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Disclosing National Identity Within National Debate: The Study of Social and Political Ideologies in Canadian Climate Change Rhetoric

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Disclosing National Identity Within National Debate:
The Study of Social and Political Ideologies in Canadian Climate Change Rhetoric

by
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Abstract

This thesis examines the ideological rhetoric of Canadian climate change discourse to understand how such communication may be influencing certain perspectives towards Canadian identity and affecting the Canadian government's policy approaches to climate change.

An ideological rhetorical critique is applied to the rhetoric of the NRTEE, Greenpeace, and the Friends of Science to determine the ideologies and identities being rhetorically articulated within these pivotal perspectives of Canada's climate change discourse. This thesis also identifies ideological similarities between each of the three organizations' climate change rhetoric, and discloses the similarities between their rhetorical constructions of Canadian identity.

The finding of shared ideologies and versions of Canadian identity demonstrates how ideological rhetorical analysis can function to create solidarity even amongst the most polemical of parties. The methods and findings of this thesis also function to exemplify the initial means through which a representative and inclusive Canadian climate policy could be derived.

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I dedicate this thesis to my Mom and Dad, who instilled in me the belief
that I could do anything, be anything, and go anywhere.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Question and Social Context

Our response to climate change is one of the most critical decisions of our time. How we view ourselves as Canadians and interpret our roles towards climate change will be key factors in this critical decision. This thesis examines the ideological rhetoric of Canadian climate change discourse to disclose how such communication may be influencing our perspectives on Canadian identity.

How we understand ourselves shapes how we understand our world. In this way, our world-view is held and transmitted through our communication, imbedded within our language. This research will illuminate how communication, as a powerful tool, is capable of shaping and reshaping the ways in which we understand our world, and subsequently, the ways in which we understand ourselves in a continuously iterative fashion. In particular, I demonstrate that climate change rhetoric continuously reshapes the perceptions that we have of ourselves as Canadians, just as these perceptions similarly reshape how we understand our world and how we communicate about it in a rhetorical fashion.

Stephen Brooks (2009) argues that “Canadians have long obsessed over what it is in their values and beliefs that makes them distinctive” (p. 45). Canada’s struggle to determine and define its own sense of national identity has historically been pulled in different directions. The differing interests of Canada’s Francophone and Anglophone communities, for example, are compounded by the social and political struggles of Canada’s Aboriginal people. More recently, however, climate change and the subsequent discourse arising from this matter have come to represent a unique historical moment-in-

time, providing a forum for fundamental questions regarding Canadians' perceptions of themselves and their roles in the world. For this reason, examining Canadians' construction of their own identity is paramount. Given that climate change is a global issue, the discourse and debate surrounding it throughout the world serves to question the ideologies and identities of many cultures. Thus, understanding how Canadian ideologies and identities are being iteratively shaped and reshaped through the nation's climate change rhetoric will provide insight into how one of the world's most (relatively) peaceful cultures is creating a sense of national citizenship while negotiating this issue.

Theory and Methods

Using a case study research design, I analyze three pivotal climate change communication documents that typify the political and social perspectives of Canada's climate change discourse. The documents were published between 2009 and 2013 and offer a representative sample of the core rhetorical techniques used by political and social parties actively engaged in climate change discourse. Using an ideological rhetorical critique, I examine the constitutive rhetoric of the three documents to determine if certain ideologies are being rhetorically articulated within these representations of Canada's climate change discourse. My research questions how the rhetorical elements used within these documents may serve to reconstruct certain societal ideologies, and how such ideologies might be both affecting the Canadian government's policy approaches to climate change and influencing how we perceive ourselves as a political community of Canadians.

The theoretical framework that is applied to the proposed research is comprised of a compilation of rhetorical and ideological theory based on the work of Michael Calvin

McGee, Teun van Dijk, Stuart Hall, Siniša Malešević, Maurice Charland, and Louis Althusser. The theoretical framework engages an understanding of rhetoric as a constitutive tool that constructs and reconstructs ideologies, and subsequently shapes and reshapes our perceptions of our national identity. While the collective identities and ideologies being constructed within Canadian climate change rhetoric may not necessarily appeal to the Canadian public, they nevertheless represent the predominant ways in which Canadians may negotiate their underlying ideologies and their identities. Furthermore, while societal ideologies or identities do not necessarily translate into societal behaviors, their articulation within rhetoric represents the initial means of inspiring particular behaviors in society. Thus, this research seeks to identify the underlying ideologies and versions of identity being constructed within Canadian climate change rhetoric; it does not seek to determine whether these ideologies or versions of identity appeal to the Canadian people themselves, or whether they are being adopted by Canadian society.

Data

National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy

The first of the three documents analyzed within this study is published by the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE) and represents one of the primary political perspectives within Canadian climate change discourse. The NRTEE (2011a) was specifically commissioned by the federal government to develop a national climate change policy. In response to its commission, the NRTEE developed its *Climate Prosperity* project in which it published a series of four reports that have researched and assessed the nature and implications of climate change in Canada. The

third report, “Parallel Paths: Canada-U.S. Climate Policy Choices,” functions to develop climate change policy recommendations for the federal government (NRTEE, 2011b).

I have focused on this third report because it is focused on climate policy development and because it recommends national climate policy strategies. This report examines the issue of CO₂ emissions reduction through a perspective that confronts both the political and economic characteristics of Canada’s bilateral relationship with the United States. Although CO₂ emissions reduction is a priority expressed by the international community and not by Canada specifically (Heinberg, 2005), the perspectives and policy choices recommended within this report represent the crucial interpretations and approaches that would have likely distinguished Canada’s climate change policies within the world. By focusing on climate policy action, this third report most closely reflects Michael McGee’s (1975, 1980) and Maurice Charland’s (1987) criteria for constitutive rhetoric; they argue that societal ideologies and identities are prevalent within particular societal rhetoric that directly specifies action.

In May 2012, the federal government announced in the national budget report that it was “introducing legislation to eliminate the NRTEE” (Government of Canada, 2012, Environment Portfolio section, para.2). In May 2013, the NRTEE was officially disbanded, as an “expanded community of environmental stakeholders...demonstrated the capacity to provide...policy advice to the Government” at a lower cost (Government of Canada, 2012, Environment Portfolio section, para.2). The particular nature of the federal government’s decision to cut funding to the NRTEE has been under much political debate as the liberal party has publicly claimed that “the government is...shutting down the voices with whom they don’t agree” (as quoted by Ewart, 2012).

While an understanding of the ideological and constitutive nature of the NRTEE's rhetoric may not provide greater insight into reasons behind the government's decision, it will provide greater insight into how the organization constructed its constitutive rhetoric, and thus how the organization was theoretically constructing Canadian society.

Greenpeace Canada

The social perspectives within Canadian climate change discourse are studied using two other documents which serve as representative examples of the climate change debate in Canada. The documents are published by two prominent Canadian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which, as socially driven organizations, represent social perspectives on climate change within Canada. The first of the two documents was published by Greenpeace Canada in September 2009, and is entitled "Dirty Oil: How the Tar Sands are Fueling the Global Climate Crisis." While the title suggests that the focus is specifically on the Albertan tar sands, the document focuses on the social and political effects that climate change is believed to have on Canada more broadly. Greenpeace Canada is a nationally recognized and critically acclaimed organization that plays an active role in interpreting, communicating, and thus shaping foundational Canadian perceptions of social and environmental issues. Analyzing the climate change rhetoric of Greenpeace Canada is essential to unveiling the underlying ideologies being conveyed through the social discourse on one of the most significant issues of our time.

Friends of Science

The second of the two documents was published by the Friends of Science in January 2013, and is entitled "Climate Change Science." The document offers an alternative perspective on climate change in which it is argued that climate change is a

natural phenomenon recurring throughout the Earth's history. The organization argues that any emission reduction policies enacted by the Canadian government would be unjust and would merely play to the interests of those who serve to gain from the belief that climate change is a threat (Friends of Science, 2013). While the Friends of Science is based in Calgary, Alberta, the organization has received national attention through articles in the Globe and Mail (Montgomery, 2006). The Friends of Science continues to lobby for its interests across the country, promoting information conferences on the myth of climate change (Montgomery, 2006). The climate change situation in Canada is characterized by the Friends of Science as not only an environmental matter, but as a social imperative as well. Analyzing the climate change rhetoric of the Friends of Science will provide greater insight into the possible underlying ideologies being conveyed by both sides of the climate change debate within Canada.

Findings and Impact

This research identifies a number of ideologies and versions of Canadian identity portrayed through differing Canadian rhetorical perspectives on climate change. Upon disclosing these rhetorical elements of Canadian climate change discourse, a number of underlying ideological and identity-based similarities are analyzed. These similarities highlight a common ideological focus on humanity, authority, and truth. They also portray Canadians as a concerned people, invested in the social issues of society; an insecure people, desiring a greater sense of authority; and as a careful people, seeking out the scientific "truth" of climate change.

This research carries both social and scholarly importance. Although the multi-case-study approach does not offer a definitive analysis of Canadian climate change

discourse, this research produces a representative account of the ideologies shaping Canadian climate change discourse. The particular case studies examined in this research represent both the political and social sectors of society, allowing for a broader analysis of Canadian climate change communication. By focusing on particular case studies, this research generates a greater awareness of how Canadian ideologies and identity are being portrayed by key pundits within Canadian society. As an outcome of this research, Canadians will be better informed to effectively and purposefully work to either support or reshape their own national identity by rhetorically reconstructing societal ideologies. Furthermore, it is hoped that this research will provide scholars with a methodology that could be applied to other climate change case studies or with regards to other national discourses altogether. For example, such research could apply to future studies of how Canadian identity is being constructed through a variety of differing discourses, such as those in the health and wellness sectors. For this thesis, however, it is hoped that this research will help ordinary Canadians identify rhetorically laden communications and make informed decisions regarding climate change.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Since the 1960s, an increasing number of studies have directly or indirectly applied rhetorical analysis to studies of environmentalism and climate change. Two of the earliest and most prominently reviewed studies on the environment and climate change were those written by Rachel Carson (1962) and Paul Ehrlich (1968). In *Silent Spring*, Carson (1962) expressed the devastating effects of technology on the environment, while Ehrlich's (1968) book, *The Population Bomb*, outlined the environmental effects of humanity's increasing numbers. More recent rhetorical analyses of environmental and climate-based studies tend to engage in one of three categorical examinations: 1) Examining how the structure of scientific research or discourse is rhetorical (see Cantrill & Oravec, 1996; Harré, Brockmeir, & Mülhäusler, 1999; Herndl & Brown, 1996; Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992; Myerson & Rydin, 1996; Waddell, 1998a); 2) Examining how scientists persuade other scientists or those sharing their disciplinary focus using rhetoric (see Bruner & Oeschlaeger, 1998; Harré, Brockmeir, & Mülhäusler, 1999; McCloskey, 1998; Myerson & Rydin, 1996; Wander, 1976); and 3) Examining how science is rhetorically communicated to the public (Katz & Miller, 1996; McCloskey, 1998; Tynkkynen, 2010; Waddell, 1996).

As my work generally falls within the third category—studying how climate change science is being rhetorically communicated to the public—this chapter offers an overview of published environmental rhetorical research focused on this perspective. This chapter is divided into three subcategories through which the rhetorical nature of science-based public communication is often examined: Global, national, and local or

corporate levels. Recent studies in these subcategories, however, tend to avoid the term “rhetoric,” labeling their analytical approaches as “framing” (Tynkkynen, 2010), “communication tactics” (Greenberg, Knight & Westersund, 2011), “discourse” (Heinz, Cheng, & Inuzuka 2007), and simply “communication” (Hanson, 2011). Yet, despite a seeming reluctance to engage the term “rhetoric,” such studies often implicitly apply a rhetorical analysis of climate change communication.

Unlike these studies, I clearly outline the rhetorical nature of my analysis. Rhetorical criticism can be defined in a number of ways. For example, Sonja Foss defines rhetorical criticism as a “qualitative research method that is designed for the systematic investigation and explanation of symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes” (p. 6). While this definition is vague enough to incorporate a vast multitude of differing rhetorical analyses, it does not clearly distinguish rhetorical analysis as a unique academic discipline; such as distinct from a linguistic analysis. Thus, I rather define rhetorical criticism according to the definition proposed by Celeste Condit (1990).

