out on EGD content. This will serve to supplement the analysis by demonstrating the presence of FFF demands within policy.

Both levels of EU climate action are operationalised. The first, EU climate action at discourse level, is determined by identifying whether the appeals – and the references used to make these appeals in FFF discourse – have translated into the EU discourse surrounding the EGD. The second, EU climate action at policy level, is demonstrated by the presence of FFF demands within the EGD. These demands are the following: action to decrease global temperatures 1.5 °C below pre-industrial levels, action to ensure climate justice, and action to promote and listen to the best science available.

## **5. Analysis**

Before discussing the results of the analyses conducted, a brief overview of EU climate policy action up to FFF mobilisation is warranted. This setting of the stage serves to emphasise the changes in climate action within EU discourse and policy pre- and post-FFF mobilisation and the strength of the hypothesised relationship. Second, the appearance of FFF on the scene and its interactions with the EU are highlighted. Finally, evidence of the changes that occurred in EU discourse and policy post-FFF are presented. Conclusions and discussion follow.

### *5.1. Setting the stage*

When it comes to climate action, the EU has repeatedly emphasised its wish to be at the forefront – its environmental policy deemed the most extensive of any international organisation (Jordan & Adelle, 2012; Claeys, Tagliapietra, & Zachmann, 2019). Its beginnings date to the 1972 Paris Summit, at which the Heads of State and Government belonging to the European Council declared the need for an action programme on environmental policy (Kurrer, 2020). This decision was grounded in economic reasoning, as Member States worried different environmental standards would lead to trade barriers and conflict within the Common Market (Johnson & Corcelle, 1989). An additional motivation was the realisation that the climate problem was global in nature and becoming increasingly politicised as a result (Knill & Liefferink, 2012). As such, and since 1973, seven Environment Action Programmes have been issued by the EC, each setting out future legislative action for EU environmental policy (Kurrer, 2020).

It was the 1987 Single European Act, however, which provided the first legal basis for a common environmental policy (Kurrer, 2020). It focused on natural resources usage, the preservation of the environment, and human health. This commitment to environmental protection was strengthened by subsequent treaty revisions (ibid., 2020). The 1993 Treaty of



Maastricht established the environment as an official EU policy area, the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam made it an obligation that environmental protection and sustainable practices be incorporated into all EU sectoral policies, and the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon established sustainable development and tackling climate change as two of its specific goals. The Treaty of Lisbon (2009) additionally awarded the EU legal personality, which enabled the EU to play a role at the international policy level (Kurrer, 2020). The EU proceeded to help shape several major international agreements, including the 2015 Paris Agreement on Climate Change.

Although this adoption of environmental policies aimed to reduce environmental degradation, as of 2018, it had only done so to a certain extent, and certainly not sufficiently (Claeys et al., 2019). The EU was not tackling greenhouse gas emissions in key emitting sectors enough to reduce these convincingly and both decarbonisation and energy efficiency schemes in the building, industry and mobility sectors were proving unsatisfactory (ibid., 2019). The rest of the world was not faring better (FFF, 2021). While there were environmental movements attempting to bring attention to these issues, none were managing to frame the climate problem in a way that allowed climate change to be both understood and acted upon institutionally. The appearance on the scene of the climate youth movement FFF marked the change for the current renewed urgency surrounding climate action.

## *5.2. Fridays for Future incoming*

August 2018 gave rise to the emergence of the FFF movement. Led by Thunberg, the environmental movement of youth activists called for stronger environmental policies and equity. They reached international audiences at speeds and in numbers unprecedented, addressing large public crowds but also invited to speak at different national parliaments and international organisations. Two such invitations were extended by the EU in the months of February – by the EESC – and April – by the EP – of 2019.

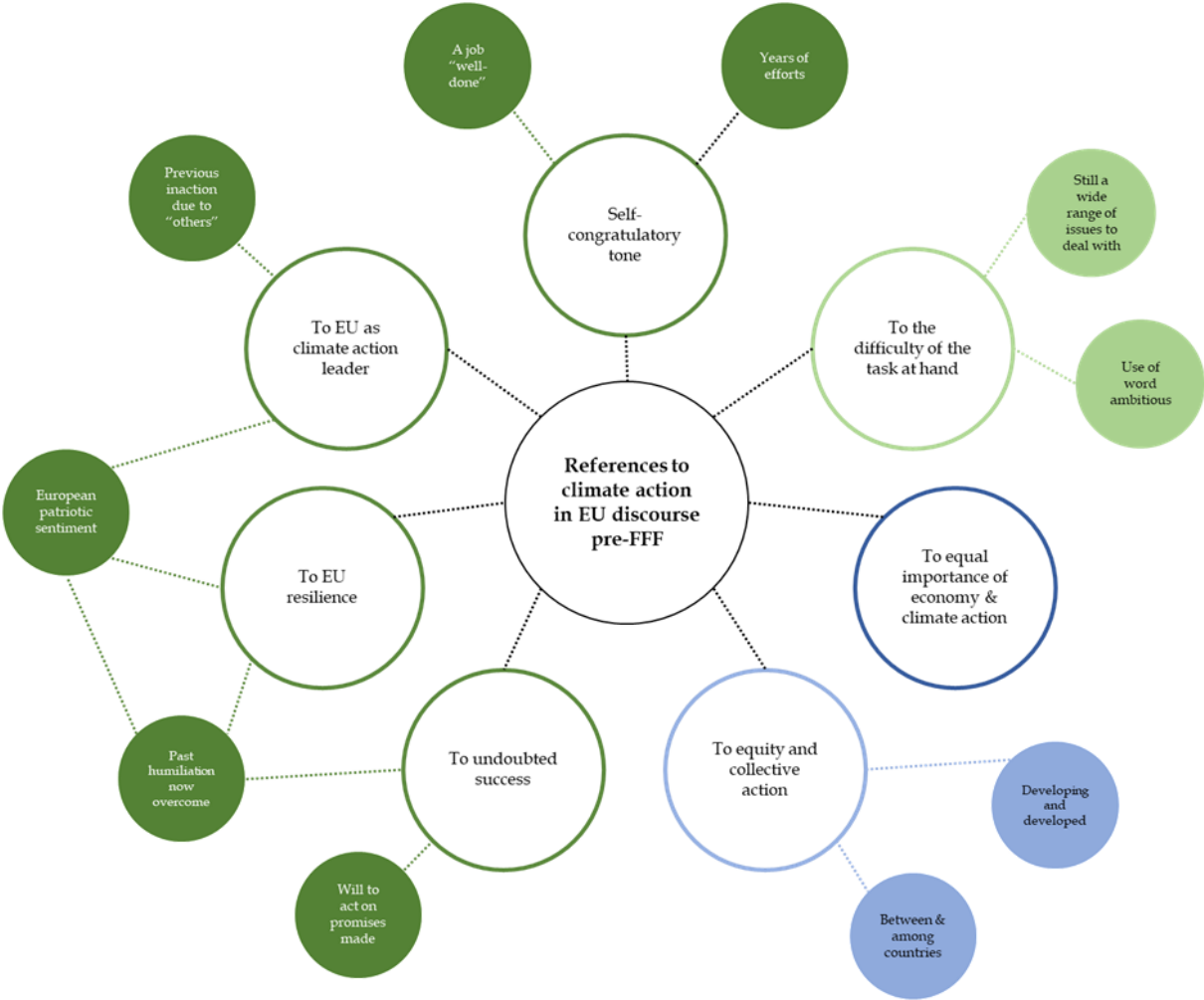
In this context, and with climate policy now a divisive EU topic, December 2019 saw the EC propose the EGD, a set of policy initiatives for climate neutrality by 2050 (EC, 2019). EC leaders introduced the EGD as a direct response to the noise made by environmental movements: “No-one would have imagined that millions would take to the street for climate, [...] our EGD is for them” (von der Leyen, 2019). They also referenced Thunberg: “I want to congratulate Greta Thunberg [...] this generation – our kids – are leading the way” (Timmermans, 2019). This considered, and with Thunberg's talks as evidence of direct EU-FFF interaction, it is tenable to suggest the EU was heeding the movement's speeches and advice.

To further prove this, however, evidence of the changes that occurred in EU discourse and policy post-FFF are presented. In accordance with this paper's initial expectations, framings to do with intergenerational justice, public trust and urgency emerged in references to climate action within EU discourse post-FFF mobilisation, as is evidenced by the discourse that surrounded the EGD. Additionally, there is evidence that FFF demands are present within the content of the EGD itself, providing support for FFF influence on EU climate action at the level of policy as well.

### *5.3. A change in discourse*

To highlight the change in discourse pre- and post-FFF, this paper takes three EC speeches on the adoption of the 2015 Paris Agreement to determine the EU climate action narrative pre-FFF, summarised in Figure 1 (see also Appendix B). Pre-FFF, EU discourse is one of success and resilience. Democratic and scientifically-minded, the EU is a climate action leader. The tone is self-congratulatory and permeated with appeals to a well-deserved European patriotic sentiment: “Europeans should be proud of Europe. [...] We made a major contribution [...]” (Arias Cañete, 2015). Although the problem of climate change is identified, there is little focus on the dangers it brings or their immediate nature. What is highlighted, however, is the difficulty of the task at hand and the need to continue a growth economy with low energy prices: “This has to be a managed transition: we simply cannot switch to a clean and sustainable energy model overnight” (Arias Cañete, 2016). The climate problem is also portrayed as under control and without need for dramatic urgency, as implied in statements like, “[...] Europe is ahead of the curve” (Arias Cañete, 2016). As such, and in accordance with Barrett's (2014) theory that little urgency leads to little action, the incentive for immediate climate action appears small. Thus, for the next four years, there is none.

**Figure 1. References to climate action in EU discourse pre-FFF.**



The FFF's accusatory tone poses to change that, however, by employing appeals to intergenerational justice and public trust. It is these calls that allowed FFF to influence EU climate action, at the discourse and policy level, by allowing for a renewed sense of urgency around climate change to emerge. Intergenerational discourse confronts us with injustice in the lifetimes of our children and grandchildren, and even our own, rather than in that of generations out of reach. A lack of institutional trust additionally creates feelings of betrayal, panic, and a lack of confidence in those governing. These sentiments succeed in turning the self-congratulatory tone characteristic of Paris discourse into one of urgent change and apprehension. The evidence for this is below (and Appendix C).

This study operationalised FFF discourse in appeals to intergenerational justice, public trust and urgency. All three are found within EC discourse when referring to EU climate action post-FFF mobilisation (Figure 2). The appeal to intergenerational equity transforms into the EU's commitment to guarantee it. EC discourse contains references to the action taken by future

generations and an acknowledgment of the sacrifice undergone to make current generations act, in utterances like: “[...] our children are not passive spectators. [...] Our Climate Pact will be with them and for them” (von der Leyen, 2019). Additionally, references to an uncertain future turn into a commitment to invest in future and references to the lack of choice for change of younger generations transforms into references to current’s active ability to do so: “The EGD is something [...] we owe to our children” (von der Leyen, 2019). Further, use of imperative when referencing the demands for current generations are also seen in the use of future tense by the EC to portray commitment to them. Lastly, certain references are maintained: to the right to a decent future, to climate justice, to the dependence of future on current action, and to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs: “This is a task for our generation [...], change must begin right now” (von der Leyen, 2019).

**Figure 2. Depicting change in climate discourse: from appeal to commitment.**



Similarly, FFF's call to public trust turns into an EU commitment to regaining it. References to a sense of betrayal from political institutions and to a wish for political actors to earn the public’s trust back turn into acknowledgements of past wrongs and past rights, references to caring about and understanding citizen and planet needs, and references to a wish to earn the public's trust back by putting words to action and walking the talk. The inaction of political institutions and actors is acknowledged, and the EGD is framed as a response to the needs of the public: “The EGD is Europe’s response to our people’s call” (von der Leyen, 2019). EC discourse also portrays the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless: “This is costly, [...] but don't forget what the cost is of not acting” (Timmermans, 2019). Further, the EC frames itself as aiming for climate leadership and committing to coming through on promises made within and beyond the EGD, with references to and support for climate action abundant. That there is still time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs is emphasised here: “[...] the old growth-model [...] is out of touch, [...] out of date [...]. We want to really make things different” (von der Leyen, 2019). Finally, FFF’s use of imperative in reference to demands made by the public transforms into the use of the future, present, and imperative tenses to portray EC commitment to them.

Lastly, FFF discourse emphasising a sense of urgency directly translates into that of the EU. References here are mostly maintained, however, with mentions of future and current catastrophe, of planetary boundaries, of an imperative to act, of there being little time left to implement change, and of the need for urgent action present throughout: “We need to act now because the facts are staring us in the face” (Timmermans, 2019). Both discourses also refer to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation. Additionally, a cry for help not provided and a need to be listened to translates into references committing to answering those cries.

Evidence, then, of a similar framing within EU discourse translating from FFF discourse is apparent. But what of a translation of this discourse into policy action?

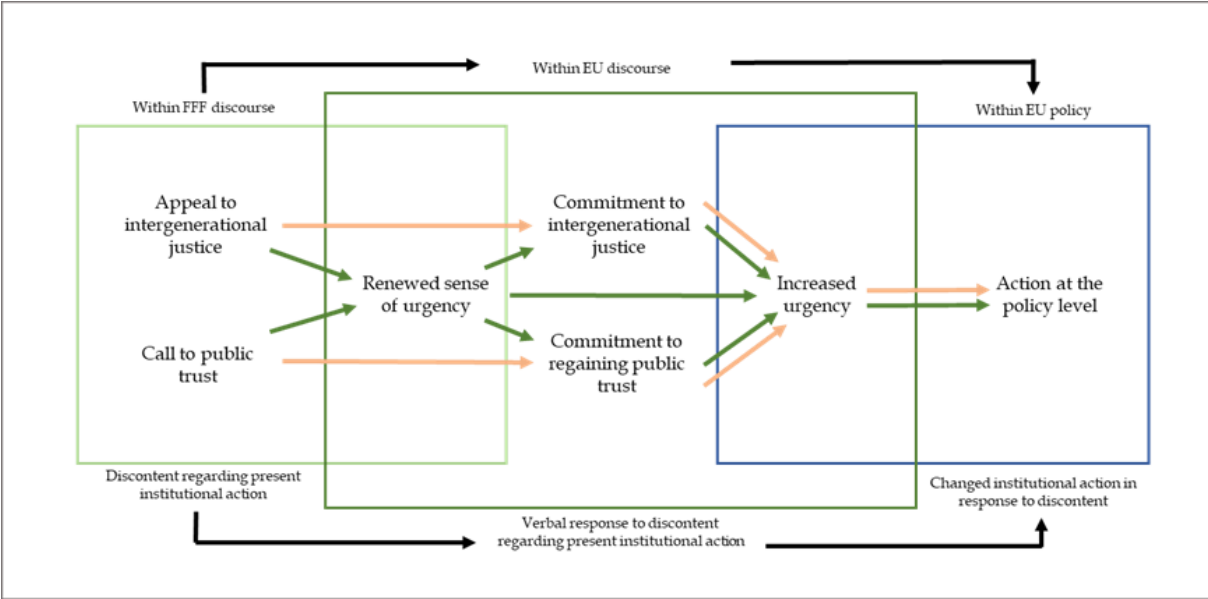
#### *5.4. A change in policy*

Having analysed EGD content, the results show all three FFF demands present (details of policies: Table 9, Appendix C). The first – action to keep global temperatures below 1.5 °C compared to pre-industrial levels – is apparent in the EU's intent to intensify its climate goals for 2030 and 2050 by means of, for e.g., a Climate Law ensuring climate neutrality for all EU policies; as well as in designing policies intent on providing clean energy and a circular economy, renovating and building in resource/energy efficient ways, maintaining a pollution-free, toxic-free environment, ecosystem and biodiversity conservation and restoration, shifting to sustainable and smart mobility, and enacting strategies the likes of ‘Farm to Fork’: a fair, healthy and environmentally-friendly food system.

The second demand – action ensuring climate justice – is best portrayed in the EC's plan for a Just Transition mechanism and Just Transition Fund, to assure equity for the vulnerable. Finally, the third – action to promote and heed scientific advice – is present in the EU's intent to mobilise research and foster innovation by means of programmes the likes of Horizon Europe, among others.

FFF demands, thus, can be said to have successfully translated into policy action to at least a certain extent. While proof of policy-level change is not as strong as of discourse-level change, the above shows at least preliminary evidence of change. It is tenable to conclude, then, that FFF did impact EU climate action at the level of discourse and policy change, albeit to different extents. *Discourse to discourse to action*. A summary of the process this relationship has undertaken can be found in figure 3, below.

**Figure 3. Depicting a change in climate action: discourse to discourse to action.**



**6. Conclusion and discussion**

Thus, two conclusions emerge from this research. First, that FFF successfully influenced EU climate action at the discourse *and* policy level, albeit with stronger evidence for discourse-level than policy-level. Second, that this influence was due to appeals to intergenerational justice and public trust within the movement's discourse that succeeded in creating enough urgency around climate change to force political action. Ultimately, this research is a typified example of how a social movement can influence changes at the institutional level and how a framing focused on appeals to intergenerational justice and public trust is suited to create change in the environmental policy context in the current political climate.

Regarding this study's limitations, it is worth mentioning disadvantages characteristic of conducting discourse analyses. Such analyses have as focus the impact of language to explain phenomena. As such, an argument can be made that fixating solely on language might result in oversimplification or allow for elements crucial to the explanation to be missed. Aware of this shortcoming, this study supplemented its discourse analysis with both content analysis and empirical observations, in the hopes that this would allow for a more accurate depiction of the relationship to be portrayed.

It is also important to note that while this research has pushed for the suitability of appeals to public trust, but especially intergenerational justice, to create change in the current climate action political landscape, the shortcomings accompanying employing such accusatory

discourse should not be disregarded. Calling for intergenerational justice could have easily led to intergenerational conflict rather than a commitment to restoring it. This is because it is not a given that groups will react remedially to reminders of in-group injustices. If perceptions of being unjustly blamed arise, it can lead to defensiveness and even anger on the part of in-group members (Sahdra & Ross, 2007). EU leaders did not feel themselves unjustly accused, but if they had, resistance to taking on climatic burdens to atone previous inaction might have emerged. US President Trump was an example of such a reaction. His presidency aggressively rejected the appeals posed by the movement and refused to act upon FFF demands, even bullying Thunberg on twitter (Braw, 2019). The end to Trump's term, however, also brought an end to his climate ignorance. March 2021 saw US President Biden acknowledge younger generations' calls in a promise to halve the US' greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 from 2005 levels (Niranjan, 2021). This example highlights the case that while social movements can influence political institutions, success will depend on more than their emergence or even the strategies used to frame protests. The specifics of the individual circumstances are crucial to understanding social movement policy change success. This poses the question of whether intra-organisational/intra-governmental dynamics had a part to play in FFF impact. Could internal ideology have been a deciding factor in the EU's decision to take on climate action? Internal norm entrepreneurship also poses as an alternative analytical theory. Both are explanations that are worth exploring.

Further research could also focus on the extent to which FFF discourse translated across other EU institutions. Although EC discourse is suitable as representative in this study, the EP and the Council also have a role in the EU policy-making process. As such, it seems relevant to explore how FFF influenced these institutions as well, and whether there were key differences in impact compared to the EC and, if there are, what they are due to.

Finally, a last remark worth making regards perceptions and impacts of the EGD itself. 2020 saw Thunberg call the EGD a surrender, both in policy content and its timeline (Kelo, 2020). European Director of Greenpeace, Achterberg, also deemed its 55% drop in carbon emissions by 2030 insufficient (ibid., 2020). The Covid-19 emergency causes even further reason to worry about EGD implementation. It has additionally made it challenging to evaluate the policy initiatives' real effects. As such, EGD support and success remains to be seen.

Climate action needs to remain a policy priority if there is to be hope for a fair and sustainable future for all. FFF has certainly played a role in making sure of that. Further, it has committed to continue doing so. However, the movement's impact will depend on world

governments' will to listen, act and take on responsibility. It will also depend on the public, and whether they assure climate action as an imminent need. While action is happening, more is needed, and our planet will not be waiting on who takes the time. Thus, it is imperative we all do so.



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## 8. Appendix A: Appeals to intergenerational justice, public trust and urgency within FFF discourse

Table 1. Fridays for Future at the Climate Strike Concert, Stockholm (Sweden).

Greta Thunberg's Climate Strike Concert Speech <i>Stockholm, Sweden, September 8, 2018</i>		
Themes	Choice of wording	Codes
An appeal to intergenerational justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [...] they wouldn't need to ask me why I'm on <b>school</b> strike outside parliament.</li> <li>- This means that Sweden <b>steals</b> 3.2 years of natural resources from <b>future generations</b> every year. Those of us who are part of these <b>future generations</b> would like Sweden to stop doing that.</li> <li>- This is not a political text. Our <b>school</b> strike has nothing to do with party politics.</li> <li>- This is a <b>cry for help</b>.</li> <li>- <b>To all of you</b> who have never treated this crisis as a crisis.</li> <li>- <b>To all the political parties</b> that pretend to take the climate question seriously.</li> <li>- <b>To all the politicians</b> that ridicule us on social media and have named and shamed me so that people tell me that I'm retarded, a bitch and a terrorist, and many other things.</li> <li>- <b>To all of you</b> who choose to look the other way every day because [...].</li> <li>- <b>Your silence is almost worst of all</b>.</li> <li>- The <b>future of all the coming generations</b> rests on <b>your shoulders</b>.</li> <li>- Those of us who are still <b>children</b> can't <b>change what you do now once we're old enough to do something about it</b>.</li> <li>- Every single person counts.</li> <li>- So please, treat the climate crisis like the acute crisis it is and give <b>us a future</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Our lives</b> are in <b>your hands</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to younger/future generations sacrificing their education [reference to schools, schoolchildren] to make current generations understand/act: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to uncertainty for future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to having to ask/cry for help that has not been provided: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of current generations.</li> <li>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</li> <li>+ Reference to the lack of choice for change of younger/future generations as opposed to current generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</li> <li>+ Use of an accusatory tone.</li> </ul>
A call for public trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>If people knew</b> this, they wouldn't need to ask me why I'm so "passionate about climate change."</li> <li>- <b>If people knew</b> that the scientists say that [...], and <b>if people knew</b> what a nightmare scenario we will face [...], <b>they wouldn't need to ask me</b> why I'm on school strike outside parliament.</li> <li>- Because if <b>everyone knew</b> how serious the situation is and <b>how little is actually being done</b>, <b>everyone would come</b> and sit down beside us.</li> <li>- Because [...] don't care about our <b>politics</b> and our <b>empty words</b> for a single second.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of an accusatory tone.</li> <li>+ Reference to a purposeful misinformation/lack of information of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to a sense of betrayal from political institutions and actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of political institutions/actors.</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To all the newspapers who <b>still don't write about and report on climate change</b> even though they said that the climate was "the critical question of our time" when the Swedish forests were burning this summer.</li> <li>- To all of you <b>who have never treated this crisis as a crisis</b>.</li> <li>- To all the <b>political parties that pretend to take the climate question seriously</b>.</li> <li>- To all the <b>politicians that ridicule us</b> on social media and have named and shamed me so that <b>people tell me that I'm retarded, a bitch and a terrorist, and many other things</b>.</li> <li>- To all of you who <b>choose to look the other way</b> every day because [...].</li> <li>- Your <b>silence is almost worst of all</b>.</li> <li>- So please, <b>treat the climate crisis like the acute crisis it is</b> and give us a future.</li> <li>- <b>Our lives</b> are in <b>your hands</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to the need for political institutions/actors to act on the responsibility awarded to them by the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future outcomes on current political action/actors.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the general public has for political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to the power for change political institutions/actors hold.</li> </ul>
A sense of urgency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- This is my <b>cry for help</b>.</li> <li>- [...] we have <b>at most three years</b> to reverse growth in greenhouse-gas emissions if we're going to reach the goals set in the Paris agreement.</li> <li>- [...] maybe we have <b>even less</b> time [...].</li> <li>- [...] if people knew what a <b>nightmare scenario</b> we will face if we don't keep global warming below 2 °C.</li> <li>- Because if everyone knew how <b>serious</b> the situation is [...].</li> <li>- Because <b>the climate and the biosphere don't care</b> about our politics and our empty words for a single second.</li> <li>- This is a <b>cry for help</b>.</li> <li>- To all of you <b>who have never treated this crisis as a crisis</b>.</li> <li>- [...] that can prevent <b>catastrophic</b> climate change than the <b>catastrophic</b> climate change itself.</li> <li>- So please, treat the <b>climate crisis</b> like the <b>acute crisis it is</b> and give us a future.</li> <li>- <b>Our lives</b> are in <b>your hands</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of hyperboles.</li> <li>+ Use of the word crisis.</li> <li>+ Reference to future catastrophe approaching.</li> <li>+ Reference to a lack of time/little time left to implement change.</li> <li>+ Reference to a cry for help that has not been provided.</li> <li>+ Reference to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</li> <li>+ Reference to a wish to be listened to.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</li> </ul>