Condit (1990) argues that “it is precisely the exacting reading of texts as they are situated in history that constitutes rhetorical criticism as a distinct discipline in the humanities and as an academic endeavor with a unique contribution to make to human understanding” (p. 232). Condit argues that rhetorical criticism is distinguished due to its “local approach.” She states that, “this localism...entails a blending of form and content” (p. 232); in other words, rhetorically expressed ideas stem from a “particular constellation of usages, identifiable solely by the specific forms [they] take in past history and [in] the present historical moment” (p. 232). Thus, as Sonja Foss (2009) argues,

rhetorical analysis must be a qualitative analysis, but as Celeste Condit argues, such an analysis must consider both the historical and contextual usage of a text, rather than just analyzing the text in isolation.

Aside from defining rhetorical criticism in this manner, I also argue that rhetoric itself is a constitutive tool, functioning to shape both societal ideologies and versions of collective identities. Thus, in addition to examining the global, national, and local or corporate nature of rhetorical studies of environmental communication to the public, this chapter also concentrates on category three studies that engage in ideological and identity-based research specifically.

Globally Oriented Studies of Environmental Rhetoric

Globally oriented studies have explored international management systems of climate change (Palmujoki, 2010), and diverging cultural approaches to communicating climate change (Heinz, Cheng, & Inuzuka, 2007; Hulme, 2010). While these studies examine the rhetorical nature of climate change communication from a much broader perspective than I engage in my research, their findings have served to support my analyses. For example, Mike Hulme (2010) analyzes the rhetoric of the Copenhagen climate summit of 2009, contrasting it against the rhetoric of the protesters surrounding it and the rhetoric employed in previous summits. Hulme argues that world leaders should strive to meet basic human rights rather than to “stop climate change” (p. 16). Heinz, Cheng, and Inuzuka (2007), on the other hand, explore how the differing national chapters of Greenpeace communicate environmental issues, they suggest that environmental discourse is often culturally specific. They claim that environmental discourse is full of “overlapping, contradictory and parallel perceptions of humans and

their place in the environment” (p. 34). The authors argue that “when presented with constructions of the environment or nature that appear equally valid but lead to different action outcomes, humans tend to fall back on hierarchies deeply entrenched in cultural thought and belief” (p. 31, 32). Thus, while Hulme argues that world leaders need to redefine their goals—to focus on human development rather than climate change—Heinz, Cheng, and Inuzuka conclude that any change, and specifically “fundamental global environmental change could only occur when humans, regardless of location, agree on hierarchies and priorities” (p. 32).

In this thesis, I similarly argue that the rhetorical construction of discourse functions to shape issues like the environment or climate change in uniquely societal ways. Yet, while Heinz, Cheng and Inuzuka (2007) claim that hierarchies entrenched in cultural thought and belief guide societal perceptions of the environment, I argue that such “hierarchies” are actually societal ideologies. Thus, I argue that greater global environmental action or change could only be possible after first identifying and understanding one’s own societal ideologies. Only then can we work towards adapting such ideologies to those on a global scale. Therefore, in my research, I analyze how Canadian ideologies are rhetorically functioning to influence Canadian perceptions of climate change.

Nationally Oriented Studies of Environmental Rhetoric

Nationally oriented studies of the environmental rhetoric have explored the implications of national climate change policies and perspectives on social and political issues regarding the economy, the media, and nationality itself (Hendry, 2008; Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992; Kurz, Augoustinos, & Crabb, 2010; Sinha, 2009;

Tynkkynen, 2010; Young & Dugas, 2011). These studies tend to focus on the manipulative nature of rhetoric, identifying the instances in which environmental rhetoric has been used to intimidate, or exclude the public. For example, Killingsworth and Palmer (1992) examine Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) and demonstrate how rhetoric is being used in governmental communication of climate science. The authors argue that EIAs are rhetorically constructed to “assert...[the] privileged status [of the] experts and [are] calculated to...minimize such noise...as public commentary on proposed actions” (p. 168). They argue that the “language of the expert nullifies potential identification with the ordinary reader” thereby preventing greater public participation (p. 171). They further argue that the reports apply a passive voice to objectify (rather than engage) the public. This technique functions to downplay the subjective nature of the report so as to present it as fact or “truth,” rather than as opinion.

Judith Hendry (2008) also engages a similar approach as she applies a critical rhetorical analysis to demystify environmental discourses that oppose environmental action. As Hendry focuses on differing environmental discourses, she identifies the ways in which rhetorical accounts of scientific technology are used to exclude the public, thereby limiting public participation in environmental matters. While Hendry works to demystify the specific rhetorical techniques used to manipulate the public, she concludes her work on a more general level, arguing that “only by incorporating...multiple voices of [a social system]...can we deal with complex challenges posed by our environment” (p. 316). While I engage a different rhetorical analytical approach than Hendry, and Killingsworth and Palmer, I agree that it is important to identify and understand the “multiple voices” of a society; however, I argue that by unearthing their underlying

ideological influences, one might uncover common ground and subsequently establish greater solidarity amongst even the most dissimilar parties.

Locally Oriented Studies of Environmental Rhetoric

This category highlights studies that have examined the rhetoric of specific organizations organized around a particular issue in a society. Locally oriented studies have recently highlighted the environmental challenges faced by corporations, such as issues of corporate social responsibility and public relations (Greenburg, Knight & Westersund, 2011; Livesey, 2002), as well as issues surrounding corporate identity (Livesey, 2001), and corporate ideologies (Mason & Mason, 2012). In the 1990s, however, a number of prominent studies were published that analyzed environmental discourses and discussed the rhetorical strategies of environmental advocacy groups (see Brick, 1998; Bruner & Oelshlaeger, 1998; Cantrill, 1993, 1996b; DeLuca, 1999a, 1999b; Lange, 1998; Moore, 1998; Opie & Elliot, 1996; Oravec, 1996, 1998; and Waddell, 1998b). Specifically, studies in this area tended to focus on the rhetorical nature of apocalyptic and hysteria-based environmental communication (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1995, 1996; Reser & Bentrupperbäumer, 2005; Short, 1998), polemical environmental extremism (Brown & Herndl, 1996), as well as technical and social-based rhetorical appeals (Farrell & Goodnight, 1998).

While my own research similarly analyzes the environmental communication of social organizations, I apply a different focus. For example, rather than analyzing how people have communicated generally about nature, as Christie Oravec (1996) does, or focusing on a single rhetorical perspective on the environment, as Craig Waddell (1998a), Robert Brown and Carl Herndl (1996) do, I examine different ways through which

Canadians communicate climate change and its associated policies specifically. Despite this different focus, my research examines a number of similar perspectives on rhetoric as expressed by authors that analyze the rhetoric of social organizations in a society. For example, my work reflects that of Michael Bruner and Max Oelshlaeger (1998), as the authors suggest that the rhetoric of social groups can effect social change in society. It also reflects the locally-oriented study written by Robert Brown and Carl Herndl (1996) who argue that the particular rhetorical discourses of social organizations can function to establish certain identities and ideologies. It is to these types of rhetorical studies to which I will now turn.

Identity Studies of Environmental Rhetoric

Environmental studies that engage in a rhetorical analysis or a study of identity have engaged in classical (that is, neo-Aristotelian) rhetorical analyses of community identity (Ingham, 1996), corporate identity (Livesey, 2001), rhetorical analyses of the self (Peterson & Horton, 1998), and often specifically in a rhetorical construction of individualistic or cognitive understandings of the self (Cantrill, 1996a, 1996b; Brown & Herndl, 1996). Although I have applied a different rhetorical approach and focused on different aspects of identity construction than the studies identified here, I explore some of these studies as a means of discovering how environmental works have analyzed identity, and indicate how these approaches have both influenced and shaped my own research.

For example, Zita Ingham (1996) applies Kenneth Burke's concepts of identification and division together with Aristotle's rhetorical appeals of pathos, ethos, and logos. Ingham's work discloses the means through which environmental rhetoric

functions to construct a sense of community for the Red Lodge community in Montana. She argues that as community members rhetorically construct their community in presentations made to their fellow community-members, citizens come to learn and practice “how and what [issues] to argue with each other” (p 197). While Ingham’s study does not translate well for the broader purposes of my own research, she applies Kenneth Burke’s (1969b) theory of consubstantiality and argues that only by first understanding the dissensus surrounding particular community issues can a community understand who it is and what it stands for. My own research does not directly engage the work of Kenneth Burke; however, I similarly engage Ingham’s standpoint. As Ingham does, I argue that only by understanding the (ideological) differences underlying particular climate change perspectives can Canada begin to understand its own identity, and thus understand how climate change discourse is shaping this identity.

Aside from classical rhetoric, there are a number of other rhetorical analyses used within environmental studies that examine the nature of identity. James Cantrill’s (1996b) work, entitled “Perceiving environmental discourse: The cognitive playground,” provides an extensive overview of how environmental studies have explored the ideological and rhetorical nature of the cognitive self. Cantrill analyzes such studies through his own particularly psychological approach. He cites Baruch Fischhoff’s (1981) work entitled “Hot air: The psychology of CO₂ induced climate change” as representing one of the first environmental studies that analyzed the cognitive nature of environmentally related public actions. Following the work of Fischhoff, Cantrill argues that “our mental representations of where we are positioned *in* the environment act as perceptual filters when recognizing ecological problems” (p. 79, emphasis original). In his study of the

cognitive nature of environmental communication, Cantrill seems to argue that while environmental discourse is the product of particular cognitive schemata, our cognitive schemata are influenced by our experiences. Thus, while Cantrill studies the “cognitive” nature of environmental communication, his approach is arguably rhetorical as he analyzes not only the language of discourse, but also individuals’ “pre-existing notions of the world” (p. 76), and how language functions in terms of how one currently “pictures [oneself] in relation to [the] environment” (p. 80).

While I engage a similar standpoint, I argue that we understand our experiences in a fundamentally rhetorical and ideological way rather than a cognitive or psychological way. Thus, as my research seeks to understand how societal ideological rhetoric functions to construct societal identity, I analyze the rhetorical nature of collective identity rather than the particular psychological workings of individual cognitive schemata. As is evident in much of Cantrill’s (1996b) work, an analysis of the nature of the cognitive or mental strategies that individuals use to understand and rhetorically respond to environmental discourse delves deep into theories of psychology. By taking this path, Cantrill glosses over the constitutive nature of rhetoric in favor of a more psychological examination of individual meaning-making.

Other studies, however, engage in a more rhetorical and (implicitly) ideological perspective of identity. For example, Robert Brown and Carl Herndl (1996), analyze how the rhetoric of the John Birch society, a unique activist-based group, legitimizes and solidifies the identity of the group whose environmental perspectives are largely contested. The authors base their research on a theory of object relations which claims that “the fundamental objects through which we develop our self...are not objects at all,

but people...[and] rhetoric” (p. 229). Brown and Herndl also argue, however, that rhetoric “emerges from the relationship between th[e] habitus and the cultural market, a relationship between...identity and the dominant hierarchy of value and social power [ideology]” (p. 232). Thus, Brown and Herndl seemingly argue that rhetoric is a constitutive and ideological tool as it is described as both constructing the self and as emerging from societal beliefs and values.

As Brown and Herndl (1996) argue that “the words that we use to talk about the environment establish and support us, the ones who talk about it” (p. 215), they end up emphasizing the power structures in society as the key influences on identity construction. These influential social power structures are implicitly argued to be ideological in nature. Brown and Herndl focus on how the “the push and pull” of values and social power in the cultural market marginalizes certain rhetorical perspectives, consequently making such rhetoric appear to be extremist in society. Yet, while they examine the rhetorical nature of identities from an ideological perspective, they do not clearly describe the rhetorical means through which ideologies rhetorically construct identities. Rather, they focus on the power structures supporting particular rhetorically expressed ideologies in society to determine how varying degrees of power have upheld or marginalized differing societal identities. As my own research applies an ideological rhetorical understanding of identities, I attempt to rectify this gap in the literature of rhetorical environmental studies. Consequently, I focus on how ideologies rhetorically function to construct identities, rather than examining the power structures that they represent.

Ideological Studies of Environmental Rhetoric

In his paper, James Cantrill (1996b) provides an overview of studies of environmentalism that have explored how society “molds our behavior by affecting our attitudes” (p. 80). While Cantrill’s own work primarily focuses on the cognitive nature of the self, his work explores the process through which studies of environmentalism began to take notice of how environmental discourse affects the construction of social attitudes and beliefs. Cantrill argues that James Grunig (1977) published one of the earliest of such studies of environmentalism. Grunig (1977) examined environmental public relations campaigns, and argued that “people are not programmed to behave consistently...to different environmental problems [but] rather, they behave differently in different types of situations” (p. 53). As a result of this finding, Cantrill argues that Grunig’s work “laid the foundation for more contemporary analyses” of how public behavior towards the environment is influenced by differing social and historical elements (1996b, p. 80).

In a brief review of ideological environmental studies, Cantrill (1996b) argues that ideological environmental studies have often focused on ideological dichotomies between “a belief in growth, limitless resources, private property rights, and technological salvation...[and a belief in] growth restrictions, resource conservation, biocentric order, and ecosystem integrity” (p. 85). Cantrill (also argues that ideological studies of environmental communication have tended to focus on the media, citing the works of Tony Atwater, Michael Salwen and Ronald Anderson (1985), Chris Allen and Judeth Weber (1983), and Harold Schlechtweg (1996). Cantrill (1996b) argues, however, that when media studies analyze ideologies of environmental discourses, they typically reinforce “economic, progress-oriented, and technologically situated expectations

of...society” (p. 86). Consequently, he argues that environmental ideological analyses of the media are often generally limited.

Yet, there are many other environmental studies of ideology that have not applied the term “ideology” directly, but nevertheless engage in ideological analyses. Such studies often apply terms similar in meaning to ideology, such as “paradigm” (Colby, 1991; Drengson, 2011), as well as “values” and “beliefs” (Cooper, 1996; Cotgrove & Duff, 1981; Ingham, 1996; Peterson & Horton, 1998; Sayre, 1991). For example, in their paper entitled “Rooted in the Soil: How Understanding the Perspectives of Landowners Can Enhance the Management of Environmental Disputes,” Tara Peterson and Cristi Horton (1998) implicitly engage in a rhetorical analysis of identity and ideology through their rhetorical analysis of myths. The authors conduct a number of interviews with ranchers in Texas to identify an “alternative mythic understanding of the American...West” (Peterson & Horton, 1998, p. 167). In doing so, they implicitly analyze particular identities and ideologies as they argue that myths “set up an image with a set of values, beliefs, and attitudes imprecise enough that members of a community can tap into them, identify with each other through them, and adequately interpret their situations” (Peterson & Horton, 1998, p. 174). To identify these myths, and the ideologies and identities they create, Peterson and Horton (1998) conduct interviews with Texas ranchers, comparing and contrasting the rhetoric of their differing articulations of the American West and landownership rights..

Using a sample of individuals from a larger community of people, Peterson and Horton (1998) engage in a form of audience studies. Celeste Condit (1990) identifies audience studies as those that claim that as “audiences make a variety of meanings from

any given text...the ‘meaning’ of any text must center on the decoding process engaged in by the audience” (p. 333). I argue, however, that this approach provides a limited and indirect understanding of the underlying ideologies shaping a community. For example, Peterson and Horton (1998) do not explain or analyze the nature of the relationship between identities and ideologies that seemingly collectively function to create a social myth. Moreover, Peterson and Horton (1998) seemingly focus on comparisons between the transcripts of a select number of “informants” rather than comparing their rhetoric to the rhetoric of historically and contextually established landownership policies. In contrast to this approach, I have applied an alternative theoretical and methodological approach that directly examines and analyzes the particular relationship between identities and ideologies within societal myths. I have also applied an intertextual analysis of Canadian climate change discourse to my own research as a means of more explicitly rhetorically (intertextually) examining, the broader social context influencing the rhetorical construction of Canadian ideologies.

Environmental Studies Engaging Michael McGee’s Analytical Approach

My theoretical and methodological approach primarily applies the work of Michael McGee, whose theories have been applied in other environmental studies. I argue that Michael McGee offers the most comprehensive theoretical approach to the study of the rhetorical construction of collective identity. McGee outlines his theory by grounding an analysis of both ideologies and identities within constitutive rhetoric. In his book entitled *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism*, Kevin DeLuca (1999a) identifies Michael McGee as having published key theoretical works in the area of constitutive rhetoric. DeLuca highlights McGee’s rhetorical work with social

change and social movements, and consequently its role in the construction of ideologies and identities. DeLuca argues that “for McGee, social movements [and the social change they inspire] are not phenomena, but [are] sets of meanings” (p. 36). DeLuca argues—as will be discussed in the following chapter—that these “sets of meanings” are “materially manifest not in groups but in public discourse” (p. 36). Thus, as I study the ideological rhetorical nature of Canadian climate change discourse, I apply Michael McGee’s extensive work on the rhetorical nature of ideology and identity. Following his theory, I study how social change, as both climate change advocacy and anti-climate change advocacy, is “materially manifested” in discourse.

McGee’s (1975, 1980) theories, as will be discussed in the following chapter, provide a means from which to identify not only collective constructions of identity, but also the intertextual means through which a social and contextual analysis of ideologies can be applied. His works stem from that of Kenneth Burke (1969b) and Edwin Black (1970), as he applies Burke’s (1969b) established definition of rhetoric to Black’s (1970) foundational work with the “second persona” of discursive texts. Students of McGee, such as Celeste Condit (Condit & Lucaites, 1993) and Maurice Charland (1987), have worked to expand McGee’s (1975, 1980) theories into clearer methodological frameworks. Yet, even without such expansion, McGee’s work has been engaged in a number of rhetorical studies, including those of the environment. I argue that although McGee’s theory is not entirely thorough, it offers the most practical and (once supplemented with additional ideological and identity-based theories) extensive means for analyzing the rhetorical nature of ideologies of climate change communication.

A number of studies have applied Michael McGee's rhetorical analytical approach in a variety of contexts (Bruner, 2002; Charland, 1987; Cloud, 1999; Lee, 2006; Moore, 1996). Moreover, as previously mentioned, there are also many environmentally oriented studies that have applied McGee's rhetorical analytical approach. For example, in his article entitled "Community imagery and the built environment," Jeffery Bridger (1996) engages McGee's rhetorical ideological approach to analyze land-use discourse. Bridger (1996), however, applies McGee's rhetorical analytical approach in combination with a number of other theoretical terms. For example, while he identifies McGee's notion of ideographs within a variety of discursive texts, he also identifies rhetorical narratives, characterizations, heritage narratives and community typifications (Bridger, 1996). Bridger (1996) attributes some of these additional theoretical terms to McGee's students, Celeste Condit and Maurice Charland.

As a result of the theoretical terms he engages, Bridger's analysis offers rich insights, analyzing a vast number of texts offering both deeply historical and broadly contextual perspectives on land-use discourses. Yet, despite Bridger's (1996) fruitful approach, the breadth and depth of his analysis is far too extensive for the scope of this work. Thus, I do not directly engage all of the theoretical terms (and their subsequent analytical approaches) that he introduces. Instead, I have followed his lead by engaging additional theoretical works of McGee's students—such as that of Maurice Charland—in combination with that of McGee's work. While Bridger (1996) applies the works of Maurice Charland to expand upon McGee's theory, I apply Charland's (1987) work to enrich McGee's overall rhetorical approach to ideological analysis in particular.

While other studies have also applied Michael McGee's analytical approach to environmental discourse, many of them do not analyze ideologies; rather, they tend to concentrate on a single expressed aspect (an ideograph) of a societal ideology (see Condit & Lucaites, 1993; Charland & Lucaites, 1989; Moore, 1998). As DeLuca (1999a) argues, "despite McGee's privileging of the synchronic structure of ideograph clusters, [many]...analyses of ideographs focus on...a particular ideograph in isolation" (p. 37). Studies that have focused on single ideographs, have investigated issues of "liberty" (Condit, 1990; Moore, 1998), "equity" (Lucaites & Condit, 1990), and "sovereignty" (Clarke, 2002). For example, while Mark Moore (1998) applies McGee's theory of ideology, he analyzes only a single ideograph in the forestry debate between the American timber industry and American environmentalists. In addition to only analyzing a single ideograph, Moore also applies Kenneth Burke's (1969a) notion of synecdoche to supplement his rhetorical analysis of the forestry debate. Consequently Moore moves further away from applying McGee's theories of ideographs to analyze ideologies.

Moore (1998) states that argumentative discourses (and their ideographs) can take on "synecdochal" forms, whereby an argument is transformed from its primary issues into a representational debate. For example, Moore argues that the forestry debate has undergone a "synecdochal" transformation, leading it away from its root controversy between the environment and the economy to focus on the importance of habitat protection for endangered species. Moore implicitly argues that an ideographic analysis must be combined with a synecdochal analysis in order to reveal the root issues in an argument and not merely the ideographic "themes" of an argument. Thus, Moore seemingly overlooks McGee's notion of rhetoric as fundamentally ideological, as Moore

examines the ideographs to reveal the argumentative themes rather than the particular ideologies shaping the argument. Consequently, Moore identifies the transformation of arguments simply as a rhetorical (synecdochal) technique, rather than as the result of ideological influences.

Yet, studies that have applied a more complete understanding of McGee's theoretical conception of ideologies nevertheless still tend to avoid other aspects of his theories. For example, while DeLuca (1999a) stresses the value of McGee's ideographic analytical approach for engaging in an ideological analysis, he ignores its potential for disclosing aspects of collective identity construction. DeLuca argues that McGee's ideograph is a more appropriate term than a "concept," as he argues that ideographs "more effectively point to the constructed 'nature' and the rhetorical and political aspects of [ideological] construction" (p. 195). As DeLuca argues, the analysis of the ideograph works to deconstruct how and why particular meanings are constructed over others; the analysis of ideographs "opens...up...possibilities and redeployments that have not previously been authorized and that may serve alternative political claims" (p. 195). Yet, despite such emphasis on McGee's theories of ideographs and ideologies, DeLuca does not address McGee's theory that ideologies also function to construct identities. Moore's (1998) and DeLuca's (1999a) incomplete applications of McGee's theories are not surprising, as McGee (1975, 1980) himself does not clearly indicate how ideographs function to shape arguments or how ideologies function to construct identities.

Summary

In this literature review I have shown that while many environmental rhetorical studies analyze the rhetorical nature of environmental communication, not many analyze

the constitutive nature of environmental rhetoric: Its ability to construct and shape collective beliefs and self-perceptions. Ideological rhetorical analyses of environmental discourses often only implicitly focus on the actual ideological nature of environmental communication. When ideological analyses are at the forefront, however, such studies typically examine a single group's ideological perspectives, or a specifically articulated aspect of ideology (i.e. an ideograph). I also found that environmental rhetorical studies of identity often study the individualistic or cognitive nature of identity construction rather than analyzing how such broad issues rhetorically function to (re)create collective or societal identities.

In contrast, my research explores how climate change is rhetorically constructed within Canadian discourse and how such rhetoric has been both informed by certain ideologies, and has itself informed particular iterations of Canadian identity. As my own research explicitly explores the ideological nature of rhetoric, I apply McGee's rhetorical ideological analysis by supplementing it with complementary theories of ideology in order to derive a comprehensive theoretical framework and methodological approach. I also study the contextual or societal nature of Canadian climate change ideologies by analyzing the rhetoric of differing Canadian perspectives on climate change. As I analyze the rhetorical discourse of three different documents, I identify a number of ideographs and consequently a number of ideologies, rather than focusing on a single ideographic expression. The following chapter will disclose the particular theoretical groundwork that informs my study of the ideologies underlying Canadian climate change communication as expressed by three different Canadian organizations.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the theoretical and methodological underpinnings that will inform an analysis of the constitutive nature of climate change rhetoric in Canada. The theoretical and methodological framework applied within this thesis is comprised of a combination of rhetorical theories of ideology and identity stemming from the works of Michael Calvin McGee (1975, 1980, 1982), Teun van Dijk (2000, 2009), Stuart Hall (1972, 1985, 1996), Siniša Malešević (2006), Maurice Charland (1987), and Louis Althusser (1971). The combined theoretical and methodological approach is based upon Michael McGee's (1975) notion of rhetoric as a tool capable of constructing and reconstructing societal ideologies and identities within political discourse. Teun van Dijk (2000, 2009), Stuart Hall (1972, 1985, 1996) and Siniša Malešević's (2006) studies help define and contextualize McGee's notion of ideologies as rhetorical constructs. Maurice Charland's (1987) and Louis Althusser's (1971) works are each employed to further develop McGee's notion that identity exists in a rhetorical and reciprocal relationship with ideologies. By engaging these theorists and their collective works, I establish a theoretical and methodological framework to disclose the means through which Canadian ideologies and identities are communicated within Canadian climate change rhetoric.