**Table 2. Fridays for Future at the European Economic and Social Committee event “Civil Society for rEUnaissance”.**

Greta Thunberg’s Speech at the EESC event "Civil Society for rEUnaissance" <i>Brussels, Belgium, February 2, 2019</i>		
Themes	Choice of wording	Codes
An appeal to intergenerational justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tens of thousands of <b>children or schools</b> are striking for the climate on the streets of Brussels. [...]. We are <b>school striking</b> because we have done <b>our homework</b>.</li> <li>- People always tell us that they are so hopeful. They are hopeful that the <b>young people</b> are going to save the world, but <b>we are not</b>. There is simply <b>not enough time to wait for us to grow up and become the ones in charge</b>. [...].</li> <li>- <b>We know</b> that most politicians <b>don't want to talk to us</b>. Good, <b>we don't want to talk to them either</b>. <b>We want</b> them to talk to the scientists instead. [...] <b>We want</b> you to follow the Paris agreement and the IPCC reports. [...].</li> <li>- [...] whether we should go back to <b>school</b> or not.</li> <li>- [...] Because they know <b>they haven't done their homework, but we have</b>. [...]</li> <li>- But that is <b>not enough</b>. <b>We</b> need a whole new way of thinking.</li> <li>- The political system that <b>you have created</b> is all about competition. <b>You</b> cheat when you can, [...], <b>we must stop</b> [...] <b>we</b> need to <b>cooperate</b> and <b>work together</b> and to share the resources of the planet in a <b>fair way</b>.</li> <li>- <b>We</b> need to [...] focus on <b>equity</b> and take a few steps back for the sake of all living species.</li> <li>- <b>We</b> need to focus every inch of our being on climate change, [...] and all that will remain of our political leaders’ <b>legacy will be the greatest failure of human history</b>.</li> <li>- <b>And they will be remembered as the greatest villains of all time, because they have chosen not to listen and not to act</b>.</li> <li>- [...] [actions] need to have taken place <b>within this coming decade, [...] by the year 2030</b>.</li> <li>- And please note that those numbers do not include the aspect of <b>equity</b>, [...].</li> <li>- This target is <b>not sufficient to protect the future for children growing up today</b>.</li> <li>- If the EU is to make its <b>fair contribution</b> to staying [...]. Once again, <b>they</b> sweep their <b>mess</b> under the carpet for <b>our generation</b> to clean up and solve.</li> <li>- Some people say that <b>we are fighting for our future</b>, but that is not true. <b>We are not fighting for our future; we are fighting for everyone's future</b>.</li> <li>- And if you think that <b>we should be in school instead</b>, then we suggest that <b>you take our place</b> in the streets striking from your work. Or better yet, <b>join us</b> so it can speed up the process.</li> <li>- And I am sorry, but saying everything will be alright while continue doing nothing at all is <b>just not hopeful to us</b>. In fact, it's <b>the opposite of hope</b>. And yet this is exactly what <b>you keep doing</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to younger/future generations sacrificing their education [reference to schools, schoolchildren] to make current generations understand/act: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to uncertainty for future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to having to ask/cry for help that has not been provided: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of current generations.</li> <li>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</li> <li>+ Reference to the lack of choice for change of younger/future generations as opposed to current generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Use of an ‘us vs them’ [future vs current] sentiment.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the future has for current [generations, actions].</li> <li>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</li> <li>+ Use of an accusatory tone.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>You can't just sit around waiting for hope to come, you're acting like spoiled irresponsible children.</b></li> <li>- <b>You don't seem to understand</b> that hope is something you have to earn.</li> <li>- And if <b>you still say</b> that we are wasting <b>valuable lesson time</b> then let me remind you [...].</li> <li>- And since our time is running out, <b>we have decided to take action. We have started to clean up your mess and we will not stop until we are done.</b></li> </ul>	
<p>A call for public trust</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- People always tell us that they are so hopeful. They are hopeful that the <b>young people</b> are going to save the world, but <b>we are not</b>. There is simply <b>not enough time to wait for us to grow up and become the ones in charge.</b> [...].</li> <li>- We know that most <b>politicians don't want to talk to us.</b> Good, we don't want to talk to <b>them</b> either [...]. When many <b>politicians talk</b> about the school strike for the climate, <b>they talk about almost anything except for the climate crisis.</b></li> <li>- <b>They are desperately trying to remove the focus</b> from the climate crisis and <b>change the subject. They don't want to talk about</b> it because they know they <b>cannot win this fight.</b> Because they know <b>they haven't done their homework, but we have.</b> [...] we need <b>new politics;</b> we need <b>new economics</b> where everything is based on a rapidly declining and extremely limited remaining carbon budget.</li> <li>- But that is <b>not enough.</b> We need a <b>whole new way of thinking.</b></li> <li>- The <b>political system</b> that you have created is all about <b>competition.</b> You <b>cheat</b> when you can, because <b>all that matters is to win, to get power.</b> That must <b>come to an end,</b> [...].</li> <li>- [...] but if you have <b>done your homework</b> then you know that we don't have any other choice. [...] all that will remain of our <b>political leaders' legacy will be the greatest failure of human history.</b></li> <li>- And they will be remembered as the <b>greatest villains of all time,</b> because they have <b>chosen not to listen and not to act.</b></li> <li>- [...] <b>[actions] need to have taken place within this coming decade,</b> [...].</li> <li>- We have been told that <b>the EU intends to improve</b> its emission reduction targets. [...] Some people say that is good or that is ambitious. But <b>this new target is still not enough</b> to keep global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius.</li> <li>- <b>This target is not sufficient</b> [...] <b>The actions required are beyond manifestos or any party politics.</b></li> <li>- Once again, <b>they sweep their mess under the carpet for our generation to clean up and solve.</b></li> <li>- And if you think that we should be in school instead, then <b>we suggest that you take our place in the streets striking from your work. Or better yet, join us</b> so it can speed up the process.</li> <li>- And I am sorry, but <b>saying everything will be alright while continue doing nothing at all is just not hopeful to us.</b> In fact, it's the <b>opposite of hope.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of an accusatory tone.</li> <li>+ Reference to a purposeful misinformation/lack of information of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to a sense of betrayal from political institutions and actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for political institutions/actors to act on the responsibility awarded to them by the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future outcomes on current political action/actors.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the general public has for political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to a wish for political institutions/actors to earn the general public's trust back.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to the power for change political institutions/actors hold.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And yet this is <b>exactly what you keep doing</b>. You <b>can't just sit around waiting for hope to come, you're acting like spoiled irresponsible children</b>.</li> <li>- <b>You don't seem to understand that hope is something you have to earn</b>.</li> <li>- And if you still say that we are wasting valuable lesson time then let me remind you that our <b>political leaders have wasted decades through denial and inaction</b>.</li> <li>- And since our time is running out, we have decided to take action. We have started to <b>clean up your mess</b> and we will not stop until we are done.</li> </ul>	
<p>A sense of urgency</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- People always tell us that they are so hopeful. [...] but <b>we are not</b>. There is simply <b>not enough time</b> to wait for us to grow up and become the ones in charge. Because <b>by the year 2020 we need</b> to have bended the emissions curve steep downward. <b>That is next year</b>.</li> <li>- [...] When many politicians talk about the school strike for the climate, they talk about almost anything except for the <b>climate crisis</b>.</li> <li>- They are desperately trying to remove the focus from the <b>climate crisis</b> and [...] because they know they <b>cannot win this fight</b>. [...] we <b>need</b> new politics; we <b>need</b> new economics where everything is based on a <b>rapidly declining and extremely limited</b> remaining carbon budget.</li> <li>- But that is <b>not enough</b>. <b>We need</b> a whole new way of thinking.</li> <li>- That must <b>come to an end, we must</b> stop competing with each other, <b>we need to cooperate and work together</b> and to share the resources of the planet in a fair way.</li> <li>- We need to start living within the planetary boundaries [...]. <b>We need to protect</b> the biosphere, the air, the oceans, the soil, the forests.</li> <li>- [...] but if you have done your homework then you know that <b>we don't have any other choice</b>. <b>We need to focus every inch of our being on climate change</b>, because <b>if we fail to do so than all our achievements and progress have been for nothing and all that will remain of our political leaders' legacy will be the greatest failure of human history</b>.</li> <li>- [...] where we set off an <b>irreversible</b> chain reaction <b>beyond human control</b>.</li> <li>- [...] <b>unprecedented changes in all aspects of society</b>, [...].</li> <li>- And please note that those numbers do not [...] include <b>tipping points or feedback loops</b> like the <b>extremely powerful methane gas</b> released from the thawing Arctic permafrost.</li> <li>- They do, however, include <b>negative emission techniques on a huge planetary scale that is yet to be invented</b>, and that <b>many scientists fear will never be ready in time and will anyway be impossible to deliver at the scale assumed</b>.</li> <li>- But this new target is <b>still not enough</b> to keep global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius.</li> <li>- And if you think that we should be in school instead, then we suggest that you <b>take our place in the streets striking from your work. Or better yet, join us so it can speed up the process</b>.</li> <li>- And if you still say that we are wasting valuable lesson time then let me remind you that our political leaders have <b>wasted decades</b> through denial and inaction.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of hyperboles.</li> <li>+ Use of the word crisis.</li> <li>+ Reference to future catastrophe approaching.</li> <li>+ Reference to a lack of time/little time left to implement change.</li> <li>+ Reference to a cry for help that has not been provided.</li> <li>+ Reference to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</li> <li>+ Reference to a wish to be listened to.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> </ul>

	- And since <b>our time is running out</b> we have decided to take action. We have started to clean up your mess and we will not stop until we are done.	
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**Table 3. Fridays for Future at the European Parliament at an extraordinary meeting of the Environment Committee.**

Greta Thunberg's European Parliament Speech <i>Strasbourg, France, April 16, 2019</i>		
Themes	Choice of wording	Codes
An appeal to intergenerational justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I am <b>16 years old</b>. [...] and <b>I want you to panic</b>. I want you to act as if your house was on fire.</li> <li>- Furthermore, these calculations do not include [...] the aspect of equity - or climate justice - [...]. But hardly anyone knows about these catastrophes - or understand how they are just the first few symptoms of climate- and ecological breakdown.</li> <li>- <b>Our house is falling apart</b>. And <b>our leaders need to start acting</b> accordingly. Because at the moment they are not.</li> <li>- Well, <b>our house is falling apart</b>. And we are rapidly running out of time. And, yet basically nothing is happening. Everyone and everything has to change.</li> <li>- The EU elections are coming up soon. And <b>many of us who will be affected the most by this crisis, people like me, are not allowed to vote. Nor are we in a position to shape the decisions of business, politics, engineering, media, education or science.</b></li> <li>- Because <b>the time it takes for us to educate ourselves to do that simply does no longer exists.</b></li> <li>- And that is why <b>millions of children</b> are taking it to the streets, <b>school striking</b> for the climate to create attention for the climate crisis.</li> <li>- You need to <b>listen to us</b> - we who <b>cannot vote</b>. You need to <b>vote for us, for your children and grandchildren.</b></li> <li>- In this election you <b>vote for the future living conditions of humankind.</b></li> <li>- <b>Our house is falling part. The future</b> - as well as all that we have achieved in the past - <b>is literally in your hands now.</b></li> <li>- But it is <b>not too late</b> to act. It will take a <b>far-reaching vision</b>. It will take <b>courage</b>. It will take a fierce determination to act now to <b>lay the foundations when we may not know all of the details about how to shape the ceiling</b>. In other words, it will take <b>'cathedral thinking'</b>.</li> <li>- I ask you to <b>please wake up and make the required changes possible</b>. To do your best is <b>no longer good enough</b>. We must <b>all do the seemingly impossible</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to younger/future generations sacrificing their education [reference to schools, schoolchildren] to make current generations understand/act: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to uncertainty for future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to having to ask/cry for help that has not been provided: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the inaction of current generations.</li> <li>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</li> <li>+ Reference to the lack of choice for change of younger/future generations as opposed to current generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Use of an 'us vs them' [future vs current] sentiment.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the future has for current [generations, actions].</li> <li>+ Reference to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs [directed at current generations].</li> </ul>

	<p>- And it's okay if you refuse to listen to me. I am after all just a <b>16-year-old schoolgirl</b> from Sweden. But you cannot [...] the millions of <b>schoolchildren</b> school striking for <b>the right to a future</b>.</p>	<p>+ Reference to the right to a decent future. + Use of an accusatory tone.</p>
<p>A call for public trust</p>	<p>- My name is Greta Thunberg [...] and I want you to panic. - A great number of <b>politicians</b> have told me that panic never leads to anything good. And I agree. <b>To panic unless you have to is a terrible idea</b>. But <b>when your house is on fire and you want to keep your house from burning to the ground, then that does require some level of panic</b>. - <b>Our civilization is so fragile</b>. It is almost like a castle built in the sand. The <b>facade</b> is so beautiful. But the <b>foundations are far from solid</b>. - We have been <b>cutting so many corners</b>. [...] I hope that our foundations are even stronger. <b>But I fear that they are not</b>. - That is unless in that time, permanent and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society have taken place. - We are in the midst of the sixth mass extinction [...] but <b>hardly anyone knows</b> about these catastrophes - or <b>understand how they are just the first few symptoms of climate- and ecological breakdown</b>. - Because how could they? <b>They have not been told</b>. Or more importantly: <b>they have not been told by the right people - and in the right way</b>. Our house is falling apart. - And <b>our leaders</b> need to start acting accordingly. Because at the moment <b>they are not</b>. - If our house was falling apart <b>our leaders wouldn't go on like you do today</b>. <b>You would change almost every part of your behaviour. As you do in an emergency</b>. - If our house was falling apart <b>you wouldn't</b> fly around the world in business class chatting about how the market will solve everything with clever small solutions to specific isolated problems. <b>You wouldn't</b> talk about buying and building your way out of a crisis that has been created by buying and building things. If our house was falling apart, <b>you wouldn't</b> hold 3 emergency Brexit summits and <b>no emergency summit regarding the breakdown of the climate and ecosystems</b>. - <b>You wouldn't</b> be arguing about phasing out coal in 15 or 11 years. If our house was falling apart, <b>you wouldn't</b> be celebrating that one single nation like Ireland may soon divest from fossil fuels. <b>You wouldn't</b> celebrate that Norway has decided to stop drilling for oil outside the scenic resort of Lofoten Island but will continue to drill everywhere else for decades. - It's <b>30 years too late</b> for that kind of celebrations. [...] If our house was falling apart, <b>you wouldn't</b> say that you have the situation under control [...]. And <b>you would not</b> spend all your time as politicians arguing over taxes or Brexit. If the walls of our house truly came tumbling down, <b>surely you would set your differences aside and start cooperating</b>. Well, <b>our house is falling apart</b>.</p>	<p>+ Use of an accusatory tone. + Reference to a purposeful misinformation/lack of information of the general public. + Reference to a sense of betrayal from political institutions and actors. + Reference to the inaction of political institutions/actors. + Reference to the need for political institutions/actors to act on the responsibility awarded to them by the general public. + Reference to the dependence of future outcomes on current political action/actors. + Use of the imperative when referencing the demands the general public has for political institutions/actors. + Reference to a wish for political institutions/actors to earn the general public's trust back. + Critique of political institutions/actors valuing action needed in different sectors [economy, Brexit, etc.] as more relevant/important than the climate crisis. + Reference to the powerlessness of the general public. + Reference to the power for change political institutions/actors hold.</p>

	<p>- And <b>we are rapidly running out of time. And, yet basically nothing is happening. Everyone and everything has to change</b> so why waste precious time arguing about what and who needs to change first? <b>Everyone and everything has to change.</b></p> <p>- But <b>the bigger your platform the bigger your responsibility. The bigger your carbon footprint the bigger your moral duty.</b></p> <p>- When I tell <b>politicians to act now the most common answer is that they can't do anything drastic, because that would be too unpopular among voters.</b> And they are right of course. Since <b>most people are not even aware of why those changes are required.</b> That is why I keep telling you to <b>unite behind the science - make the best available science the heart of politics and democracy.</b></p> <p>- The <b>EU elections</b> are coming up soon. [...] Nor are we in a position to <b>shape the decisions of business, politics, engineering, media, education or science.</b></p> <p>- <b>You need to listen</b> to us - we who cannot vote. [...] And I have read in newspapers that <b>some parties do not even want me standing here today because they so desperately do not to talk about climate breakdown.</b></p> <p>- <b>Our house is falling part.</b> The <b>future - as well as all that we have achieved in the past - is literally in your hands now.</b></p> <p>- But it is <b>not too late</b> to act. It will take a <b>far-reaching vision.</b> It will take <b>courage.</b> It will take a <b>fierce determination</b> to act now to <b>lay the foundations</b> when we may not know all of the details about how to shape the ceiling. In other words, it will take <b>'cathedral thinking'.</b></p> <p>- I ask you to <b>please wake up and make the required changes possible.</b> To do <b>your best is no longer good enough.</b> We must all <b>do the seemingly impossible.</b></p> <p>- And it's okay if you refuse to listen to me. But <b>you cannot ignore</b> [the climate crisis or those striking].</p>	
A sense of urgency	<p>- [...] and I want you to <b>panic.</b> I <b>want you to act as if your house was on fire.</b></p> <p>- To panic unless you have to is a terrible idea. <b>But when your house is on fire and you want to keep your house from burning to the ground, then that does require some level of panic.</b></p> <p>- Our civilization is so <b>fragile.</b> It is almost like <b>a castle built in the sand.</b> The <b>facade</b> is so beautiful. But the <b>foundations are far from solid.</b></p> <p>- [...] I hope that our foundations are even stronger. But <b>I fear that they are not.</b> Around the year 2030, 10 years 259 days and 10 hours way from now.</p> <p>- We will be in a position where <b>we set off an irreversible chain reaction beyond human control, that will most likely lead to the end of our civilization</b> as we know it.</p> <p>- That is <b>unless in that time, permanent and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society have taken place.</b></p>	<p>+ Use of hyperboles.</p> <p>+ Use of the word crisis.</p> <p>+ Reference to future catastrophe approaching.</p> <p>+ Reference to a lack of time/little time left to implement change.</p> <p>+ Reference to a cry for help that has not been provided.</p> <p>+ Reference to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation.</p> <p>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</p> <p>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We are <b>in the midst of the sixth mass extinction</b> and the extinction rate is up to <b>ten thousand times faster than what is considered normal</b>, with up to 200 species becoming extinct every single day.</li> <li>- [...] these are all <b>disastrous</b> trends being accelerated by a way of life that we [...] see as our right to simply carry on.</li> <li>- But hardly anyone knows about these <b>catastrophes</b> - or understand how they are <b>just the first few symptoms of climate- and ecological breakdown</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Our house is falling apart</b>. [...] As you do in <b>an emergency</b>.</li> <li>- It's <b>30 years too late</b> for that kind of celebrations.</li> <li>- Well, <b>our house is falling apart</b>. And we are rapidly <b>running out of time</b>. And, yet basically <b>nothing is happening</b>. <b>Everyone and everything has to change</b> so why <b>waste precious time</b> arguing about what and who needs to change first? <b>Everyone and everything has to change</b>.</li> <li>- And that is why millions of children are taking it to the streets, school striking for the climate to create attention for the <b>climate crisis</b>.</li> <li>- You <b>need to listen to us</b> [...] What we are doing <b>now can soon no longer be undone</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Our house is falling part</b>. The <b>future</b> - as well as all that we have achieved in the past - is literally <b>in your hands</b> now.</li> <li>- But it is not too late to <b>act</b>. It will take a <b>far-reaching vision</b>. It will take <b>courage</b>. It will take a <b>fierce determination</b> to act now to lay the foundations when we may not know all of the details about how to shape the ceiling. In other words, it will take <b>'cathedral thinking'</b>.</li> <li>- I ask you to <b>please wake up</b> and <b>make the required</b> changes possible. <b>To do your best is no longer good enough</b>. We <b>must</b> all do the seemingly <b>impossible</b>.</li> <li>- [...] You cannot ignore the scientists. Or the science. Or the millions of schoolchildren school striking for the right to a future.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to a wish to be listened to.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</li> </ul>
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## 9. Appendix B: European Union in reference to climate action pre-FFF