A Rhetorical Perspective

The key element to the theoretical framework articulated within this chapter is its uniquely rhetorical foundation. While Aristotle defines rhetoric as persuasion, Kenneth Burke (1969b) defines more contemporary rhetoric as "the use of language as a symbolic

means of inducing co-operation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (p. 43). Rhetoric, from Burke’s perspective, is not limited to that expressed within a formal sense—with an identified rhetor attempting to persuade a specific audience—but rather, it is present in all communicative situations. Michael McGee (1975) applies Burke’s definition of rhetoric, and argues that “the analysis of rhetorical documents should not turn inward to an appreciation of persuasive manipulative techniques, but outward, to [the] *functions* of rhetoric” (p. 248, emphasis original). As McGee focuses on the constitutive nature of rhetoric, he engages in an approach that views people and their ideologies as rhetorically constructed within society.

Yet, rhetoric is not the only academic discipline that has made such claims; theories of discourse have similarly been credited for describing how subjects and societies come into being through communication. Trevor Purvis and Alan Hunt (1993), for example, claim that the study of discourse “grasp[s] the way in which language and other forms of social semiotics...play some major part in constituting social subjects...their relations, and the field in which they exist” (p. 474). Such overlap calls into question why a rhetorical approach is more appropriate for my research, as despite originating out of different academic disciplines, rhetorical and discursive analyses both effectively explore the constitutive nature of communication.

Shannon Livesey (2002) suggests, however, that there are particular and important distinctions between rhetorical and discursive analytical frameworks. Rhetoric, (from a Burkean perspective), examines the persuasive relationship between an author and his or her audience, focusing on the nature and means of communicative motivation in establishing action (Livesey, 2002). A discursive analysis, however, functions to

“mak[e] explicit the circular links between power and knowledge” (p. 120). Thus, if I had applied a discursive approach within my research, I would have had to extensively analyze the many actors, events, and power structures that are shaping Canadian climate change communication. My research, however, is focused specifically on the communicative actions of three Canadian organizations, rather than on the broader discourse structures within Canadian society, or on the power relationships between these three organizations. Consequently, the approach I have taken may be best referred to as rhetorical.

In addition to being more appropriate for my research, a rhetorical approach also allows for certain essential assumptions framing my analysis. Michael McGee (1982) argues that rhetoric includes “all distinguishable forms of discourse” (p. 39). He suggests that “rhetoric is greater than a discourse, [that] ‘rhetorical’ is a quality of discourse derived from the discourse’s presence and function within the larger phenomenon ‘rhetoric’” (p. 39). By applying McGee’s approach, I assume that scientific discourse, and specifically climate change communication, is rhetorical. Michael Hulme (2009), a researcher of climate change communication, argues that “science is a ‘human endeavour,’ a social process, [where]...the practices and uses of science are therefore always conditional upon the society and culture in which these activities are situated” (p. 76). Thus, engaging a rhetorical analysis of this particular nature will help disclose the subjective features of scientific discourse and inform Canadians and policy makers of the specific ways in which representative societal institutions are portraying Canadian beliefs and self-perceptions within their communication of climate change.

The Framework: Political Myths, Ideologies, and Identities

Political Myths

Although I present political myths in a distinct section from ideologies, the two concepts are very difficult to separate, as political myths are comprised of ideologies. Consequently, this section on political myths necessarily includes a brief discussion of ideologies. The section on ideologies, however, offers a more specific discussion outlining the definitional construct and societal nature of ideologies.

In a series of published discussions with Carol Corbin (1998), Michael McGee establishes a method to understand the functions of rhetoric by first defining rhetoric as “the theory of discourse or the theory of society that depends on managing contradictions rather than dismissing them” (as quoted by Corbin, 1998, p. 36). He argues that “*every* interactivity of society contains or comprises a claim on some human being’s belief or agency (McGee, 1982, p. 40, emphasis original). McGee argues that to understand these claims, one must look to the political myths of a society. He states that political myths are ideologically driven descriptions of the world; they are the “ontological arguments...intended to answer the question ‘what is real’” (McGee, 1975, p. 244). McGee (1975) argues that political myths have a “claim” on beliefs and agency; he describes political myths through the following statement:

[Political myths are] the inventional source for arguments...among those seduced by [them,]...and [they are] the central target for those who will not participate in the collective life either because they are hostile to the myth itself or because they have tired of the myth and are not inclined to defend it. (p. 243)

While McGee (1975) claims that “the heart of the collectivisation process is a political myth” (p. 243), Mark Moore (1988) argues that McGee “does not reject ideology in favour of myth...[but rather] indicates that political myths give meaning to ideological commitments” (p. 80). Upon applying McGee’s theory of ideological political myths, Mark Moore argues that “ideology has a functional role that differs from the role of political myths” (p. 80). Ideologies exist within a society and from time to time are organized into political myths (McGee, 1975). McGee (1975) argues that as a society’s ideologies create particular political myths, they establish “visions of the collective life...in hope of creating a real ‘people’” (p. 243). Ideology is thus “the rhetorical essence of a myth, a collection of general commitments shaped into a specific vision...[and while] political myths may come and go in society...ideological commitments remain in discourse as a repository for mythical conjuring” (Moore, 1988, p. 80).

McGee suggests that one should examine how “the myth of ‘the people’ functions in public documents as a process of defining and negotiating the life of the community” (as quoted by Corbin, 1998, p. 10). Therefore, I use McGee’s theory of political myths to identify (and manage) the rhetorical contradictions that occur within them; their differing expressions of what a people ought to believe and what they ought to be. As climate change represents one of most significant issues of today’s world, I argue that the ways in which it is being portrayed in society represent particular political myths of that society; particular versions of what is real in the world, such as having or not having a changing climate for example. I argue that these differing perspectives are derived from particular collections of societal ideologies.

Ideologies

While McGee's rhetorical theories of political myths focus on how ideologies rhetorically function within a society, he does not clearly explain exactly what ideologies are. McGee (1980) describes ideologies in a very broad sense, as a compilation of many ideas, some dominant over others, but all susceptible to change and reinterpretation.

While there is a "persistent thread that runs through [ideology definitions]...resulting in a 'negative' conception of ideology...[as] misconception, misperception, or misrecognition or an 'incomplete' knowledge of social reality" (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 478), McGee (1975) argues that ideologies are inherent to a society, and without them, society would cease to exist. Thus, to supplement McGee's theory of ideology, I look to the work of Teun van Dijk and Stuart Hall as both theorists have similarly avoided the more pejorative notions of ideologies as "false beliefs."

Four years prior to Teun van Dijk's publication of *Ideology*, Stuart Hall had defined ideology as "the mental frameworks—the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation—which different...social groups deploy in order to make sense of...the way society works" (Hall, 1996, p. 26). Teun van Dijk (2000) expands upon Hall's definition to suggest that ideologies also serve to regulate everyday social practices. He describes ideology as "an interface between social structure and social cognition" (van Dijk, 2000, p. 8). Teun van Dijk suggests that ideologies are "the basis of shared mental representations of social groups which in turn will control the social practices of members" (2009, p. 381). This conception of ideologies as "controlling the practices of members" reflects McGee's (1975) notion that ideologically driven political myths shape collectives' self-perceptions, and subsequently

influence their particular “practices” or actions. Working from Stuart Hall’s (1996) definition, Teun van Dijk argues that ideologies are “political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups...[that] organiz[e] or legitim[ize] the actions of the group” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 3). Ideologies are thus not only the socially and cognitively constructed belief systems that shape a society’s understandings of itself, but are also the fundamental belief systems which shape a society’s perceptions of its place in the world.

Yet, while Michael McGee applies a rhetorical theory to examine rhetorical expressions of societal ideologies, Teun van Dijk (2000) uses discourse theory to shape his approach. He argues that ideologies are expressed through the discourse of groups in societies rather than through the rhetoric of political myths as McGee (1975) suggests. McGee argues that as political myths “focus on specific problems in specific situations,” (p. 243) (like that of climate change within Canada for example), they “contain 'the people' of a particular time more surely than general ideological commitments [do]” (p. 243). Despite their different focuses, Teun van Dijk’s definitional construction of ideologies can be applied to McGee’s rhetorical framework. As McGee (1982) argues that all discourse is effectively rhetorical, he is likely to agree with Teun van Dijk’s notion of ideologies as the discursive expressions of particular social groups, though his focus would remain on the particular rhetorical nature of the political myths expressed by such groups.

Ideographs. As discussed, McGee (1980) argues that the political myths of a society draw on societal ideologies to guide their persuasive arguments about what is real in the world. McGee argues that this ideological influence is rhetorical in nature. Thus ideologies are evident within the language or rhetoric of political myths. McGee argues

that ideologies are evident as “a political language composed of slogan-like terms signifying collective commitment” (p. 15). He argues that “human beings are conditioned, not directly to belief and behaviour, but to a vocabulary of concepts that function as guides, warrants, reasons, or excuses for behaviour and belief” (p. 4). He has labeled these concepts, or key words, as ideographs. McGee describes ideographs as “key ideological concepts “which serve as the consistent...but flexible...constitutive signs of...[a] sociopolitical community” (as quoted by Corbin, 1998, p.18). While an ideograph is “an individual articulation of value,...the systematized set of values endemic in a particular community...[is] an *ideology*” (McGee & Martin, 1983, p. 50, emphasis original). Thus, as ideographs are the rhetorical expression of ideologies, evident within the rhetoric of political myths, they are susceptible to change and reinterpretation. Consequently, the ideologies they communicate are also susceptible to change and reinterpretation.

Normative and operative ideologies. While Michael McGee identifies the ways in which ideologies are ideographically expressed within the rhetoric of a society’s political myths, Siniša Malešević’s (2006) work with ideologies offers definitional terminology to better understand how ideologies function within society and within a society’s political myths. In his book, *Identity as Ideology*, Siniša Malešević argues that there are “different articulations of ideology among which the most important is the distinction between the normative...and operative ideolog[ies]” (p. 72). Malešević defines ideologies that fall within the normative realm as those which are “built around principles outlining fundamental goals and values as well as providing a blueprint for the realization of these goals...[and those which] operate through a logic and language that

resonates beyond the borders of [their] particular community” (p. 92). Therefore, normative ideologies are those that function to shape an entire society, rather than merely a single group of that society.

On the other hand, ideologies falling within the operative realm are expressed as the “ideas and values, often evident in socio-cultural practices and rituals, [which] operate in the routine circumstances of daily life in any given society” (Malešević, 2006, p. 93). Malešević argues that operative ideologies are “more likely to address individuals and groups as members of a very specific interest...using a narrow particularist discourse” (p. 93). Thus, while Teun van Dijk (2000) explores ideologies as stemming from societal groups, and Michael McGee (1980) explores the rhetorical and ideological expression of such groups’ political myths, Malešević suggests that group ideologies are operative ideologies: Interpretive versions of the more normative or fundamental ideologies that shape an entire society.

Malešević’s (2006) distinction between normative and operative ideologies therefore emphasizes the innately rhetorical nature of ideologies. He argues that while the normative and operative realms of ideologies “may overlap, express[ing] similar or even identical values and ideas...more often than not [they] tend to be composed of differently articulated concepts” (p. 93). Malešević’s definitional construction of ideologies comprised of “articulated concepts” is similar to McGee’s (1980) portrayal of ideologies comprised of ideographs as “one-term sums of an orientation” (p. 7) and the “basic structural elements, the building blocks, of ideology” (p. 7). Thus, while normative and operative realms may express similar ideologies, the latter represents the unique group-

based interpretations—or particular ideographic expressions—of a society’s more fundamental ideologies.

I employ Malešević’s (2006) work to substantiate Teun van Dijk’s discursive understanding of ideologies and McGee’s rhetorical understanding of ideologically driven political myths. I argue that political myths emerge in society as groups rhetorically construct their arguments by interpreting normative societal ideologies in unique and operative ways. In other words, groups rhetorically reshape normative ideologies into their operative interpretations within the rhetoric of their political myths. These operative or interpretive ideologies are structured through rhetorically expressed ideographs to better support the particular arguments of political myths.

Identities

In his paper entitled "In Search of 'The People': A Rhetorical Alternative," Michael McGee (1975) asserts that “in purely objective terms, the only human reality is that of the individual...[as] groups...are infused with an artificial identity” (p. 242). McGee portrays “the people,” or society as “a rhetorical fiction, with both a social and an objective reality” (p. 240). The dual realities of a people imply that they are both real and fictional at the same time; while one can physically point to a group of people existing in the world, their identity is a rhetorical construction, as each individual will understand their collective identity in a unique way. McGee argues that construction of the “artificial” collective identity occurs through the ideological rhetoric of political myths. Thus, while the rhetoric of political myths functions to reshape particular normative ideologies into operative ideologies, it also functions to establish certain versions of social or collective identities. In other words, while the ideologies of a society are understood to be rhetorical

constructions, so are the societies that are shaped around them.

McGee (1975) argues that “from a rhetorical perspective, the entire socialization process is nothing but intensive and continual exercises in persuasion: Individuals must be seduced into abandoning their individuality, [and] convinced of their sociality” (p. 242). McGee argues that this process can occur many times within a single generation, and consequently, collective identities emerge and dissipate continuously within a society. A political myth originates within society as it first strives to achieve acceptance within a society, ideally it achieves some degree of acceptance, and eventually, (and perhaps reluctantly), it will relinquish it to a new political myth. Through the life cycle of political myths, “the people’ . . . are conjured into objective reality, remain so long as the rhetoric which defined them has force, and in the end wilt away, becoming once again merely a collection of individuals” and normative ideologies (p. 242).

The competing nature of political myths within a society suggests that the subjects of that society are likely not defined by a single political myth, but by many. Thus, McGee (1975) argues that “the people’ exist, not in a single myth, but in the *competitive relationships* which develop . . . between a myth and the antithetical visions of the collective life [as portrayed by other myths]” (p. 246, emphasis original). The successes of a group to convince subjects of the validity of their arguments is based upon the group’s ability to ideologically and rhetorically construct a version of collective identity that will resonate with society. Thus, a political myth’s persuasive effect upon society—its ability to convince individuals of what is real in the world—depends on how it portrays that society as existing.

While McGee argues that collective identities are shaped through the (operative) ideologies of political myths, he does not clearly describe the process through which this occurs. McGee's student, Maurice Charland (1987), sought to rectify this theoretical and methodological gap by engaging Louis Althusser's notion of interpellation. Louis Althusser (1971) briefly distinguishes individuals from subjects in order to better describe the act or occurrence of interpellation. Althusser defines interpellation as the process in which ideologies "recruit...[and] transform...individuals into subjects" (p. 162, 163). A subject is a distinctive understanding of oneself; it is "concrete... distinguishable, and...irreplaceable" (p. 173). Althusser argues that as an individual recognizes the "hail" or interpellation of a text, the individual thus becomes a subject. In other words, the act of responding to, or recognizing oneself within a text, effectively transforms that individual into a subject. According to Maurice Charland (1987), "'interpellation' is a...French verb which designates the act of calling upon [hailing] someone by name and demanding an answer...the person who is *interpellé* is usually under some constraint to respond" (p. 149, emphasis original). Thus, as the ideology "interpellates" an identity, the audience is expected to answer, to respond to this version of themselves, and thus to become the subject the ideology calls upon. As McGee (1975) argues, "'the people' *are* the social and political myths they accept" (p. 247, emphasis original).

While Althusser (1971) briefly distinguishes between an individual and a subject, he argues that there is no temporal succession to such events; "the existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same thing" (p. 163). In other words, people are not blank slates upon which the rhetoric of political

myths may act. Individuals become subjects as they attain an identity through ideological influences that shape them throughout their lives. Althusser argues that “subjects only exist insofar as they are supported by a concrete individual” (p. 162). Therefore, while McGee (1975) asserts that the individual may at one time be without an identity, such as at the point of origination or demise of a political myth, for Althusser, an individual is always inherently a subject of some ideology or ideologies. Thus, I argue that identities and ideologies exist within a reciprocal relationship. This reciprocal relationship suggests that while identities are influenced by societal ideologies, they also function to (re)create particular societal ideologies. While Michael McGee, Teun van Dijk and Siniša Malešević have identified the discursive and rhetorical ways in which groups and societies create and express ideologies, Althusser’s (1971) notion of interpellation identifies the ways in which such ideologies call on and create subjects.

Maurice Charland (1987) works to connect Althusser’s notion of interpellation more directly to McGee’s notion of political myths. He argues that the interpellation of subjects through the rhetoric of political myths is a two-step process: 1) An individual recognizes his or herself as part of the subjects being called into being within rhetoric; 2) The individual recognizes and engages in particular actions. Charland argues that the first step, “the development of new subject positions, of new constitutive rhetorics, is possible at particular historical moments” (p. 141). Charland’s “particular historical moments” are understood as moments of significant potential for “populations...[to] gain different identities that warrant different forms of collective life” (p. 136). Charland argues that “at particular historical moments, political rhetorics can reposition or re-articulate subjects

by performing ideological work upon the texts in which social actors are inscribed” (p. 147).

Climate change represents a unique historical moment in time, in which issues of ideology and identity—values, beliefs, and self-perceptions—are being fundamentally questioned. Within Canada, the Albertan oil sands not only represent Canada’s highest polluting natural resource development project, they also produce some of the largest greenhouse gas emissions in the world (National Energy Technology Laboratory, 2008). Yet, the oil sands projects, like climate change more broadly, are also perceived to be a benefit to society, as Alberta has become the leader in job creation and salary increases across Canada (Sankey, 2011). These increasingly polemical perspectives on the environment and the economy are prevalent within Canadian political myths on climate change. As they interpret our beliefs and our values to support their particular arguments, they are consequently portraying particular versions of what it means to be Canadian.

Rhetoric as material. Maurice Charland (1987) argues that the second requirement of identity creation is that the rhetoric of political myths must “insert ‘narratized’ subjects-as-agents into the world” (p. 143). Thus, as the rhetoric of political myths interpellates subjects through particular historical moments in time, the rhetoric of political myths must urge its audience to some form of concrete action, whether or not it is successful. This process of rhetorically instigated action or behavioural change is explored in greater detail within McGee’s (1985) earlier work with the material nature of rhetoric. Michael McGee has argued that rhetoric originates from human experience with the “real and material, rather than scriptural, textual, or ideal...[where] ideas should be reifications of or abstractions from what we experience empirically in our world” (as

quoted by Corbin, 1998, p.139). Thus, as the rhetorical construction of ideas originates from interaction with the material, it is argued that such rhetorically expressed ideas, ideologies and corresponding identities might themselves also provoke material consequences.

In 1982, Michael McGee introduced the notion of rhetoric “as material and as omnipresent as air and water” (p. 26). Rhetoric materializes, however, not because of our ability to hold or analyze a text, but rather because the constructs of rhetoric become accepted and applied within the socio-historical development of a society (McGee, 1975). The materialization of rhetoric occurs through a process of human experience with the world over time, and with the social communication of such experiences. McGee has claimed that the materialized meanings are those that “we...agree to live by, to observe, and that we regard as binding upon ourselves and upon others...[and as] abiding and permanent in a way that ordinarily we don't think of language as being” (as quoted by Corbin, 1998, p.137). As subjects are interpellated by the rhetoric of a political myth, and “enact their ideology and reconstitute their material world in its image” (Charland, 1987, p. 143), the rhetoric of the political myth is materialized in the world.

The materialization of rhetoric is key to the basic notion within this thesis that rhetoric can engage social change. As Canadian climate change communication reshapes how we understand ourselves, and our roles in the world, it theoretically can change how we perceive ourselves, and thus the societies that we construct. As I argued at the beginning of this chapter, climate change discourses, even scientific discourses on climate change, should be treated as rhetorical constructions designed to serve certain political interests and therefore not necessarily as objective “truths.” Yet, at the same

time, by applying McGee's notion of material rhetoric, we must also treat rhetorical constructions as capable of being considered to be "factual," and therefore as capable of becoming influential. Thus, this thesis seeks to understand how Canadian climate change rhetoric may be shaping Canadian ideologies and identities, as we may come to understand ourselves and our roles towards climate change in these ways.

A Theoretical Approach

For the purposes of this research, the material nature of rhetoric is solely a theoretical proposition. While McGee has argued for the material grounding of rhetoric within human experience, he evidently does not set out to prove this theory. As Dilip Gaonkar (1990) argues, McGee "simply takes it for granted that the 'materiality' of rhetoric is experientially given and that any descriptive claims regarding it can be made intersubjectively valid" (p. 305). By arguing that rhetoric is material due to its presumed influence on human experience, McGee attempts to "resecure its [rhetoric's] primacy by invoking the 'felt quality' of its presence in everyday life" (Gaonkar, 1990, p.305).

Without such an assumption, one would be required to engage in a phenomenological study of intersubjectivity, or determine which human experiences affected a particular rhetorical discourse, and which societal rhetoric could be considered to be material and thus as having caused particular human experiences.

Michael McGee (1982) cements the validity of his theoretical approach by referencing the work of Edwin Black. McGee employs Black's argumentative strategy as he similarly shifts the focus of his rhetorical analysis away from examining the relationship between belief and behaviour. McGee rather focuses on "the realm of morality, [where] the 'effect' [of rhetoric] is not on any human agent particularly, but on

everyone indirectly, as each of us participates in...[a] shared agreement as to the normative conditions of belonging to society” (p. 41). As my research applies McGee’s rhetorical analysis of the underlying ideologies and versions of identity expressed within a society’s political myths, it seeks to understand this “realm of morality;” the theoretical attitudinal effect of rhetoric rather than a measurable behavioural effect.

While one cannot pretend to ascertain the particular connection between societal beliefs and behaviours, my research assumes rather than proves that the representative texts I analyze have theoretically influenced societal attitudes, (as all rhetoric does to some degree). The objective of this research is not to prove such influence, but rather to identify and understand it in the hope of disclosing the underlying operative ideologies and versions of identity being conveyed to Canadians. McGee’s theoretical framework for ideological rhetorical analysis will function to determine the social influences on climate change rhetoric by examining the reciprocal nature of rhetoric; in which societal notions of ideologies and identities influence rhetoric, and yet are also influenced by such communication.

Terminology

Thus far, this chapter has functioned to provide an outline of the theoretical works that have been brought together to inform my research. This section provides a summary and brief discussion of the ways in which particular terms are used in my research. Within this thesis, I apply the term “political myth” as a means of identifying the context for ideological rhetorical analysis. Consequently, I portray the rhetorical arguments expressed within the three documents published by the NRTEE, Greenpeace, and the

Friends of Science respectively, as representative examples of competing Canadian political myths on climate change.

To assess the ideological nature of these political myths, I apply the terms “normative ideologies” and “operative ideologies” as a means of distinguishing between ideologies that are fundamental to Canadian society, and ideologies that guide and shape the three organizations’ political myths on climate change. While operative ideologies are tied to the lifespan of political myths, normative ideologies, or those inherent to a society, are understood within my research as existing outside of the life cycles of political myths and thus acquire a more permanent standing in Canadian society. These two terms function to portray ideologies as both the sources and outcomes of political myths. I argue that the three organizations draw upon and interpret normative Canadian ideologies as a means of offering a sense of ideologically derived legitimacy to their political myths on climate change. From this perspective, ideologies are seen as representing the source of all past, present, and future political myths of Canadian society. Yet, as the three organizations construct operative versions of normative Canadian ideologies to support and legitimize the arguments of their political myths on climate change, ideologies are also seen as the outcomes of, or the rhetorical essence of, political myths.

Following this premise, I apply the term “ideograph” to refer to the rhetorical or tangible expressions of the operative ideologies that have been constructed to shape the rhetoric of political myths. Ideographs are thus the words or concepts that represent prevalent ideological themes within the documents. McGee’s (1975) theory of ideology—as rhetorically expressed ideographs—offers a tangible conceptualization of ideology. His notion of ideographs allows for a perception of ideology as “physically

existing” within particular rhetorical constructions of discourse. Such “tangibility” is imperative to the development of a methodological approach for analyzing ideology and identity within discourse.