**Table 1. Speech by Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete at the press conference on the results of COP21 climate conference in Paris.**

EU Climate Action and Energy Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete Speech on the results of COP21 climate conference <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 14, 2015</i>		
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Appeals Found</b>



<p><b>References to climate action</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- After many <b>years of relentless efforts</b>, we got a global climate deal in Paris. This deal is a <b>major win for the global community</b>. The Paris agreement is the first-ever truly global climate deal.</li> <li>- The Paris agreement is the major <b>multilateral deal</b> of the twenty-first century. [...] Paris is a <b>major win</b> for Europe and its allies.</li> <li>- Today, I would like to tell you a story.</li> <li>- A <b>story about how Europe and its allies shaped the Paris deal</b>. A story about how <b>Europe and its allies managed to put pressure on the big emitters</b>. A story about how <b>Europe and its allies made history</b>.</li> <li>- [...] The High Ambition Coalition is the masterplan of Europe and its allies conceived over the year. <b>It's a group of developed and developing countries that changed the game in Paris</b>.</li> <li>- Why did Copenhagen fail? [...] First, because <b>the world was not ready</b>. Second, because <b>many countries were not willing to commit</b>. And third, because all those countries not willing to commit managed to <b>sharply divide the developed and the developing</b> worlds and create two opposite blocks.</li> <li>- So, what happened since then? [...] Many have realised that <b>climate change knows no borders</b>. Many have realised that <b>the impacts of climate change affects us all</b>. Many have realised that <b>you cannot fix the climate without the bigger emitters on board</b>.</li> <li>- In Copenhagen, <b>Europe was criticized</b> for not being in the room where deals were crunched. A <b>sentiment of frustration, and even political humiliation, was present</b> in many European delegates.</li> <li>- [...] the European Union only had one option: <b>wipe the tears, get its act together and keep pushing. But pushing creatively, strategically</b>.</li> <li>- In the climate conference of Durban in 2011, the <b>EU and a number of developing countries pushed jointly</b> and got countries to agree a roadmap towards Paris. [...] with <b>one clear goal: put pressure on the big emitters</b> and strive for the highest level of ambition.</li> <li>- We were labelled as <b>"the progressives"</b>. [...] We created a sentiment of <b>belonging and cohesion</b> without being a formal negotiation group.</li> <li>- But we were only a small group. [...] We <b>needed to recruit</b>. [...] In Rabat, <b>we showed to the world that the INDCs were great but not enough to stay below 2 degrees</b>.</li> <li>- Therefore, <b>we showed to the world that more was needed</b> [...]: a long-term goal, regular review and clear transparency rules.</li> <li>- [...] So the <b>group was growing bigger, with many new countries joining</b>. [...] and <b>better, with many new creative ideas and substantive discussions</b>. [...] We were called the <b>"ambition coalition"</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Self-congratulatory tone.</li> <li>+ Reference to years of efforts.</li> <li>+ Reference to a "job well done".</li> <li>+ Reference to equity between countries (especially developed vs developing).</li> <li>+ Reference to the presence of collective action on a global scale.</li> <li>+ Reference to Europe as a climate action leader.</li> <li>+ Reference to previous inaction due to a lack of understanding of "others" (as opposed to Europe and its allies) and the division they caused.</li> <li>+ Reference to past humiliation now overcome.</li> <li>+ Reference to Europe's resilience.</li> <li>+ Reference to undoubted success.</li> <li>+ Reference to forward movement from the United States vs China [West vs rest].</li> <li>+ Reference to action being due to a change from developed vs developing to willing vs unwilling with no-one wanting to be unwilling.</li> <li>+ Reference to a will to act on the promises made in the agreement.</li> <li>+ Reference to a European patriotic sentiment.</li> <li>+ Use of the word ambitious.</li> </ul> <p>Interpretation  = Narrative of resilience and success, but little focus on the dangers of climate change itself = no urgency = little incentive for immediate climate action.</p>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And suddenly [...] the <b>United States knocked on our door</b>. [...] on Sunday 6 December, the US joined us in a dinner, and we all realized that <b>they were moving, while China stuck to its position</b>.</li> <li>- On Tuesday 8 December, the <b>European Union made a breakthrough announcement</b>: we teamed up with 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries in calling for an ambitious deal and agreed on the core elements of the Paris deal. Our group was <b>now even more stronger</b>. The <b>US then wanted to formally join our group of ambition</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Our movement was unstoppable</b>. We were meeting more frequently and discussed common strategy. And then <b>Brazil</b> happened. That was a game changer. Once a BASIC country, Brazil would be part of our coalition.</li> <li>- At that point, <b>I knew that we would get a good deal in Paris</b>. That was the confirmation. And <b>we did. Our alliance worked. This is the most ambitious deal we could get</b>.</li> <li>- [...] <b>Paris is the culmination of years of efforts by Europe for a universal multilateral agreement on climate change</b>. Europe has been a strong voice for ambition, bringing the European experience of effective climate policy and our tradition of negotiations and rules-based international cooperation.</li> <li>- [...] <b>we helped shape the successful outcome of this conference</b>.</li> <li>- And all of a sudden, the debate <b>was not about developed versus developing. It was about the willing versus the unwilling. And no one wanted to be seen as the unwilling</b>.</li> <li>- <b>We must enjoy this historic moment</b>. But the hard work has only just begun. <b>What has been promised must now be delivered</b>.</li> <li>- Today, let me assure you once thing: <b>we should all be proud of Europe</b>. Europe has gone through turbulent times over the last few years. The economic and social crisis has tested the limits of solidarity and questioned the confidence of Europeans on their leaders.</li> <li>- Today, <b>Europeans should be proud of Europe. We should all be proud of Europe</b>. We made a <b>major contribution</b> for a deal to happen in Paris.</li> </ul>	
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**Table 2. Speech by EU Climate Action and Energy Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete at the Bruegel event: "How will the Paris agreement impact EU climate and energy policies?"**

EU Climate Action and Energy Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete Speech at the Bruegel event: "How will the Paris agreement impact EU climate and energy policies?" <i>Brussels, Belgium, February 8, 2016</i>		
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Appeals Found</b>

<p><b>References to climate action</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The threat of climate change and the current uncertainty in the energy markets are probably the clearest examples of the <b>difficult challenges</b> that lie ahead of us.</li> <li>- Yet with the <b>historic Climate Agreement reached in Paris</b> last December, we have begun an unprecedented journey towards a low-carbon and sustainable world.</li> <li>- [...] The Paris Agreement has been <b>an unprecedented historic success</b>. It is <b>the first purely multilateral agreement on climate change</b>, covering 195 countries and 98.5% of global greenhouse gas emissions.</li> <li>- The deal has been a <b>great success for the EU's climate diplomacy</b>. The EU has built a broad coalition [...] that has been a game changer in Paris.</li> <li>- The Agreement is <b>very ambitious</b> in its scope and includes most of the EU's demands: [...] However, <b>Paris has left a wide range of technical issues open</b>, including [...].</li> <li>- [...] Reaching the Paris deal has been <b>an arduous and challenging task</b>. Now <b>all signatories have to live up to their responsibilities and implement the agreed provisions</b>.</li> <li>- This is why <b>the EU is committed to maintain the international momentum</b> in order to ensure the full and timely implementation of the Agreement.</li> <li>- [...] The objective is to maintain <b>our international leadership in climate diplomacy</b>, increasing our efforts in sharing our own experiences on designing and implementing climate and energy policies.</li> <li>- The Commission <b>has already started working on several legislative packages</b> to implement the EU's Paris commitments [...].</li> <li>- [...] At the same time, the Paris Agreement <b>has sent a strong signal</b> [...] that the path to clean energy is irreversible and that a global energy transition is underway.</li> <li>- [...] this has to be a managed transition: <b>we simply cannot switch to a clean and sustainable energy model overnight</b>.</li> <li>- [...] The Paris Agreement will have important repercussions on <b>our energy and climate policies</b>.</li> <li>- <b>We have already taken the first steps in this ambitious transition</b> to less polluting and more sustainable energy models.</li> <li>- The legislative package that the Commission will launch in a few days <b>will complement the EU's efforts</b> to enhance our energy security and to deliver on our Paris commitments. It will also <b>promote energy efficiency and allow us to move away from polluting towards cleaner and sustainable sources of energy</b>.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to the danger of climate change but equated to the uncertainty of energy markets and the economy.</li> <li>+ Reference to the undoubted success of the Paris agreement.</li> <li>+ Reference to equity between countries (especially developed vs developing).</li> <li>+ Reference to the presence of collective action on a global scale.</li> <li>+ Use of the word ambitious.</li> <li>+ Reference to an acknowledgement that there is still a wide range of issues to deal with.</li> <li>+ Reference to years of efforts.</li> <li>+ Reference to a responsibility to act on the promises made in the agreement.</li> <li>+ Reference to Europe as a climate action leader.</li> <li>+ Reference to Europe's resilience.</li> <li>+ Reference to a will to act on the promises made in the agreement.</li> <li>+ Reference to the difficulty of the task at hand.</li> <li>+ Equating the importance of economy/energy and climate.</li> <li>+ Self-congratulatory tone.</li> </ul> <p>Interpretation  = Narrative of resilience and success, but little focus on the dangers of climate change itself, priority of the economy = no urgency = little incentive for immediate climate action.</p>
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**Table 3. Speaking points by Climate Action and Energy Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete on the ratification of the Paris agreement.**

EU Climate Action and Energy Commissioner Miguel Arias Cañete Speech on the ratification of the Paris agreement <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 16, 2016</i>		
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Appeals Found</b>
<b>References to climate action</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- This is indeed <b>an extraordinary day</b>. A <b>historic</b> day. A day when we put to bed any doubts that <b>the whole EU is fully committed to joining the Paris Agreement</b>.</li> <li>- Today we are again <b>showing global leadership on climate action</b>, just like we did in Paris by helping craft this landmark deal. We <b>have come a very long way</b> in a short time since then.</li> <li>- [...] But this short period showed that <b>Paris is a real game changer in global climate politics</b>. <b>Our partners are coming on board faster than anyone would have imagined</b>. <b>And Europe must show we can deliver too</b>.</li> <li>- That is why today we had to <b>take a giant leap forward</b> towards ratifying Paris and ultimately bring it closer to entry into force.</li> <li>- Our <b>reputation was on the line because remember: They said Europe is too complicated to agree quickly</b>. <b>They said we had too many hoops to jump through</b>. <b>They said we were all talk</b>. <b>They even started to question whether our heart was really in it</b>. <b>Today we clearly showed that we mean business</b>.</li> <li>- Today's agreement shows <b>unity and solidarity as Member States take a European approach, just as we did in Paris</b>. This is <b>what Europe is all about</b>. In difficult times, <b>we get our act together, and we make the difference</b>.</li> <li>- [...] Ratification is a crucial step towards implementing the Paris Agreement. But let's be clear, <b>ratification is not the end goal</b>. <b>It's only the first step</b>. <b>All countries</b> will have to put the agreement into practice <b>on the ground, where it matters</b>.</li> <li>- And the good news is that <b>Europe is ahead of the curve</b>. <b>We didn't even wait until the deal was struck to begin our work</b>.</li> <li>- [...] As part of that we <b>will get serious on making Europe more energy-efficient and on cementing our place as world leader in renewables</b>. And we <b>won't stop there</b>. We are <b>pressing hard for action on all fronts</b>.</li> <li>- We are pushing for <b>ambitious action</b> at [...].</li> <li>- We are reaching a <b>critical period for decisive action</b>. <b>And when the going gets tough, Europe gets going</b>. The challenge now is for all countries to turn their Paris pledges into proper policies.</li> <li>- I am <b>proud to show that</b>, with today's landmark agreement, <b>Europe has once again showed that actions speak louder than words</b>. Let's get to work.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to undoubted success.</li> <li>+ Reference to Europe as a climate action leader.</li> <li>+ Reference to the undoubted success of the Paris agreement.</li> <li>+ Reference to a will to act on the promises made in the agreement.</li> <li>+ Reference to the presence of collective action on a global scale.</li> <li>+ Self-congratulatory tone.</li> <li>+ Reference to past humiliation now overcome.</li> <li>+ Reference to Europe's resilience.</li> <li>+ Reference to a European patriotic sentiment.</li> <li>+ Equating the importance of economy/energy and climate.</li> <li>+ Use of the word ambitious.</li> </ul> <p>Interpretation = Narrative of resilience and success, but little focus on the dangers of climate change itself, priority of the economy = no urgency = little incentive for immediate climate action.</p>

## 10. Appendix C: European Union in reference to climate action post-FFF

**Table 1. Statement by executive vice-president Frans Timmermans on behalf of the European Union at the Opening Plenary of the Ministerial Segment of COP25.**