To assess the versions of identity being portrayed within Canadian climate change rhetoric, I apply the term “identity” to refer to the identities held by the Canadian collective, rather than to the identities held by individuals. I apply the term “interpellate” to refer to the process by which collective identities are rhetorically constructed through the expression of particular ideological rhetoric. I apply Maurice Charland’s (1987) adaptation of Louis Althusser’s (1971) notion of interpellation. Maurice Charland argues that the interpellation of subjects occurs within particular historical moments; moments when individuals might be more likely to see themselves in a different manner than that depicted by their established subject positions, or rather, their current understandings of themselves. As I have argued that climate change represents a historical moment for Canadians, I assume that, to a certain degree, the ideological rhetoric of Canadian political myths on climate change is interpellating particular versions of Canadian identity. Yet, Charland also argues that within such historical moments, action must be specified through rhetoric to incite interpellation or identity creation. Thus, I apply the term “interpellation” to refer to both the ways in which Canadian identity is constructed, as well as the ways in which actions are being prescribed to Canadians.

Methodological Approach

To identify the underlying ideologies and versions of identity being rhetorically conveyed within each organization’s rhetoric, I first sought to identify the particular ideographs expressed by each organization. To identify the ideographs, I coded each

document to determine prevalent or repeated words, concepts or ideas. Such words, concepts, or ideas were considered to be possible ideographic expressions of the underlying operative ideologies shaping each document. Stuart Hall's notion of articulation was used to assess each potential ideograph within its respective document. Stuart Hall's notion of "articulation" is understood within my research as the "non-necessary connections that can create structural unities among linguistic and historical conditions" (as quoted by Makus, 1990, p. 496). Hall's notion of "articulation" suggests that the production of meaning—and particularly, the interpretation of normative ideologies—is a rhetorical process, rather than an unintentional activity. Thus, as each potential ideograph was identified, the ways in which it was expressed or articulated by the organization was also identified and analyzed.

To distinguish the ways in which identity is being ideologically shaped and rhetorically expressed within each of the three documents, I first analyzed the rhetoric of each document to determine each organization's intended target audience. By clearly demonstrating that each document is directed towards a Canadian audience, I was able to justify my claims that such rhetoric is constructing particular versions of Canadian identity and consequently, may be influencing the ways through which Canadians understand themselves.

Following this step, I relied on Maurice Charland's (1987) proposed process of interpellation. As ideographs represent expressions of operative ideologies, and as identity is ideologically shaped, I analyzed the ways in which ideographic expressions of the organizations' operative ideologies are interpellating distinct versions of Canadian identity. Thus, as operative ideologies are made tangible or accessible by identifying the

ideographic expressions that exist within political myths, I argue that identity can be similarly made tangible or identifiable within the particular articulations of ideographs. Consequently, I analyzed each organization's particular articulations of their ideographs and the operative ideologies they express to disclose how Canadian identity is being ideologically constructed and rhetorically portrayed. Thus, as I analyzed each organization's ideographic articulations to determine how they are constructing Canadian identity, I also analyzed them to determine the corresponding actions that are being prescribed to Canadians.

In my conclusions, I draw on the operative ideological similarities, and the corresponding interpellative similarities that exist between the three documents. I argue that the existence of ideological and interpellative similarities suggests that the organizations may be drawing from a similar or shared set of normative ideologies inherent to Canadian society, and consequently, may result in similar interpellations of Canadian identity. Thus, I analyze the operative ideological similarities to determine any normative ideologies similarly guiding the rhetoric in each document. While McGee (1980) suggests that ideographs must be diachronically (temporally) and synchronically (societally) analyzed to ensure a complete and accurate understanding of the (operative) ideologies being expressed, such an analysis would be virtually impossible within the confines of this paper. Thus, I limited my analysis to just identifying the ideographic expressions of the three documents, and only upon identifying possible normative ideologies did I very briefly engage in a socio-historical analysis to contextualize their existence within Canadian society.

Avoiding an Ideological Paradox

Mark Moore (1988) argues that within many ideological studies there exists an ideological paradox: The overwhelming tendency of researchers and critics of ideology to “combine the critical examination of ideas with some form of advocacy” (p. 74). By engaging in ideological research with advocacy as its end, the critics themselves become ideologists; they inadvertently engage in that which they seek to evaluate. To avoid this paradox, I refrained from expressing any form of advocacy within my research. I neither sought to prove nor disprove, endorse nor condemn, any side of the climate change debate. Rather, I sought to simply reveal the ways in which Canadian climate change rhetoric is engaging particular ideologies and expressing particular versions of Canadian identity, and how these ideologies and identities may affect future Canadian climate policies.

Additionally, Moore (1988) claims that Michael McGee avoids the inherent contradiction in ideological study by breaking down ideology into its assessable components (ideographs). As McGee presents ideographs as the components of ideologies evident within discourse and available for rhetorical analysis, he enables the critic to undergo a rhetorical assessment of ideological discourse rather than a rhetorical analysis of ideology more directly. Thus, while it is impossible to completely remove one’s biases from one’s research, my application of Michael McGee’s rhetorical understanding of ideologies functions to further insulate myself from this criticism.

Chapter 4: Analysis

This chapter is split into three sections. The first section analyzes and discusses the NRTEE's ideological rhetoric. Following this section, there are two subsequent sections analyzing the ideological rhetoric of Greenpeace and the Friends of Science. Each document analyzed was produced by and written for the organization in question, thus each document is presented as representing the beliefs and ideas of the organizations themselves. Therefore, when referencing the documents I refer to the organizations themselves rather than to the individual authors of the documents.

Each section identifies the operative ideologies underlying the particular organization's rhetoric by first identifying and analyzing its ideographic articulations. While the ideologies guiding each organization's rhetoric are operative interpretations of more normative or fundamental Canadian ideologies, in this chapter I refer to the ideological influences of each organization as simply "ideologies" rather than explicitly as *operative* ideologies to simplify this section of the thesis. As Michael McGee (1975) argues that the success of ideological and rhetorical arguments is based on the nature of the collective identity they articulate, each section consequently outlines the particular organization's rhetorical interpellations of Canadian identity. The interpellations do not indicate that Canadians will agree with an organization's arguments even though they may agree with the operative ideologies and constructions of the identities that guide the rhetoric of such arguments. This analysis simply portrays the way in which Canadian ideologies and identities are being presented through climate change rhetoric. Chapter five will offer a comparative discussion of the operative ideologies and identities guiding the rhetoric of the three documents, and identify some of the similarities in these

constructions as a means of disclosing possible normative ideologies inherent to Canadian society.

Section 1: NRTEE

This section includes an analysis of the NRTEE's (2011b) ideological rhetoric within the document entitled "Parallel Paths: Canada-U.S. Climate Policy Choices." The NRTEE's report is designed to analyze and recommend a Canadian climate change policy that takes into account both the environmental concerns of a changing climate and Canada's economic risks and opportunities. In its report, the NRTEE (2011b) ultimately recommends a "transitional policy option." The transitional climate policy advises the Canadian government to lead (precede) the United States by implementing a climate policy immediately, but also to align its national policy with any future climate policies of the United States.

Within the NRTEE's (2011b) document, there are two key ideologies that seem to guide the NRTEE's rhetoric: 1) An ideology of the economy as society's primary value; and 2) An ideology that prioritizes Canadian autonomy as a means for Canada to distinguish itself from the United States and demonstrate its leadership in the world. These ideologies are rhetorically conveyed through both a set of conceptual ideographs—ideographs that stem from a concept rather than a specific word—and word-based ideographs. The ideology of the economy is expressed through the NRTEE's articulation of the ideographs of the economy and dependence, and the ideology of autonomy is expressed through the NRTEE's articulation of the ideographs of distinction and unity.

Finally, this section analyzes how the NRTEE's (2011b) ideological rhetoric interpellates a particular version of collective Canadian identity. The Canadian people are

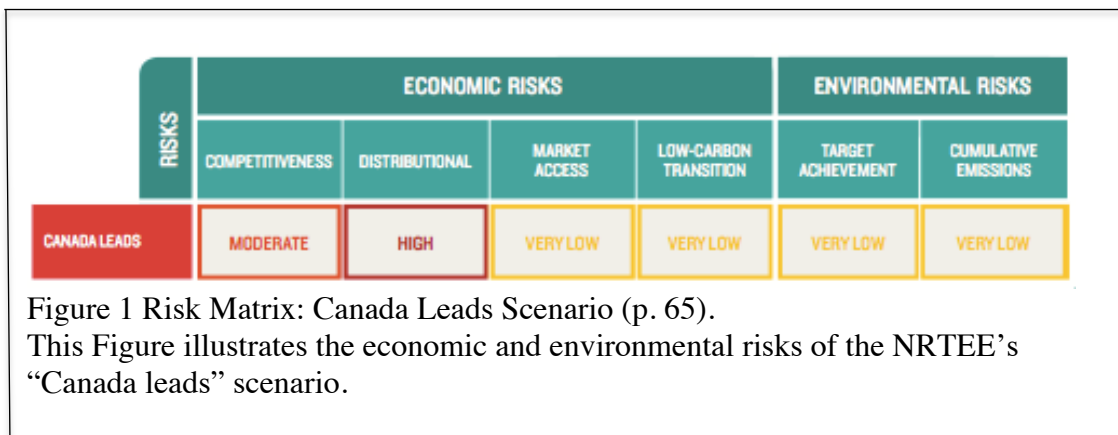
interpellated as desiring a more distinctive and notable role for Canada in the world, as a country on a different path from the United States. This desire for autonomy is strengthened by the unified or cooperative and flexible nature of the Canadian people. Yet, Canadians are also interpellated as an economically cautious people. This interpellation suggests that while the Canadian people desire greater distinction from the United States and thus for a more significant role for Canada in the world, the organization is also suggesting that Canadians will not seek such a role at any economic cost.

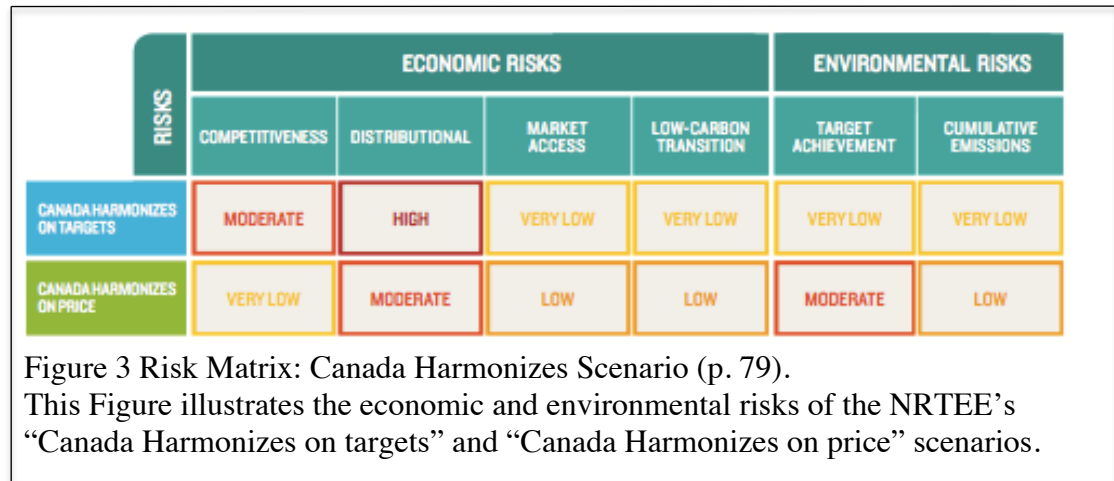
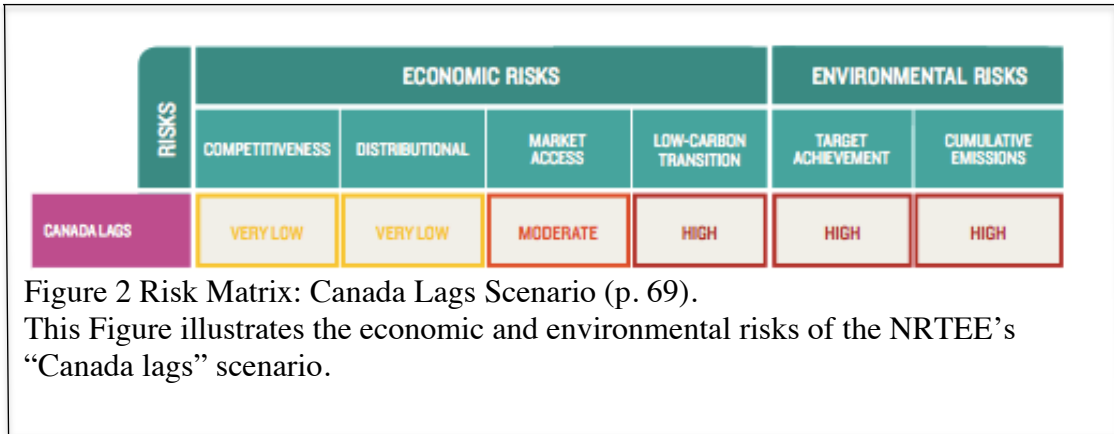
Ideology of Economy

Economy ideograph. The economy, as a concept and as a word, represents an ideograph expressed within the NRTEE's (2011b) rhetoric. The NRTEE's articulation of the ideograph of the economy is evident in the organization's predominant focus on the economy, as it engages in its analysis and recommendations for a national climate policy through an economic lens. For example, the NRTEE focuses on the economic consequences of not engaging in a national climate policy. The organization states that "as other nations around the world implement climate policies, new markets will emerge for low-carbon goods and services...[and] Canada will be less well-positioned to compete in these markets and to seize these new opportunities without domestic climate policy (p. 65). This practice is also evident in the NRTEE's statement that "a later start for carbon pricing policy in Canada...will lead to probable higher economic costs...[and] further hinders progress on transitioning to a low-carbon economy necessary for our future competitiveness and success" (p. 110). Thus, rather than identifying the seemingly more obvious environmental issues that would arise should the Canadian government not

implement a climate policy, the organization focuses on the market implications and competitiveness issues.