Vice-President Frans Timmermans Speech at the Opening Plenary of the Ministerial Segment of COP25 <i>Madrid, Spain, December 10, 2019</i>			
	Choice of wording	Themes	Codes
References to climate action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Now the urgency is upon us and <b>2020 will test our collective ability to deliver [action, to future generations]</b>.</li> <li>- Governments all around the world are responsible for [...] providing their citizens with a <b>safe future</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Nor is this [...]</b>, whatever its outcome, <b>the end of the story</b>.</li> <li>- <b>[In future] we will all need to</b> communicate or update our NDCs and submit our <b>Long-Term Strategies</b>, in line with the Paris objectives. - We want to make the EU climate-neutral by 2050, and do so in a way that also makes our climate strategy Europe's new growth strategy.</li> <li>- It is clear that this transition will bring significant challenges, but first and foremost it is an opportunity to <b>create a better future</b>.</li> <li>- We must make sure that <b>the most vulnerable are supported [...]</b></li> </ul>	An appeal to intergenerational justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to investing in future.</li> <li>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</li> <li>+ Reference to the ability to choose to change of current generations as opposed to younger/future generations: remedial justice.</li> <li>+ Use of future tense to portray commitment [to future generations].</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Four years ago, we celebrated the landmark Paris Agreement, a <b>breakthrough</b> in multilateralism and the global fight against climate change.</li> <li>- Now the urgency is upon us and 2020 will <b>test our collective ability to deliver</b>.</li> <li>- [...] the Paris Agreement in itself won't change the trend. The real challenge is in <b>implementing the vision and the spirit of this Agreement</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Governments</b> all around the world are <b>responsible</b> for putting in place the <b>necessary policies and measures</b>, creating <b>financial mechanisms and incentive structures</b> to accelerate the global transition to a more sustainable, low emissions economy and <b>providing their citizens with a safe future</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Nor is this [...]</b>, whatever its outcome, <b>the end of the story</b>.</li> </ul>	References to public trust and commitments to the general public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to past things done right.</li> <li>+ Being tested if they can deliver on past promises, and on saving etc.</li> <li>+ Reference to governments being responsible for change, for putting in the necessary policies and measures, creating financial mechanisms and incentive structure, providing their citizens with a safe future, what do governments owe its citizens.</li> <li>+ Continue fighting beyond this set of policies.</li> <li>+ Reference to collective action on the part of governments world-wide.</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- By COP26 in Glasgow we <b>will all need to communicate or update our NDCs and submit our Long-Term Strategies</b>, in line with the Paris objectives. This is what <b>we collectively agreed</b> in Paris.</li> <li>- The <b>European Union is hard at work</b> to do this:</li> <li>- <b>In the EU, ambitious policies and measures</b> have enabled us to effectively decouple economic growth from the growth of emissions.</li> <li>- <b>We have put in place legislation to deliver, and even exceed, our current NDC.</b> But we want to go <b>further</b>.</li> <li>- Tomorrow, the <b>European Commission</b> will present <b>the European Green Deal. We want to make the EU climate-neutral by 2050 and do so in a way</b> that also makes our <b>climate strategy Europe's new growth strategy</b>.</li> <li>- <b>The vast majority of EU leaders already support this objective and we expect to submit our long-term strategy</b> [...] in early 2020.</li> <li>- [...] but first and foremost it is <b>an opportunity to create a better future</b>.</li> <li>- We know we can make it a <b>success</b>, and we hope <b>our example will pave the way for others</b>.</li> <li>- The <b>EU</b> continues to be the <b>world's biggest climate finance donor</b>, [...].</li> <li>- <b>We must make sure</b> that the most vulnerable are supported [...].</li> <li>- [...] That would represent another important <b>steppingstone to our collective achievement</b> of the <b>goals</b> that we have set for ourselves in Paris.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Acknowledgement that the European Union is at the forefront of this, it is trying, it is putting its best efforts in.</li> <li>+ Reference to the European Union and its work.</li> <li>+ References to the European Green Deal.</li> <li>+ Reference to the EU keeping its promises, and working for climate-neutrality.</li> <li>+ Reference to an efficient and trust-worthy climate strategy.</li> <li>+ Reference to support for climate action from EU leaders and governments.</li> <li>+ Reference to aim of making a success, and leading by example.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the current/future action need by political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to coming through on goals promised.</li> <li>+ Use of future tense to portray commitment [to general public].</li> <li>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [...] the <b>global fight</b> against climate change.</li> <li>- Now the <b>urgency</b> is upon us and 2020 will test our collective ability to deliver.</li> <li>- [...] we will all <b>need</b> to communicate or update [...]</li> <li>- But we want to go <b>further</b>.</li> <li>- We <b>must make sure</b> that the most vulnerable are supported in their efforts, we have just heard how <b>difficult</b> their plight is – that they are empowered and have the capacity to deal with the changes and find new and sustainable ways forward.</li> </ul>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference for an immediate need to fight for the planet/against climate change.</li> <li>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</li> <li>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>We must make sure</b> that the most vulnerable are supported [...]. We cannot afford to leave anyone behind. This applies both at the EU level as well as globally!</li> </ul>	<p>Other</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable (aftermath of Paris Agreement).</li> <li>+ Reference to the Paris Agreement, and the commitments made there.</li> </ul>

**Table 2. Opinion piece by president of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen published on the occasion of presentation of the European Green Deal.**

President of the European Commission Ursula on the presentation of the European Green Deal <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes</b>
<b>References to climate action</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Today, less than two weeks into our mandate, <b>we present our roadmap for a European Green Deal</b>. Our goal is to <b>become the first climate-neutral continent by 2050</b>, slowing down global warming and mitigating its effects.</li> <li>- This is <b>a task for our generation and the next, but change must begin right now – and we know we can do it</b>.</li> <li>- The European Green Deal [...] is Europe's new growth strategy.</li> <li>- With our Green Deal we want to [...]. [It] is not just a <b>necessity</b>: it will be a driver of new economic opportunities. [...] They also know that if they discover <b>the sustainable solutions of tomorrow</b>, this will give them first mover advantage.</li> <li>- To pull this off, <b>we will deliver</b> a Sustainable Europe Investment Plan. <b>We will work</b> hand in hand with [...] Europe's climate bank.</li> <li>- Next March, <b>we will</b> propose the first-ever European Climate Law to <b>chart the way ahead and make it irreversible</b>: [...] clear rules to plan their <b>long-term</b> investments.</li> <li>- While <b>we will promote</b> transformation [...] <b>we must also protect and accompany those who risk being hit harder by such change</b>. This transition <b>must work for all or it will not work at all</b>. I will propose to set up a <b>Just Transition Fund</b> [...] so that we leave no one behind.</li> <li>- Across Europe, people <b>young and old</b> are not only asking for climate action. They are already changing their lifestyle: think of the commuters who take the bike or public transport, parents who choose reusable diapers, companies that renounce single-use plastics and bring sustainable alternatives to the market. <b>Many of us are part of this European and global movement for climate</b>.</li> <li>- <b>Our children rely on us</b>.</li> </ul>	<p>An appeal to intergenerational justice</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to investing in future.</li> <li>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</li> <li>+ Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations].</li> <li>+ Use of future tense to portray commitment [to future generations].</li> <li>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</li> <li>+ Reference to the action of younger/future generations (but also of older current generations).</li> <li>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</li> <li>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</li> </ul>

<p>- The European Green Deal is Europe's response to our people's call. It is a deal by Europe, for Europe and a <b>contribution for a better world. Every European can be part of the change.</b></p>		
<p>- Science tells us that <b>we can still stop this epidemic, but we are running out of time.</b> The new <b>European Commission is wasting no time.</b> Today, less than two weeks into our mandate, <b>we present our roadmap for a European Green Deal.</b></p> <p>- <b>Our goal is</b> to become the first climate-neutral continent by 2050, slowing down global warming and mitigating its effects. [...] and <b>we know we can do it.</b></p> <p>- The European Green Deal that we present today is <b>Europe's new growth strategy.</b> It will cut emissions while also creating jobs and improving our quality of life.</p> <p>- It is the <b>green thread that will run through all our policies</b> [...] With <b>our Green Deal we want to invest</b> in clean energy and extend emission trading, but <b>we will also boost</b> the circular economy and preserve Europe's biodiversity.</p> <p>- The <b>European Green Deal is not just a necessity:</b> it will be a <b>driver of new economic opportunities.</b></p> <p>- What businesses and change-makers <b>need from us</b> is easy access to financing. <b>To pull this off, we will deliver a Sustainable Europe Investment Plan.</b> [...] <b>We will work hand in hand</b> with the [...] Europe's climate bank.</p> <p>- Next March, <b>we will propose the first-ever European Climate Law to chart the way ahead and make it irreversible</b> [...].</p> <p>- While <b>we will promote transformation</b> [...], <b>we must also protect and accompany those who risk being hit harder by such change.</b> This transition <b>must work for all or it will not work at all.</b></p> <p>- I will propose to set up a <b>Just Transition Fund</b> [...]. We will <b>make sure that we help those European regions who will have to take a bigger step, so that we leave no one behind.</b></p> <p>- Across Europe, people young and old are not only <b>asking for climate action.</b> [...] Many of us are part of this <b>European and global movement for climate.</b></p> <p>- <b>Nine European citizens out of ten ask for decisive climate action.</b> [...] In these very days, <b>the whole world has gathered</b> in Madrid for</p>	<p>References to public trust and commitments to the general public</p>	<p>+ Reference to the past inaction of political institutions/actors.</p> <p>+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ Reference to climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ References to the European Green Deal.</p> <p>+ Reference to the EU keeping its promises, and working for climate-neutrality.</p> <p>+ Reference to an efficient and trust-worthy climate strategy.</p> <p>+ Reference to coming through on goals promised.</p> <p>+ Use of future tense to portray commitment [to general public].</p> <p>+ Reference to aim of making a success, and leading by example.</p> <p>+ Reference to understanding what citizens need from the EU.</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable</p> <p>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the current/future action need by political institutions/actors.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public.</p> <p>+ Reference to collective action on the part of governments world-wide.</p>



<p>the United Nations' conference on climate, to discuss <b>collective action against global warming</b>.</p> <p>- The <b>European Green Deal is Europe's response to our people's call. It is a deal by Europe, for Europe and a contribution for a better world. Every European can be part of the change.</b></p>		
<p>- Humanity faces <b>an existential threat</b> – the whole world is beginning to see. <b>Forests burn from America to Australia. Deserts are advancing across Africa and Asia. Rising sea levels threaten our European cities as well as Pacific islands.</b> Mankind has seen such phenomena before, but <b>never at this speed</b>.</p> <p>- Science tells us that <b>we can still stop this epidemic, but we are running out of time</b>.</p> <p>- The European Green Deal is not just a <b>necessity</b>: it will be a driver of new economic opportunities. [...] They understand that <b>there are planetary boundaries [...]</b>.</p> <p>- [...] <b>we must</b> also protect and accompany [...].</p> <p>- Across Europe, people young and old are not only <b>asking for climate action</b>. They are already changing their lifestyle [...]. Many of us are part of this <b>European and global movement for climate</b>.</p> <p>- Nine European citizens out of ten ask for <b>decisive climate action</b>. [...] to discuss <b>collective action against global warming</b>.</p> <p>- The <b>European Green Deal is Europe's response</b> to our people's call. It is a deal by Europe, for Europe and a contribution for a better world. Every European can be part of the <b>change</b>.</p>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to future catastrophe approaching.</p> <p>+ Reference for an immediate need to fight for the planet/against climate change.</p> <p>+ Reference to the need for urgent action.</p> <p>+ Reference to a lack of time/little time left to implement change.</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</p> <p>+ Reference to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation.</p> <p>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.</p>
<p>- While <b>we will promote</b> transformation [...] <b>we must also protect and accompany those who risk being hit harder by such change</b>. This transition <b>must work for all or it will not work at all</b>. I will propose to set up a <b>Just Transition Fund</b> [...]. We will make sure that <b>we help those European regions who will have to take a bigger step, so that we leave no one behind</b>.</p> <p>- Across Europe, people young and old are not only <b>asking for climate action</b>. They are already changing their lifestyle [...]. Many of us are part of this <b>European and global movement for climate</b>.</p> <p>- <b>Nine European citizens out of ten ask for decisive climate action</b>. [...] <b>Europeans want their Union to act at home and lead abroad</b>. In these very days, <b>the whole world has gathered</b> [...] to discuss collective action against global warming.</p>	<p>Other</p>	<p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable (aftermath of Paris Agreement).</p> <p>+ Direct reference to climate action movements [reference to FFF].</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the people's call, as a response to the noise made by climate action social movements [reference to FFF].</p>

	<p>- <b>The European Green Deal is Europe's response to our people's call.</b> It is a deal by Europe, for Europe and a contribution for a better world. <b>Every European can be part of the change.</b></p>		
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**Table 3. Press remarks by president von der Leyen on the occasion of the adoption of the European Green Deal Communication.**

President von der Leyen Speech on the adoption of the European Green Deal Communication <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	Choice of wording	Themes	Codes
<b>References to climate action</b>	<p>- The European Green Deal is on the one hand <b>our vision for a climate neutral continent in 2050 and it is on the other hand a very dedicated roadmap to this goal. It is fifty actions for 2050.</b></p> <p>- The European Green Deal is our new growth strategy – it is a <b>strategy for growth that gives more back than it takes away.</b> And we want to really make things different.</p> <p>- But we also have to be sure that <b>no one is left behind.</b> In other words: This transition will <b>either be working for all and be just, or it will not work at all.</b> And therefore, a crucial part in the European Green Deal is the <b>Just Transition Mechanism.</b> [...].</p> <p>- The European Green Deal is something – I am convinced – <b>we owe to our children</b> because we do not own this planet. We just do have for certain time <b>the responsibility and now it is time to act.</b></p>	<p>An appeal to intergenerational justice</p>	<p>+ Reference to investing in future.</p> <p>+ Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations].</p> <p>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</p> <p>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</p> <p>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</p> <p>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</p> <p>+ Reference to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs.</p>
	<p>- <b>Our goal is to reconcile</b> the economy with our planet, <b>to reconcile</b> the way we produce and the way we consume with our planet and <b>to make it work for our people.</b></p> <p>- Therefore, the European Green Deal is on the one hand about cutting emissions, but on the other hand it is about <b>creating jobs and boosting innovation.</b></p> <p>- I am convinced that the old growth-model that is based on fossil-fuels and pollution is <b>out of date</b>, and it is <b>out of touch</b> with our planet. The European Green Deal is <b>our new growth strategy</b> – it is a strategy for growth <b>that gives more back than it takes away.</b></p> <p>- And <b>we want to really make things different.</b> We want to be the <b>frontrunners</b> in climate friendly industries, in clean technologies, in green financing.</p>	<p>References to public trust and commitments to the general public</p>	<p>+ Reference to the past wrongs of political institutions/actors.</p> <p>+ Reference to understanding what citizens need from the EU.</p> <p>+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ Reference to climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ References to the European Green Deal.</p> <p>+ Reference to the EU's wish to earn the general public's trust back.</p>

<p>- But we also have to be sure that <b>no one is left behind</b>. In other words: This transition will <b>either be working for all and be just, or it will not work at all</b>. And therefore, a crucial part in the European Green Deal is the <b>Just Transition Mechanism</b>. We have the ambition to mobilise EUR 100 billion precisely targeted <b>to the most vulnerable regions and sectors</b>.</p> <p>- The European Green Deal is a broad roadmap: <b>We care</b> also about biodiversity and forests, agriculture and food, green cities and for example the circular economy.</p> <p>- <b>We do not have all the answers yet</b>. Today is the <b>start of a journey</b>. But this is Europe's '<b>man on the moon</b>' moment. The European Green Deal is very <b>ambitious</b>, but it will also be very careful in assessing the <b>impact and every single step we are taking</b>.</p> <p>- The European Green Deal is <b>an invitation for all to participate</b>. <b>European citizens are changing their lifestyle to help</b> protect the climate and the planet. Therefore, <b>our European Green Deal tells them that Europe is at their side</b>. [...] We just do have for certain time <b>the responsibility and now it is time to act</b>.</p>		<p>+ Reference to the EU keeping its promises, and working for climate-neutrality.</p> <p>+ Reference to an efficient and trust-worthy climate strategy.</p> <p>+ Reference to coming through on goals promised.</p> <p>+ Reference to aim of making a success, and leading by example.</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable</p> <p>+ Reference to caring about what citizens care about and what the planet needs.</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public.</p>
<p>- I am convinced that the <b>old growth-model</b> that is based on fossil-fuels and pollution is <b>out of date</b>, and it is <b>out of touch</b> with our planet. The European Green Deal is our <b>new growth strategy</b> – it is a strategy for growth that gives more back than it takes away.</p> <p>- <b>And we want to really make things different</b>. [...].</p> <p>- <b>We do not have all the answers yet</b>. Today is the <b>start of a journey</b>. But this is Europe's '<b>man on the moon</b>' moment. The European Green Deal is very <b>ambitious</b>, but it will also be very careful in assessing the <b>impact and every single step we are taking</b>.</p>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</p> <p>+ Reference to a previous way of doing things that was out of date and out of touch and an immediate need to fight for change.</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.</p>
<p>- But we also have to be sure that <b>no one is left behind</b>. In other words: This transition will <b>either be working for all and be just, or it will not work at all</b>. And therefore, a crucial part in the European Green Deal is the <b>Just Transition Mechanism</b>. We have the ambition to mobilise EUR 100 billion precisely targeted to the most vulnerable regions and sectors.</p> <p>- <b>European citizens are changing their lifestyle to help protect the climate and the planet</b>. Therefore, our European Green Deal tells them that <b>Europe is at their side</b>. [...]. We just do have for certain time the responsibility and now it is time to act.</p>	<p>Other</p>	<p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable (aftermath of Paris Agreement).</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the people's call, as a response to the noise made by climate action social movements [reference to FFF].</p>

**Table 4. Closing statement by Frans Timmermans, executive vice-president of the European Commission, in charge of the European Green Deal at the European Parliament Plenary Session on the European Green Deal, in Brussels.**

Vice-President Frans Timmermans Speech at the European Parliament Plenary Session on the adoption of the European Green Deal <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes</b>
<b>References to climate action</b>	<p>- Let me say here today: I want to <b>congratulate Greta Thunberg</b> [...]. I think this is a great sign that <b>this generation – our kids – are leading the way</b>. And as a parent, there's nothing more beautiful than when you see that <b>your kids are leading the way</b>. But that's not the only reason why I believe we need to act now. [...] if <b>you're a parent</b>, you do not have the luxury to ignore the facts. [...] <b>We do not have the luxury to ignore this anymore</b>.</p> <p>- And this is <b>the responsibility we have before our kids</b>.</p> <p>- But at the end of the day, it is <b>very important that this Parliament takes this into hand, and makes sure that Parliament has a leading role, together with the Commission</b>, to convince our Member States in Council <b>to do the right thing</b>.</p> <p>- And at the end of the day, if they resist the Green Deal and they stop it, <b>they will be the first victims of the consequences of not doing the right thing</b>.</p> <p>- So we need a level of solidarity with <b>vulnerable individuals</b> and vulnerable regions, to make sure the Green Deal can be delivered for all our citizens.</p> <p>- “We <b>choose to go for climate neutrality in 2050 and do the other things</b>. Not because they are easy, but because they are hard. Because that goal will serve to organise and measure the best of our energies and skills. Because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept. <b>One we are unwilling to postpone. And one which we intend to win.</b>”</p>	<p>An appeal to intergenerational justice</p>	<p>+ Acknowledgement of action from younger/future generations.</p> <p>+ Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations].</p> <p>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</p> <p>+ Reference to investing in future.</p> <p>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</p> <p>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</p> <p>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</p> <p>+ Reference to past wrongs and obligations of current generations.</p> <p>+ Reference to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs.</p>
	<p>- Let me say here today: I want to <b>congratulate Greta Thunberg</b> [...]. I think this is a great sign that <b>this generation – our kids – are leading the way</b>. And as a parent, there's nothing more beautiful than when you see that <b>your kids are leading the way</b>.</p> <p>- [...] I'm really excited by the fact that <b>this Parliament has expressed such broad support for the European Green Deal</b>. This is a great</p>	<p>References to public trust and commitments to the general public</p>	<p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public.</p> <p>+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union.</p>

<p><b>start of what is going to be quite a bumpy road</b>, where we will need both institutions to concentrate on all the elements that <b>we need to make the Green Deal work</b>.</p> <p>- The reason I believe <b>we need to act now</b> is because the facts are staring us in the face. And I think <b>if you are a responsible Member of Parliament, if you're in a responsible position in the Commission, if you're a citizen</b>, if you're a parent, you do not have the luxury to ignore the facts. [...] <b>We do not have the luxury to ignore this anymore</b>.</p> <p>- So the question we have to face today as Europeans is this: <b>are we going to try and be masters of this momentous change, of this paradigm shift, or are we just going to let it happen?</b> [...]</p> <p>- And the Green Deal is not a blueprint. It's a roadmap. It's an extended open hand to you and to all the stakeholders, whether it's businesses, whether it's NGOs, whether it's trade unions, whether it's <b>citizens</b>, whether it's <b>cities</b>, whether it's <b>regions to be part of a discussion of how we are going to reorganise our society in a just way, so that it reflects the values we want to stand for</b>.</p> <p>- And <b>we need to do this because Mother Earth is fed up with this behaviour</b>. [...] <b>We better make sure we create an existence in balance with her</b>, so that we can continue to exist as human beings for millennia. And <b>this is the responsibility we have</b> [...].</p> <p>- But let me make a point because it was said often: <b>this is costly. Yes, but don't forget what the cost is of not acting</b>. We see it every day. <b>It was also said we have to be sure we take the right decisions</b>.</p> <p>- [...] so that <b>the European Union is extremely well prepared</b>, with a Climate Law for COP26 in Glasgow, so that <b>we can lead the way</b>.</p> <p>- The message is this: <b>we need European leadership</b>. The message is also this: some of us are insecure what we should do, but if Europe leads we might go in the same direction. I had meetings with Ministers of many countries saying: climate neutrality by 2050 is a good idea, we might do it the same way. With the Chinese we're in debate. <b>Are we going to have collective global leadership on this, yes or no? We need to work on that because if we do it together, the impact will be much bigger</b>.</p> <p>- But at the end of the day, <b>it is very important that this Parliament takes this into hand, and makes sure that Parliament has a leading</b></p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Optimism in reference to outcomes of climate action.</li> <li>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</li> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the current/future action needed by political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to the past wrongs of political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Reference to climate action from the European Union.</li> <li>+ Reference to the European Union as a leader.</li> <li>+ Reference to collective action on the part of governments world-wide.</li> <li>+ Reference to understanding what citizens need from the EU.</li> <li>+ References to the European Green Deal.</li> <li>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable</li> <li>+ Reference to the EU's wish to earn the general public's trust back.</li> <li>+ Reference to the EU keeping its promises, and working for climate-neutrality.</li> <li>+ Reference to an efficient and trustworthy climate strategy.</li> <li>+ Reference to coming through on goals promised.</li> <li>+ Reference to aim of making a success, and leading by example.</li> <li>+ Reference to caring about what citizens care about and what the planet needs.</li> </ul>
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	<p><b>role, together with the Commission, to convince our Member States in Council to do the right thing.</b></p> <p>- So we need <b>a level of solidarity with vulnerable individuals and vulnerable regions</b>, to make sure the Green Deal can be delivered for <b>all our citizens.</b></p> <p>- <b>“We choose to go for climate neutrality in 2050, and do the other things. Not because they are easy, but because they are hard.</b> Because that <b>goal will serve to organise and measure the best of our energies and skills. Because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept. One we are unwilling to postpone. And one which we intend to win.”</b></p>		
	<p>- This is a great start of what is going to be <b>quite a bumpy road</b>, where we will need both institutions to concentrate on all the elements that we need to make the Green Deal work.</p> <p>- But that's not the only reason why I believe <b>we need to act now.</b> [...] <b>Look at what's happening in Greenland. Look at what's happening globally with our climate. Look at the desertification. Look at the erratic weather. Look at the people suffering because of this erratic weather across Europe. Look at what's happening to our biodiversity as we speak. We do not have the luxury to ignore this anymore.</b></p> <p>- So the question we have to face today as Europeans is this: <b>are we going to try and be masters of this momentous change, of this paradigm shift, or are we just going to let it happen?</b></p> <p>- And <b>we need to do this</b> because <b>Mother Earth is fed up with this behaviour.</b></p> <p>- But let me make a point because it was said often: <b>this is costly.</b> [...] It was also said <b>we have to be sure we take the right decisions.</b></p> <p>- The message is this: <b>we need</b> European leadership. <b>We need to work on that</b> because if we do it together, the impact will be much bigger.</p> <p>- <b>“We choose to go for climate neutrality in 2050 and do the other things. Not because they are easy, but because they are hard.</b> [...]. <b>One we are unwilling to postpone.</b> And one which we intend to win.”</p>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</p> <p>+ Reference to future catastrophe approaching.</p> <p>+ Reference to a lack of time/little time left to implement change.</p> <p>+ Reference to a previous way of doing things that was out of date and out of touch and an immediate need to fight for change.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.</p> <p>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</p>
	<p>- Let me say here today: I want to <b>congratulate Greta Thunberg</b> for having been nominated Person of the Year by Time Magazine. I think this is a great sign that <b>this generation – our kids – are leading the</b></p>	<p>Other</p>	<p>+ Direct reference to Greta Thunberg, leader of FFF, and so to climate action movements.</p>

	<p><b>way.</b> And as a parent, there's nothing more beautiful than when you see that your <b>kids are leading the way.</b></p> <p>- So that's why – and this is a fundamental point – if this is not a social Green Deal, the Green Deal will not happen. <b>If this is not a Green Deal where the most vulnerable regions in Europe</b> – coalmining regions and others – do not see solidarity from other parts of Europe, it will not happen. <b>So we need a level of solidarity with vulnerable individuals and vulnerable regions, to make sure the Green Deal can be delivered for all our citizens.</b></p>		<p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the people's call, as a response to the noise made by climate action social movements [reference to FFF].</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable (aftermath of Paris Agreement).</p>
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**Table 5. Speech by president von der Leyen in the European Parliament Plenary Session at the debate on the European Green Deal.**

President von der Leyen Speech in the European Parliament Plenary Session at the debate on the European Green Deal <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	Choice of wording	Themes	Codes
<b>References to climate action</b>	<p>- <b>Je vous ai promis que ma Commission ne perdra pas de temps.</b> Et voilà, à peine deux semaines plus tard, <b>nous sommes ici devant vous, avec notre proposition pour un Pacte vert pour l'Europe, the European Green Deal.</b></p> <p>- <b>Ce sont les peuples d'Europe qui nous ont appelés à une action décisive contre le changement climatique.</b> Les Européens ont fait entendre leur voix, dans les rues et dans les urnes. <b>C'est pour eux que nous sommes ici aujourd'hui. C'est pour eux que nous présentons un Pacte vert pour l'Europe aussi ambitieux.</b> C'est aujourd'hui que <b>nous leur disons : nous vous avons entendus, nous vous avons entendus clair et fort – et voici la réponse.</b></p> <p>- It is a roadmap for action – with fifty practical steps on Europe's path towards 2050. <b>It will take more than a generation to reach that goal.</b></p> <p>- It is <b>up to us to leave no one behind.</b> And so many European people, businesses and cities <b>are already showing us the way.</b></p> <p>- <b>We must invest in Europe's</b> potential for innovation. [...] Today we are investing in renewables and algorithms. And the European Green Deal is about reconciling our economy with our planet, reconciling the way we produce, the way we consume with our planet and respecting</p>	An appeal to intergenerational justice	<p>+ Acknowledgement of action from younger/future generations.</p> <p>+ Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations].</p> <p>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</p> <p>+ Reference to investing in future.</p> <p>+ Reference to climate justice, or equity.</p> <p>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</p> <p>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</p> <p>+ Reference to past wrongs and obligations of current generations.</p> <p>+ Reference to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs.</p>

	<p>the environment we live in. <b>That is the core of the European Green Deal.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And likewise, the European Green Deal will not happen overnight, and it will be demanding. [...]. <b>It will bring a higher quality of life for Europeans.</b> But this transition will also need time, support and solidarity.</li> <li>- Therefore, immediately in the next year, we will propose <b>the Just Transition Mechanism.</b> [...].</li> <li>- From Lapland to Southern Italy, a whole generation of <b>young farmers are rediscovering</b> traditional crops and bringing new life to our countryside. <b>The European Green Deal will be on their side.</b></li> <li>- Let us support active citizenship and call on grassroots initiatives. Let us work with teachers and educators, <b>because our children are not passive spectators.</b> They are <b>very active players in this endeavour.</b> Our Climate Pact will be <b>with them and for them,</b> and for all those who are ready to play a part in this endeavour.</li> <li>- <b>It is high time but it is not too late.</b> With this road map for action, we make the cost of the transition fully sustainable. <b>Many Europeans are already taking action.</b></li> <li>- Only one year ago, <b>no one would have imagined that millions would take to the streets for climate.</b> [...]. Our European Green Deal <b>is for them.</b> It is <b>ambitious, it is designed to be just, and it is made in Europe for Europe to lead the way to climate neutrality in 2050.</b></li> <li>- Europeans are <b>calling on us to drive the change. Now it is up to us, to answer their call.</b></li> </ul>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Il y a deux semaines que <b>j'ai fait une promesse à ce Parlement. Je vous ai promis que ma Commission ne perdra pas de temps. Et voilà, à peine deux semaines plus tard, nous sommes ici devant vous, avec notre proposition pour un Pacte vert pour l'Europe, the European Green Deal.</b></li> <li>- Ce sont <b>les peuples d'Europe qui nous ont appelés à une action décisive contre le changement climatique.</b> Les <b>Européens ont fait entendre leur voix, dans les rues et dans les urnes. C'est pour eux</b> que nous sommes ici aujourd'hui. <b>C'est pour eux que nous présentons un Pacte vert pour l'Europe aussi ambitieux.</b> C'est aujourd'hui que <b>nous leur disons : nous vous avons entendus, nous vous avons entendus clair et fort – et voici la réponse.</b></li> </ul>	<p>References to public trust and commitments to the general public</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public.</li> <li>+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union.</li> <li>+ Reference to climate action from the European Union.</li> <li>+ Reference to understanding what citizens need from the EU.</li> <li>+ References to the European Green Deal.</li> <li>+ Reference to the EU's wish to earn the general public's trust back.</li> </ul>