The economy ideograph is also articulated through the NRTEE’s discussion of climate-policy risks, as the organization places greater emphasis on the economic risks than on the environmental risks of implementing or failing to implement a Canadian climate policy. The emphasis on economic risk is evident with the NRTEE’s “Risk Matrix” charts that illustrate the risks of potential climate-policy scenarios according to the impact of such risks and the likelihood of the occurrence of such risks. The charts assess three Canadian climate policy scenarios: Canada preceding (see Figure 1), following (see Figure 2), and matching with American climate policy (see Figure 3). In the document, the three scenarios are entitled “Canada leads,” “Canada lags,” and “Canada harmonizes.” The last scenario is split into two sections, where Canada harmonizes on price or on targets with the United States. The results of the dual risk-assessment of each scenario are charted according to their score of very low, low, moderate, or high risk. Risks to the policies are also divided according to their type: economic or environmental. The economic risks of implementing a national climate





policy within Canada are identified as “competitive risks,” “distributional risks,” “market access risks,” and “transitional policy development risks.” The environmental risks are identified as “target achievement risks” and as “cumulative emissions risks” (p. 65, 69, 79).

The greater number of potential economic risks in each scenario allows for a more in-depth analysis of the nature and type of economic risks that future Canadian climate policies may face. By offering a limited analysis of the environmental risks, the NRTEE is able to maintain the appearance of a balanced analysis while subtly downplaying environmental risks and avoiding an in-depth analysis and discussion of the environmental issues of future Canadian climate policies. Even when the NRTEE does

cite environmental risks that may arise as a result of not implementing a national climate policy (such as rising carbon emissions), the organization frames these reasons within economic terminology. For example, environmental benefits are articulated through economic terminology such as “low-carbon economic success” (p. 130) and “sustained environmental progress” (p. 17). In both cases, economic-based terms like “progress” and “economic success” are used to articulate goals of environmental protection. By identifying environmental benefits in economic terms, the NRTEE has effectively applied the ideograph of the economy to implicitly prioritize the economy over the environment.

As the report maintains an economic tone, the NRTEE seems to be arguing that climate change policy is not merely a struggle with environmental protection, but rather represents an economic opportunity for Canada. By engaging this underlying ideology of the economy, the NRTEE is also able to legitimize its policy recommendation of harmonization. The NRTEE states that to harmonize or match up its national climate policy with a future climate policy implemented by the United States, the Canadian government may be required to reduce the environmental protections stipulated within its national climate policy as such might jeopardize the nation’s trade relationship with the United States. Thus, the NRTEE’s underlying ideology of the economy has shaped the NRTEE’s policy recommendations to ensure a prioritization of the economy.

Dependence ideograph. The NRTEE (2011b) articulates an ideograph of dependence to seemingly emphasize the financial risks that Canada could face should it fail to implement a national climate policy. Canada’s relationship with the United States is described by the NRTEE as being widely beneficial, where Canada’s “wealth and well-being is attributable to our success as a trading nation...with the United States” (p. 29).

Canada's economic dependence on the United States is also articulated as advantageous, as the NRTEE provides many numerical figures and financial graphs outlining in detail the billions of dollars generated in Canadian exports to the U.S. every year. For example, the organization states that "oil exports now total more than \$40 billion a year while natural gas exports are more than \$28 billion a year" (p. 32). Yet, while this relationship is one of essential importance for the Canadian economy, it is also portrayed as being highly vulnerable.

The NRTEE discusses the state of "trade exposure" and vulnerability that Canadian industries and the Canadian economy would be susceptible to should America implement climate policies (p. 29). The NRTEE uses language to seemingly instill feelings of fear and protectionism as it describes Canada's trade exposure to the U.S. in this context. For example, Canada is urged to "protect itself against border carbon adjustments" (p. 111), and "shelter [the oil sands] from impacts of LCFS [Low Carbon Fuel Standard]" (p. 69). The NRTEE also portrays Canadian sectors as vulnerable and therefore as requiring defense against American climate-based border policies. The NRTEE argues that "BCAs [Border Carbon Adjustments] would...be implemented [upon Canadian exports] if the first line of defense for vulnerable industry...were deemed insufficient" (p. 61). Such language portrays American climate policy as a threat to Canada's economic dependence on the United States rather than as an environmental success to be replicated.

While Canada's trade relationship with America might suggest a relationship of interdependence, the NRTEE does not articulate any benefits that America might receive as a result of its economic relationship with Canada. Rather, the NRTEE's ideology of

the economy guides the organization to focus solely on Canada's economic dependence, implicitly suggesting that the only option for Canada (to lessen the threat to its economy) is to implement its own national climate policy.

Ideology of Autonomy

Distinction ideograph. The ideograph of "distinction" is evident as the NRTEE (2011b) portrays its policy recommendations as the means by which Canada could distinguish itself as a leader in the world. The NRTEE defines a good climate policy as that which would enable Canada to "get ahead of the curve" (p. 131), or to distinguish itself as a climate policy innovator (p. 125). The organization also articulates the ideograph of "distinction" through the name it gives to its recommended policy scenario: Canada Leads. This policy option calls for the government to implement a climate policy ahead of the United States, which would then be adjusted to match any future climate-policy that the United States would implement. By titling this policy option as "Canada leads" rather than "Canada precedes the United States," Canada is implicitly distinguished as a policy leader in the sense that it would set an example for the world, rather than merely being portrayed as temporally "preceding" the United States in climate policy implementation.

The NRTEE's articulation of the distinction ideograph is also expressed through the organization's focus on the Canadian-made nature of its recommended climate policies. The NRTEE doesn't simply focus on the environmentally effective or economically efficient nature of its recommended climate policies, but rather highlights the value of Canadian-made policies. The NRTEE calls for a "uniquely Canadian policy approach" (p. 30), or simply "a Canadian policy approach" (p. 85). Furthermore, the

phrase “made-in-Canada” serves as a prefix to a number of proposed climate strategies, policies, or approaches presented by the NRTEE (p. 17, 25, 85, 109, 116, 125). The NRTEE also highlights the Canadian nature of its recommended policies through the images pictured within the document. For example, the image on the title page of chapter five entitled “A Transitional Policy Option for Canada” pictures a traffic sign indicating a right turn. Above the arrow it reads “To Canada,” and beneath the arrow is the word “only” implying that one *must* turn towards Canada (see Figures 4 and 5).

The traffic sign depicted is not simply conveying the message that one must turn towards Canada, but rather is implicitly arguing that one must engage in a Canadian policy approach. Thus, while the title of the chapter indicates that the NRTEE is presenting a “policy option,” the image suggests that the only real policy option for

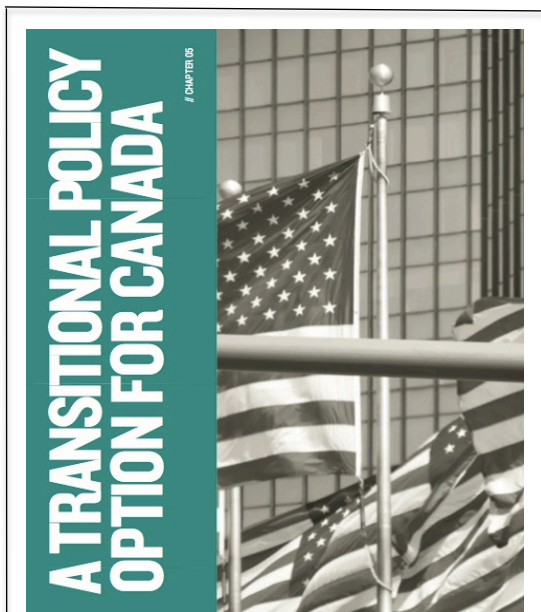


Figure 4. NRTEE Chapter 5 Image (p. 106). This Figure illustrates the NRTEE’s rhetorical emphasis of the Canadian nature of its policy recommendations.



Figure 4. NRTEE Chapter 5 Image (p. 106). This Figure illustrates the NRTEE’s rhetorical emphasis of the Canadian nature of its policy recommendations.

Canada is the NRTEE's recommended "uniquely Canadian policy approach" (p. 30), as this approach would serve to distinguish Canada as a policy innovator. Further, as the image depicts a right-turning traffic sign directing vehicles towards Canada, one can assume that the United States must be in the other direction. Yet, as the United States' presence in the image is not directly apparent, the NRTEE's rhetoric is functioning to establish a focus on the Canadian-made nature of its climate policy recommendations; conveying such policies as a means for Canada to distinguish itself from the United States.

By emphasizing Canada as a policy-innovator and policy leader in the world, the NRTEE seems to be engaging an underlying ideology of autonomy which views independent governmental action (such as that of Canadian policy innovation) as a means of establishing the autonomous nature of a country. The ideograph of "distinction" and the underlying ideology of autonomy have shaped the NRTEE's arguments by directing the organization's focus on the Canadian-made nature of its policy recommendations, rather than simply on their environmental effectiveness and their economic efficiency. The NRTEE's underlying ideologies of economy and autonomy have shaped the organization's climate policy recommendations to focus on the nation's bilateral relationship with the United States. The organization's articulation of these ideologies underscores Canada's position of economic dependence on the United States, and yet also emphasizes its ability (through climate policy implementation) to distinguish itself from its powerful neighbor. By portraying climate change through the ideologies of the economy and autonomy, the NRTEE effectively downplays the environmental issues of a future climate policy in Canada. The contradictory nature of these ideologies function to

portray climate change as an issue caught within Canada's conflicting relationship with the United States, rather than as an issue caught between the nation's economic and environmental responsibilities.

Unity ideograph. The NRTEE articulates an ideographic norm of unity as it positions its opinions as those of all Canadians, and refers to the government's actions as simply the actions of "Canada." For example, through the use of first-person collective pronouns, the NRTEE (2011b) articulates the ideograph of "unity" to emphasize its position as that of all Canadians. The organization articulates such a perspective in statements where it questions, "what steps can *we* take to achieve *our* own national environmental and economic goals given the integrated nature of *our* trading, investment and energy economies" (p. 15, emphasis added). As the NRTEE articulates the ideograph of unity in the statement "Canadian interests can best be served as *we* secure *our* future" (p. 15, emphasis added), the organization effectively identifies itself as part of the broader Canadian public. This use of the plural form of first-person (*we*, *our*) makes it seem as though the Canadian public has achieved consensus regarding climate change and climate policy.

The NRTEE also articulates the ideograph of unity by referring to the Canadian government's actions as simply those of "Canada," rather as those of a conservative (and possibly unsupported) federal government. Such rhetoric is most apparent in the NRTEE's statement, "if Canada [the Canadian government] were to move first and lead the U.S. in implementing climate policy in order to achieve our 2020 targets, Canadian firms would face greater costs leading to some competitiveness risks" (p. 66). This rhetorical technique functions to avoid any acknowledgement of political or public

dissent or debate that may call into question this portrayal of Canadian unity. By conveying unity as a norm in Canada, the NRTEE's rhetoric also functions to prevent any future dissent or disagreement amongst its readership, whereby any such dissent might be seen as being against the established reality or norm for Canada, and thus essentially as unCanadian.