<p>- This is not just our vision for a climate-neutral continent. <b>It is a roadmap for action</b> – with fifty practical steps on Europe's path towards 2050. [...] <b>It will be a very long and partly bumpy road, without any question. But it is up to us, to set the pace.</b></p> <p>- It is <b>up to us to leave no one behind.</b> And we know that it is doable. <b>We are determined to succeed for the sake of this planet and life on it. And so many European people, businesses and cities are already showing us the way.</b></p> <p>- Last Friday, 44 of Europe's largest investors, representing EUR 6 trillion of assets, called on the European Union to adopt as quickly as possible a climate law for climate neutrality in 2050. <b>They want that law!</b> They say it will give them the confidence to make long-term decisions for modern investment. <b>It is about accountability and reliability.</b></p> <p>- And <b>therefore, a crucial building block of our European Green Deal will be in 2020 the proposal of the very first European Climate Law.</b> [...] It will make the transition towards climate neutrality <b>accountable and reliable.</b> And next summer, <b>we will present a plan to increase our ambition in cutting emissions.</b></p> <p>- This decision on our 2030 target will <b>not be left to chance.</b> [...] <b>Europe will lead by example, but we also need more ambitious multilateral rules for the whole world.</b> Of course, every continent has to find its own path – without any question – but the goal must be the same for everyone and positive change must be rewarded and not hindered.</p> <p>- <b>We want to protect our planet. We welcome the change in production procedures.</b></p> <p>- The European Green Deal is not only about emissions. <b>It is about boosting innovation. It is about quality food. It is about modern mobility. It will create new businesses and markets all across Europe.</b></p> <p><b>The European Green Deal is our new growth strategy. And this time, it is a growth strategy that is not consuming – but it is a new growth strategy that is more giving back than it takes away. It is a growth strategy that is more caring.</b></p> <p>- <b>We must invest in Europe's potential for innovation.</b> [...] Today we are investing in renewables and algorithms. <b>And the European</b></p>		<p>+ Reference to the EU keeping its promises, and working for climate-neutrality.</p> <p>+ Reference to an efficient and trust-worthy climate strategy.</p> <p>+ Reference to coming through on goals promised.</p> <p>+ Reference to aim of making a success, and leading by example.</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable</p> <p>+ Reference to caring about what citizens care about and what the planet needs.</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the current/future action needed by political institutions/actors.</p> <p>+ Use of future tense to portray commitment [to general public].</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Union as a leader.</p> <p>+ Reference to collective action on the part of governments world-wide.</p> <p>+ Reference to putting words to action, walking the talk.</p> <p>+ Reference to there still being time to fix past wrongs and avoid future wrongs.</p>
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**Green Deal is about reconciling our economy with our planet, reconciling the way we produce, the way we consume with our planet and respecting the environment we live in. That is the core of the European Green Deal.**

- And likewise, the **European Green Deal will not happen overnight**, and it will be **demanding. But it is the right thing to do.** As in Katowice, the transition will bring better and healthier jobs. [...] **It will bring a higher quality of life for Europeans.** But this transition will also need time, support and solidarity.
- Therefore, immediately in the next year, **we will propose the Just Transition Mechanism.** [...]. It will be **the springboard for those sectors and those regions that have to catch up.**
- The European Green Deal **will be on their side.** The European Green Deal **will** take care of Europe's incredible natural heritage. **It will** protect biodiversity and revive the blue economy.
- But **we – as institutions that serve the Europeans – we must also walk the talk.** And **this is what the European Commission will do: We also have to learn what this change means in our daily life, how to practice sustainability. What does it mean for our buildings, for our waste management, for our travels, for our paper use – you name it.**
- It is a **challenge but let us do that together.** Let us **support active citizenship and call on grassroots initiatives.** Let us work with teachers and educators, because our children are not passive spectators. They are very active players in this endeavour. **Our Climate Pact will be with them and for them, and for all those who are ready to play a part in this endeavour.**
- In fact, **none of this will be possible without your support.** We will **need ambitious legislation.** We will need a seven-year budget that raises to the challenge.
- **Some say the cost of this transformation is too high. Well, let us never forget what the cost of non-action would be.** It is rising by the year.
- But this is not a given – we can resist **these developments. It is high time but it is not too late.** With this road map for action, we make the cost of the transition fully sustainable. **Many Europeans are already taking action.**

<p>- Only one year ago, no one would have imagined that millions would take to the streets for climate. Our cities are choosing clean energy. Our scientists are developing the technologies of the future. Our families are renouncing plastic and choosing local food. <b>Our European Green Deal is for them.</b></p> <p>- It is <b>ambitious, it is designed to be just, and it is made in Europe for Europe to lead the way to climate neutrality in 2050.</b> Europe has always <b>given its best when it has worked together, as a Union.</b></p> <p>- We <b>give our best when we are bold and aim high. With the European Green Deal we are aiming high. Europeans are calling on us to drive the change. Now it is up to us, to answer their call.</b></p>		
<p>- It will be a <b>very long and partly bumpy road, without any question. But it is up to us, to set the pace.</b></p> <p>- We are <b>determined to succeed for the sake of this planet and life on it. [...]</b> We want to <b>protect our planet.</b></p> <p>- And likewise, <b>the European Green Deal will not happen overnight, and it will be demanding. But it is the right thing to do.</b></p> <p>- The European Green Deal <b>will take care of Europe's incredible natural heritage. It will protect biodiversity and revive the blue economy.</b></p> <p>- It is a <b>challenge but let us do that together.</b> Let us support active citizenship and call on grassroots initiatives. [...] Our Climate Pact will be with them and for them, and for all those who are ready to play a part in this endeavour.</p> <p>- <b>A whole continent has to be mobilised. From mayors in small cities and in big cities, to all institutions at the European level. Every member of my Commission will be involved, every Member State, and every Committee in this Parliament.</b></p> <p>- Some say <b>the cost of this transformation is too high. Well, let us never forget what the cost of non-action would be. It is rising by the year. River flooding</b> costs our citizens over EUR 5 billion annually. Every year our economy is losing almost EUR 10 billion due to <b>droughts</b> – and farmers pay the highest price. <b>And this is only the beginning.</b></p> <p>- Only one year ago, no one would have imagined that <b>millions would take to the streets for climate. [...]</b> Our <b>European Green Deal is for</b></p>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.</p> <p>+ Reference to a need for urgent action.</p> <p>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</p> <p>+ Reference to a previous way of doing things that was out of date and out of touch and an immediate need to fight for change.</p> <p>+ Reference to future/current catastrophe.</p> <p>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the need to act.</p> <p>+ Reference to those striking doing so out of a sense of desperation.</p> <p>+ Reference to answering the cry for help.</p>

	<p><b>them. [...] Europeans are calling on us to drive the change. Now it is up to us, to answer their call.</b></p> <p>- Ce sont <b>les peuples d'Europe qui nous ont appelés à une action décisive contre le changement climatique. Les Européens ont fait entendre leur voix, dans les rues et dans les urnes. C'est pour eux que nous sommes ici aujourd'hui. C'est pour eux que nous présentons un Pacte vert pour l'Europe aussi ambitieux. C'est aujourd'hui que nous leur disons : nous vous avons entendus, nous vous avons entendus clair et fort – et voici la réponse.</b></p> <p>- It is <b>up to us to leave no one behind.</b> And so many European people, businesses and cities <b>are already showing us the way.</b></p> <p>- Therefore, immediately in the next year, we will propose <b>the Just Transition Mechanism.</b> I[...]. It will be <b>the springboard for those sectors and those regions that have to catch up.</b></p> <p>- Let us <b>support active citizenship and call on grassroots initiatives.</b> Let us work with teachers and educators, because our children are not passive spectators. They are <b>very active players</b> in this endeavour. Our Climate Pact <b>will be with them and for them, and for all those who are ready to play a part in this endeavour.</b></p> <p>- <b>It is high time but it is not too late.</b> With this road map for action, we make the cost of the transition fully sustainable. <b>Many Europeans are already taking action.</b></p> <p>- Only one year ago, <b>no one would have imagined that millions would take to the streets for climate.</b> [...]. Our European Green Deal <b>is for them. It is ambitious, it is designed to be just, and it is made in Europe for Europe to lead the way to climate neutrality in 2050.</b></p> <p>- Europeans are <b>calling on us to drive the change. Now it is up to us, to answer their call.</b></p>	Other	<p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the people's call, as a response to the noise made by climate action social movements [reference to FFF].</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable (aftermath of Paris Agreement).</p> <p>+ Direct reference to climate action movements [reference to FFF].</p>
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**Table 6. European Commission Factsheet on the European Green Deal: What if we do not act?**

European Commission Factsheet on the European Green Deal: What if we do not act? <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes</b>

<p><b>References to climate action</b></p>	<p>- “The cost of the transition will be big, but <b>the cost of non-action will be much bigger.</b>” Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission.</p> <p>- Without action on climate change, the EU will see, <b>in the lifetime of our children:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pollution: <b>400,000 premature deaths</b> per year today due to air pollution.</li> <li>• Heat and drought: <b>90,000 annual deaths</b> as a result of heatwaves.</li> <li>• <b>660,000 additional asylum applications</b> per year in the EU at 5°C temperature increase.</li> <li>• <b>16% of species at risk of extinction</b> at 4.3°C temperature increase.</li> </ul>	<p>An appeal to intergenerational justice</p>	<p>+ Reference to investing in future.</p> <p>+ Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations].</p> <p>+ Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice.</p> <p>+ Reference to the right to a decent future.</p> <p>+ Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</p>
	<p>- “The cost of the transition will be big, but <b>the cost of non-action will be much bigger.</b>” Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission.</p> <p>- <b>Without action on climate change, the EU will see</b>, in the lifetime of our children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pollution: <b>400,000 premature deaths</b> per year today due to air pollution.</li> <li>• Heat and drought: <b>90,000 annual deaths</b> as a result of heatwaves.</li> <li>• <b>660,000 additional asylum applications</b> per year in the EU at 5°C temperature increase.</li> <li>• <b>16% of species at risk of extinction</b> at 4.3°C temperature increase.</li> </ul>	<p>References to public trust and commitments to the general public</p>	<p>+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ Reference to climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public.</p>
	<p>- “The cost of the transition will be big, but <b>the cost of non-action will be much bigger.</b>” Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission.</p> <p>- <b>Without action on climate change, the EU will see</b>, in the lifetime of our children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Pollution: 400,000 premature deaths</b> per year today due to air pollution.</li> <li>• <b>Heat and drought: 90,000 annual deaths</b> as a result of heatwaves.</li> </ul>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p> <p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>660,000 additional asylum applications</b> per year in the EU at 5°C temperature increase.</li> <li>• <b>16% of species at risk of extinction</b> at 4.3°C temperature increase.</li> </ul>		
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**Table 7. European Commission Factsheet on the European Green Deal: What's in it for me?**

European Commission Factsheet on the European Green Deal: What's in it for me? <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes</b>
<b>References to climate action</b>	<p>- The <b>European Green Deal will improve the well-being and health of citizens and future generations.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Cleaner air, water and soil.</b></li> <li>• <b>Cleaner energy.</b></li> <li>• <b>Reusable or recyclable packaging, less waste.</b></li> <li>• <b>Less pesticides and fertilisers.</b></li> <li>• <b>Better public transport alternatives.</b></li> <li>• <b>Renovated homes, schools and hospitals.</b></li> <li>• <b>Healthier food.</b></li> <li>• <b>More environmentally friendly products in our shops.</b></li> <li>• <b>More charging points for e-cars.</b></li> <li>• <b>Better health for current and future generations.</b></li> </ul>	An appeal to intergenerational justice	+ Reference to investing in future. + Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations]. + Reference to the powerlessness and lack of control for change of younger/future generations: injustice. + Reference to the right to a decent future. + Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].
	<p>- The <b>European Green Deal will improve the well-being and health of citizens and future generations.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Cleaner air, water and soil.</b></li> <li>• <b>Cleaner energy.</b></li> <li>• <b>Reusable or recyclable packaging, less waste.</b></li> <li>• <b>Less pesticides and fertilisers.</b></li> <li>• <b>Better public transport alternatives.</b></li> <li>• <b>Renovated homes, schools and hospitals.</b></li> <li>• <b>Healthier food.</b></li> <li>• <b>More environmentally friendly products in our shops.</b></li> <li>• <b>More charging points for e-cars.</b></li> <li>• <b>Better health for current and future generations.</b></li> </ul>	References to public trust and commitments to the general public	+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union. + Reference to climate action from the European Union. + Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public. + References to the European Green Deal. + Reference to the EU's wish to earn the general public's trust back. + Reference to an efficient and trust-worthy climate strategy.

	<p>- The <b>European Green Deal will improve</b> the well-being and health of citizens and future generations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Cleaner air, water and soil.</b></li> <li>• <b>Cleaner energy.</b></li> <li>• <b>Reusable or recyclable packaging, less waste.</b></li> <li>• <b>Less pesticides and fertilisers.</b></li> <li>• <b>Better public transport alternatives.</b></li> <li>• <b>Renovated homes, schools and hospitals.</b></li> <li>• <b>Healthier food.</b></li> <li>• <b>More environmentally friendly products in our shops.</b></li> <li>• <b>More charging points for e-cars.</b></li> <li>• <b>Better health for current and future generations.</b></li> </ul>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to a previous way of doing things that was out of date and out of touch and an immediate need to fight for change. + Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.</p>
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**Table 8. Communication from the commission to the European parliament, the European council, the council, the European economic and social committee and the committee of the regions: The European Green Deal. Segment: Introduction.**

Introduction to Communication from EC to the EP, the European council, the council, the EESC and the committee of the regions: The European Green Deal <i>Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2019</i>			
	<b>Choice of wording</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes</b>
<b>References to climate action</b>	<p>- This Communication sets out a <b>European Green Deal for the European Union (EU) and its citizens</b>. It resets the Commission’s <b>commitment to tackling climate and environmental-related challenges that is this generation’s defining task</b>.</p> <p>- The European Green Deal is [...] a new growth strategy that <b>aims to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society</b>, with a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy where there are no net emissions of greenhouse gases in 2050 and where economic growth is decoupled from resource use.</p> <p>- It also aims to [...] protect <b>the health and well-being of citizens from environment-related risks and impacts</b>. At the same time, this transition must be <b>just and inclusive</b>. It must <b>put people first</b>, and pay attention to the regions, industries and workers <b>who will face the greatest challenges</b>.</p>	<p>An appeal to intergenerational justice</p>	<p>+ Reference to investing in future. + Reference to an obligation for action of current generations [for younger/future generations but also current generations]. + Reference to climate justice, or equity. + Reference to the right to a decent future. + Reference to the dependence of future on current [action, generations, will].</p>

	<p>- This upfront investment is also an opportunity to <b>put Europe firmly on a new path of sustainable and inclusive growth</b>. The European Green Deal will accelerate and underpin the transition needed in all sectors.</p> <p>- As part of the Green Deal, the Commission <b>will refocus</b> the European Semester process of macroeconomic coordination to integrate the United Nations’ sustainable development goals, <b>to put sustainability and the well-being of citizens at the centre of economic policy</b>, and the <b>sustainable development goals at the heart of the EU’s policymaking and action</b>.</p> <p>- The figure below illustrates the various elements of the Green Deal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transforming the EU’s economy <b>for a sustainable future</b>.</li> </ul>		
	<p>- This Communication sets out a <b>European Green Deal for the European Union (EU) and its citizens</b>. It resets the Commission’s <b>commitment to tackling climate and environmental-related challenges that is this generation’s defining task</b>.</p> <p>- The European Green Deal is [...] a new growth strategy that <b>aims to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society</b>, with a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy where there are no net emissions of greenhouse gases in 2050 and where economic growth is decoupled from resource use.</p> <p>- It also <b>aims to protect, conserve and enhance the EU’s natural capital, and protect the health and well-being of citizens from environment-related risks and impacts</b>.</p> <p>- At the same time, this transition must be <b>just and inclusive</b>. It must <b>put people first</b>, and pay attention to the regions, industries and workers <b>who will face the greatest challenges</b>.</p> <p>- A <b>new pact is needed to bring together citizens in all their diversity, with national, regional, local authorities, civil society and industry working closely with the EU’s institutions and consultative bodies</b>.</p> <p>- The <b>EU has the collective ability to transform its economy and society to put it on a more sustainable path</b>. It can build on its <b>strengths as a global leader on climate and environmental measures</b>, consumer protection, and workers’ rights.</p> <p>- Delivering additional reductions in emissions <b>is a challenge</b>. [...] The <b>EU must be at the forefront of coordinating international efforts</b></p>	<p>References to public trust and commitments to the general public</p>	<p>+ Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to the needs/wants of the general public.</p> <p>+ Reference to support for climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ Reference to climate action from the European Union.</p> <p>+ Reference to understanding what citizens need from the EU.</p> <p>+ References to the European Green Deal.</p> <p>+ Reference to the EU keeping its promises, and working for climate-neutrality.</p> <p>+ Reference to an efficient and trust-worthy climate strategy.</p> <p>+ Reference to coming through on goals promised.</p> <p>+ Reference to aim of making a success, and leading by example.</p> <p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable</p> <p>+ Reference to caring about what citizens care about and what the planet needs.</p> <p>+ Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.</p>



	<p>towards building a coherent financial system that supports sustainable solutions. <b>This upfront investment is also an opportunity to put Europe firmly on a new path of sustainable and inclusive growth.</b> - The environmental ambition of the Green Deal <b>will not be achieved by Europe acting alone.</b> The EU can use <b>its influence, expertise and financial resources to mobilise its neighbours and partners to join it on a sustainable path.</b> The EU will continue <b>to lead international efforts and wants to build alliances with the like-minded.</b></p> <p>- This Communication presents an <b>initial roadmap of the key policies and measures</b> needed to achieve the European Green Deal. It will be <b>updated as needs evolve and the policy responses are formulated.</b></p> <p>- <b>All EU actions and policies will have to contribute to the European Green Deal objectives.</b> The challenges are <b>complex and interlinked.</b> The policy response <b>must be bold and comprehensive and seek to maximise benefits</b> for health, quality of life, resilience and competitiveness. It will require intense <b>coordination</b> to exploit the available synergies across all policy areas.</p> <p>- As part of the Green Deal, the Commission <b>will refocus</b> the European Semester process of macroeconomic coordination [...] <b>to put sustainability and the well-being of citizens at the centre of economic policy, and the sustainable development goals at the heart of the EU's policymaking and action.</b></p> <p>- The figure below illustrates the various elements of the Green Deal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Transforming the EU's economy for a sustainable future.</b></li> <li>• <b>The EU as a global leader.</b></li> <li>• <b>A European Climate Pact.</b></li> </ul> <p>- Actions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Increasing the EU's Climate ambition for 2030 and 2050.</b></li> <li>• <b>Supplying clean, affordable and secure energy.</b></li> <li>• <b>Mobilising industry for a clean and circular economy.</b></li> <li>• <b>Building and renovating in an energy and resource efficient way.</b></li> <li>• <b>Mobilising research and fostering innovation.</b></li> <li>• <b>A zero-pollution ambition for a toxic-free environment.</b></li> <li>• <b>Preserving and restoring ecosystems and biodiversity.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Use of the imperative when referencing the current/future action needed by political institutions/actors.</li> <li>+ Use of future tense to portray commitment [to general public].</li> <li>+ Use of present tense to portray commitment [to action].</li> <li>+ Reference to the European Union as a leader.</li> <li>+ Reference to collective action on the part of governments world-wide.</li> </ul>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>From 'Farm to Fork': a fair, healthy and environmentally friendly food system.</b></li> <li>• <b>Accelerating the shift to sustainable and smart mobility.</b></li> </ul>		
	<p>- It resets the Commission's commitment to <b>tackling climate and environmental-related challenges</b> that is this generation's defining task. <b>The atmosphere is warming and the climate is changing with each passing year. One million of the eight million species on the planet are at risk of being lost. Forests and oceans are being polluted and destroyed.</b></p> <p>- The European Green Deal is <b>a response to these challenges.</b> [...] It also aims <b>to protect, conserve and enhance the EU's natural capital, and protect the health and well-being of citizens from environment-related risks and impacts.</b></p> <p>- The environmental ambition of the Green Deal will not be achieved by Europe acting alone. The drivers of climate change and biodiversity loss <b>are global and are not limited by national borders.</b> [...] The <b>challenges are complex and interlinked.</b> The policy response must be <b>bold and comprehensive and seek to maximise benefits</b> for health, quality of life, resilience and competitiveness. It will require <b>intense coordination</b> to exploit the available synergies across all policy areas.</p> <p>- As part of the Green Deal, the Commission <b>will refocus</b> the European Semester process of macroeconomic coordination to integrate the United Nations' <b>sustainable development goals, to put sustainability and the well-being of citizens at the centre of economic policy, and the sustainable development goals at the heart of the EU's policymaking and action.</b></p>	<p>Acknowledgement to a sense of urgency</p>	<p>+ Reference to planetary boundaries.  + Reference to the difficulty of acting with emphasis on a need to do so regardless.  + Reference to the European Green Deal as a response to an urgent need for action.  + Reference to future/current catastrophe.</p>
	<p>- The environmental ambition of the Green Deal <b>will not be achieved by Europe acting alone.</b> The EU can use <b>its influence, expertise and financial resources to mobilise its neighbours and partners to join it on a sustainable path.</b> The EU will continue <b>to lead international efforts and wants to build alliances with the like-minded.</b></p>	<p>Other</p>	<p>+ Reference to equity for the most vulnerable (aftermath of Paris Agreement).</p>

**Table 9. Presence of FFF demands within the communication from the commission to the European parliament, the European council, the council, the European economic and social committee and the committee of the regions: The European Green Deal.**

Presence of FFF demands within the communication from the commission to the European parliament, the European council, the council, the European economic and social committee and the committee of the regions: The European Green Deal		
FFF demands	Presence	Content
There be action taken to keep the global temperature below 1.5 °C compared to pre-industrial levels.	Present	<p>- <b>Increasing the EU's Climate ambition for 2030 and 2050:</b> aim to achieve climate neutrality by 2050.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Climate Law to ensure that all EU policies contribute to the climate neutrality objective and that all sectors play their part.</li> <li>• By summer 2020, the Commission will present an impact assessed plan to increase the EU's greenhouse gas emission reductions target for 2030 to at least 50% and towards 55% compared with 1990 levels in a responsible way.</li> <li>• To deliver these additional greenhouse gas emissions reductions, the Commission will, by June 2021, review and propose to revise where necessary, all relevant climate-related policy instruments.</li> <li>• This will comprise the Emissions Trading System, including a possible extension of European emissions trading to new sectors, Member State targets to reduce emissions in sectors outside the Emissions Trading System, and the regulation on land use, land use change and forestry.</li> <li>• The Commission will propose to amend the Climate Law to update it accordingly.</li> </ul> <p>- <b>Supplying clean, affordable and secure energy:</b> further decarbonising the energy system is critical to reach climate objectives in 2030 and 2050.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Member States will present their revised energy and climate plans by the end of 2019. The Commission will assess the ambition of the plans, and the need for additional measures if the level of ambition is not sufficient. This will feed into the process of increasing climate ambition for 2030, for which the Commission will review and propose to revise, where necessary, the relevant energy legislation by June 2021.</li> <li>• When Member States begin updating their national energy and climate plans in 2023, they should reflect the new climate ambition. The Commission will continue to ensure that all relevant legislation is rigorously enforced.</li> </ul> <p>- Achieving a climate neutral and circular economy requires the full mobilisation of industry. It takes 25 years – a generation – to transform an industrial sector and all the value chains: <b>mobilising industry for a clean and circular economy.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In March 2020, the Commission will adopt an EU industrial strategy to address the twin challenge of the green and the digital transformation.</li> <li>• The circular economy action plan will include a 'sustainable products' policy to support the circular design of all products based on a common methodology and principles.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While the circular economy action plan will guide the transition of all sectors, action will focus in particular on resource-intensive sectors such as textiles, construction, electronics and plastics.</li> <li>• The Commission will follow up on the 2018 plastics strategy focusing, among other things, on measures to tackle intentionally added micro plastics and unintentional releases of plastics, for example from textiles and tyre abrasion.</li> <li>• The Commission will develop requirements to ensure that all packaging in the EU market is reusable or recyclable in an economically viable manner by 2030, will develop a regulatory framework for biodegradable and bio-based plastics, and will implement measures on single use plastics.</li> </ul> <p>- <b>Building and renovating in an energy and resource efficient way.</b> The Commission will rigorously enforce the legislation related to the energy performance of buildings. In parallel, the Commission proposes to work with stakeholders on a new initiative on renovation in 2020.</p> <p>- <b>Accelerating the shift to sustainable and smart mobility.</b> To achieve climate neutrality, a 90% reduction in transport emissions is needed by 2050.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The EU transport system and infrastructure will be made fit to support new sustainable mobility services that can reduce congestion and pollution, especially in urban areas. The Commission will help develop smart systems for traffic management and ‘Mobility as a Service’ solutions, through its funding instruments, such as the Connected Europe Facility.</li> <li>• The price of transport must reflect the impact it has on the environment and on health. Fossil-fuel subsidies should end and, in the context of the revision of the Energy Taxation Directive, the Commission will look closely at the current tax exemptions including for aviation and maritime fuels and at how best to close any loopholes. Similarly, the Commission will propose to extend European emissions trading to the maritime sector, and to reduce the EU Emissions Trading System allowances allocated for free to airlines.</li> <li>• The EU should in parallel ramp-up the production and deployment of sustainable alternative transport fuels.</li> </ul> <p>- <b>A zero-pollution ambition for a toxic-free environment.</b> The Commission will adopt in 2021 a zero-pollution action plan for air, water and soil.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The natural functions of ground and surface water must be restored. Implementing the ‘Farm to Fork’ strategy will reduce pollution from excess nutrients.</li> <li>• In addition, the Commission will propose measures to address pollution from urban runoff and from new or particularly harmful sources of pollution such as micro plastics and chemicals, including pharmaceuticals. There is also a need to address the combined effects of different pollutants.</li> <li>• The Commission will draw on the lessons learnt from the evaluation of the current air quality legislation. It will also propose to strengthen provisions on monitoring, modelling and air quality plans to help local authorities achieve cleaner air.</li> </ul>
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There be action taken to ensure climate justice and equity.	Present	- Present in the introduction, and referral to most policy initiatives to be carried out in a “ <b>fair</b> ” way and to a <b>sustainable future</b> .

		<p>- As part of the Sustainable Europe Investment Plan, the Commission will propose a <b>Just Transition Mechanism, including a Just Transition Fund, to leave no one behind.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The transition can only succeed if it is conducted in a fair and inclusive way. The most vulnerable are the most exposed to the harmful effects of climate change and environmental degradation. At the same time, managing the transition will lead to significant structural changes in business models, skill requirements and relative prices. Citizens, depending on their social and geographic circumstances, will be affected in different ways.</li> <li>• Not all Member States, regions and cities start the transition from the same point or have the same capacity to respond. These challenges require a strong policy response at all levels.</li> <li>• The Just Transition Mechanism will focus on the regions and sectors that are most affected by the transition because they depend on fossil fuels or carbon-intensive processes.</li> <li>• It will draw on sources of funding from the EU budget as well as the EIB group to leverage the necessary private and public resources. Support will be linked to promoting a transition towards low-carbon and climate-resilient activities.</li> <li>• It will also strive to protect the citizens and workers most vulnerable to the transition, providing access to re-skilling programmes, jobs in new economic sectors, or energy-efficient housing. The Commission will work with the Member States and regions to help them put in place territorial transition plans.</li> <li>• The mechanism will come in addition to the substantial contribution of the EU's budget through all programmes directly relevant to the transition, as well as other funds such as the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund Plus.</li> </ul> <p>- The need for a <b>socially just transition must also be reflected in policies at EU and national level.</b> The European Semester process of macroeconomic coordination will support national policies on these issues.</p>
<p>There be action taken to promote and listen to the best science.</p>	<p>Present</p>	<p>- One of the key elements of the European Green Deal is: <b>mobilising research and fostering innovation.</b></p> <p>- The EU should also promote and invest in the necessary digital transformation and tools as these are essential enablers of the changes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New technologies, sustainable solutions and disruptive innovation are critical to achieve the objectives of the European Green Deal.</li> <li>• Horizon Europe, in synergy with other EU programmes, will play a pivotal role in leveraging national public and private investments. At least 35% of the budget of Horizon Europe will fund new solutions for climate, which are relevant for implementing the Green Deal.</li> <li>• The full range of instruments available under the Horizon Europe programme will support the research and innovation efforts needed. Four 'Green Deal Missions' will help deliver large-scale changes in areas such as adaptation to climate change, oceans, cities and soil.</li> <li>• The European Innovation Council will dedicate funding, equity investment and business acceleration services to high potential start-ups and SMEs for them to achieve breakthrough Green Deal innovation that can be scaled up rapidly on global markets.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Conventional approaches will not be sufficient. Emphasising experimentation, and working across sectors and disciplines, the EU’s research and innovation agenda will take the systemic approach needed to achieve the aims of the Green Deal.</li><li>• The Horizon Europe programme will also involve local communities in working towards a more sustainable future, in initiatives that seek to combine societal pull and technology push.</li><li>• The Commission will support work to unlock the full benefits of the digital transformation to support the ecological transition. An immediate priority will be to boost the EU’s ability to predict and manage environmental disasters.</li></ul> <p>To do this, the Commission will bring together European <b>scientific and industrial excellence</b> to develop a very high precision digital model of the Earth.</p>
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