This ideograph, and the norm it conveys, reinforces the prevalence of an underlying ideology of autonomy. The NRTEE represents Canada as a unified entity, devoid of debate or controversy, where any strife or uncertainty is conveyed as existing beyond the nation's borders, leaving Canada in consensus with itself and therefore as being an established or unchallenged autonomous nation. As the ideology of autonomy prioritizes nation-based control and action, the ideograph of unity functions to emphasize a sense of public consensus towards the NRTEE's climate perspectives and policy recommendations. Thus, the NRTEE's rhetoric of unity implicitly suggests that if Canada were to implement its recommended climate policies, such action would serve to demonstrate the consensus and unity within the country thereby affirming the solidity of Canadian autonomy.

Interpellation

The NRTEE's (2011b) ideographs of economy, dependence, distinction, and unity, and the underlying (operative) ideologies of the economy as a societal value, and Canadian autonomy as a means to engage in greater global leadership, collectively function to construct a particular version of Canadian identity. As discussed extensively in the theory chapter, ideologically based rhetoric constructs or interpellates particular versions of collective identity. Such ideological constructions of identity are designed to

reshape the identities of the organization's intended audience in order for them to feel a greater sense of connection to the organization's underlying ideologies and thus ideally to the organization's ideologically-based arguments. Therefore, should the NRTEE's intended audience apply the version(s) of identity being constructed within its rhetoric, then the NRTEE's underlying ideologies will theoretically resonate with, and become meaningful to, its target audience. Such connection would suggest that the NRTEE's audience would subsequently be more likely to (although, would not necessarily) accept the organization's ideologically based arguments. This analysis of ideological rhetoric is purely theoretical, and while it allows for the fact that the audience may reject the ideologies applied by the NRTEE, there is no indication of whether the audience is actually being swayed by such rhetoric.

Prior to analyzing the particular rhetorical interpellation that the NRTEE's rhetoric constructs, it is first important to identify who the organization's target audience is to determine whose identity they are theoretically seeking to interpellate. Officially, the NRTEE identifies itself as "an independent policy advisory agency that advises the federal government on sustainable development solutions" (p. 6). However, the NRTEE also indicates that it "raise[s] awareness among Canadians...about the challenges of sustainable development" (p. 6). This additional focus on the Canadian public is evident throughout the NRTEE's document. The organization uses simple language and is careful to explain complex, and thus potentially confusing, political and policy-based terminology. For example, the NRTEE frequently provides text-boxes defining key terms or providing the necessary informative background for particular ideas. Moreover, the NRTEE's focus on the Canadian public is particularly evident within the ideograph of

unity; the NRTEE's use of the plural form of first-person (we, our) is theoretically engaged to translate the opinions of the NRTEE into the opinions of all Canadians. By applying this rhetorical technique, the NRTEE identifies its target audience as that of the Canadian public. Thus, I argue that the NRTEE's ideological rhetoric interpellates a particular version of Canadian identity.

As the NRTEE's rhetoric is guided by an (operative) ideology of autonomy as expressed through the ideograph of "distinction," the organization interpellates the Canadian people as desiring a greater or more notable role within the global community. By representing its policy recommendations as a means for Canada to distinguish itself from its powerful southern neighbor and "lead" the world in climate policy, the NRTEE interpellates or hails a version of Canadian identity as a people who desire particular actions; a people who desire Canada to move away from America's shadow and seek a position of greater significance in the world. Yet, the ideology of autonomy is also articulated by the NRTEE through its ideograph of unity. The NRTEE's unity ideograph constructs Canadians as being a united and flexible people who are not only at peace with one another, but who also share a common perspective on climate change and the associated policy options. These particular interpellations call Canadians into being or acting in such peaceful and flexible ways. Such cooperation and flexibility of the Canadian people also functions to strengthen a collective desire for Canada to establish greater distinction from the United States.

Yet, the NRTEE's underlying (operative) ideology of the economy also shapes Canada's relationship with the United States as being that of a cautious one. Through this ideology of the economy as articulated through the ideograph of the economy and

dependence, Canadians are interpellated as a cautious people concerned with maintaining a state of economic security. The NRTEE's articulation of economic risks (the economic costs and the "competitiveness" challenges that the nation will face should it fail to implement a climate policy) interpellates Canadians as being risk-averse and desiring stability and security as brought about by carefully considered and economically cautious policy action. As the NRTEE describes Canada's relationship with the United States as economically benefiting Canadians, the organization effectively hails or calls forth a people who are concerned about their economic security. Such rhetoric suggests that while the NRTEE is constructing Canadians as a people who desire a greater distinctive leadership-position for Canada in the world, the organization is also suggesting that Canadians would not seek such a role at any cost, and especially not at any economic cost.

If the Canadian audience were interpellated in this way, then theoretically, they would be more inclined to adopt the NRTEE's underlying ideologies of autonomy and economy. Yet, despite being interpellated as a people desiring greater distinction from the United States, (so long as such distinction doesn't threaten the nation's economic security), the NRTEE's Canadian audience may not necessarily support the organization's particular policy recommendations. For example, while Canadians might adopt a view of themselves as an economically cautious or risk-averse people, they may not buy into the NRTEE's argument that the economy must be prioritized above that of the environment, or at the cost of environmentally effective climate policy. Nevertheless, as the NRTEE frames its policy recommendations as promoting a greater and more distinctive role for Canada in the world, while still ensuring the stability of Canada's

economic dependence on the United States, the organization's arguments are likely to appeal to an audience interpellated in this manner.

Section 2: Greenpeace

This section identifies the (operative) ideologies guiding the Greenpeace Canada's rhetoric within the document entitled "Dirty Oil: How the Tar Sands are Fueling the Global Climate Crisis." The document was published in September 2009 and was written by Andrew Nikiforuk, a freelance writer who was contracted by Greenpeace Canada (Nikiforuk, 2008). While the title of the document suggests that it will focus solely on the tar sands (as named by Greenpeace), the document actually focuses more broadly on climate change, alleging that climate change has been caused primarily by the actions and inactions of the Canadian federal government and the government of Alberta.

There are five ideologies guiding Greenpeace's (2009) climate change rhetoric: 1) A respect for the power of centralized government; 2) An ideology of truth as afforded by evidence-based scientific fact; 3) An ideology of cooperation; 4) An ideology of stability; and, 5) An ideology of reputation. I argue that Greenpeace (2009) expresses these ideologies within its rhetoric through the articulation of five ideographs: Responsibility, evidence, collective action, crisis, and shame. These ideographs focus primarily on the actions of the Canadian and Albertan governments, as well as on the consequent position of Canada in the world.

Lastly, these ideographs and their associated ideologies are analyzed to disclose the means through which Greenpeace interpellates a particular version of Canadian identity. I argue that Canadians are being interpellated as a people who desire a centralized government which is not only truthful to its people, but which engages in

collective or collaborative action that is mindful of, and functions to uphold, the nation's geopolitical reputation. As Canadians are also interpellated as a people who despise chaos and value stability, they would consequently also value collective action as a means of establishing a strong global reputation, and ensuring greater stability and order in the world.

Ideology of Respect for Centralized Government: Responsibility Ideograph

“Responsibility” represents an ideograph employed by Greenpeace (2009) to rhetorically describe the activities of the Canadian federal government and the Albertan provincial government. The ideograph underlies Greenpeace’s argument that both governments have engaged in financially and environmentally irresponsible actions. For example, Greenpeace argues that government investments in the tar sands have “distort[ed] the economy” (p. 4), causing Canada’s bitumen exports to be highly susceptible to carbon pricing policies. The Center for the Study of Living Standards is cited as claiming that “Canadians could face a net cost of \$1.30 for each barrel of bitumen extracted” if carbon pricing policies are implemented (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 4). Greenpeace argues that rather than representing a profitable resource for western Canada, the tar sands may become a financial burden shouldered by the entire nation. Yet, while oil revenues are currently generating “up to \$5 billion in federal revenue every year” (p. 34), Greenpeace argues that the government is unwilling to address such concerns. Therefore, Greenpeace conveys the notion that the government is acting irresponsibly.

Greenpeace also implicitly argues that the government is irresponsible in its handling of the environment. For example, Greenpeace argues that “Canada’s rapid

development of the tar sands has given the nation one of the largest carbon footprints in the world...[where] emissions have increased by 27 per cent between 1990 and 2004, from 599 MT to approximately 758 MT” (p. 8). The organization also cites the government’s environmentally irresponsible decision to make Canada an energy exporter; Greenpeace argues that “because energy production outstripped energy use in Canada, emissions per capita rose 10 per cent from 1990 to 2004, to reach 24 tonnes per person” (p. 10). As a result of this governmental decision, the organization argues that “Canada has become one of the world’s highest per capita GHG polluters” (p. 10). Thus, Greenpeace’s rhetoric suggests that due to the federal government’s rapid investment and development of the tar sands, as well as its lack of climate policy implementation, such decisions have resulted in environmental harm.

Greenpeace does not limit its critique to just the federal government of Canada, as it also articulates the government of Alberta’s irresponsible decisions and actions. Greenpeace argues that the provincial government’s decision to keep tax rates and royalty fees in Alberta at a minimum (to encourage the production of the tar sands) has led to economic loss and environmental harm. Moreover, Greenpeace claims that in Alberta, “where carbon emissions are increasing, [the province still] earns only 47 per cent of net oil revenue, while Norway, where emissions are stabilizing, collects 88 per cent of its share” (p. 4). Thus, the Albertan government is implicitly portrayed as failing to take advantage of the financial benefits of fossil fuel production, and as having ineffectively managed the environmental impacts of its industrial development.

While Greenpeace’s rhetoric expresses disdain for the actions of these particular governments, the organization does not question the power of government in general.

Greenpeace argues that “Canada’s failed policy and lack of leadership reflects extreme political changes in the country” (p. 35). These changes are in reference to the actions of conservative Prime Minister, Stephen Harper. Greenpeace demonizes Stephen Harper as “the son of an Imperial Oil executive, [who] is as pro-oil as former US president George W. Bush and is a longtime climate change skeptic” (p. 34, 35). Greenpeace critiques Harper’s federal government by condemning its hiring practices. For example, Greenpeace identifies and critiques the appointment of climate change skeptic, Tom Flanagan. Flanagan, who is described as being “Harper’s chief political mentor” (p. 35), is portrayed as overlooking concerns of the environment as he is quoted as having “described [climate] lawsuits and blockades as ‘security threats’ to energy developments in the tar sands” (p.35). I argue that as Greenpeace rhetorically critiques Canada’s current conservative federal government (rather than simply critiquing the Canadian governmental system more generally), the organization’s rhetoric may be guided by an underlying liberal ideology of centralized government.

To explain Greenpeace’s ideology of the centralized government, I look to the works of Mitchell Dean (2002) and Lawrence Mead (1986), who both discuss liberalism and government. Dean (2002) argues that “governing liberally does not necessarily entail governing *through* freedom or even governing in a manner that respects individual liberty” (p. 38, emphasis original). Lawrence Mead similarly argues that in a liberal society, “people are not interested in ‘freedom’ from government if they are victimized by crime, cannot support themselves, or are in any fundamental way insecure.... They will want more government rather than less” (1986, p. 6). Mead (1986) argues that a liberal society sees governmental action and services as creating independent citizens, as

providing citizens with “adequacy, self-direction and dignity” (p. 204). Thus, liberalism can be seen to presume that government will act in a responsible or socially conscious manner. Greenpeace’s particular application of an ideology of centralized government somewhat follows a liberal understanding of the role of government. Thus, as Greenpeace criticizes the financially and environmentally irresponsible nature of both governments’ actions, it is affirming rather than questioning the powerful roles of these governments. The governments are thus implicitly identified as vital (though irresponsible) actors in maintaining the nation’s economic and environmental wellbeing. Therefore, with the ideograph of governmental irresponsibility, Greenpeace follows a liberal-based ideology of centralized, but responsible, government.

Ideology of Truth: Evidence Ideograph

Evidence represents an ideograph in Greenpeace’s (2009) rhetoric as the organization cites the lack of evidential support for the government’s decisions. Greenpeace articulates an ideograph of evidence as it discusses “the technology illusion” (p. 26), referring to a situation in which the government has gambled the nation’s economic and environmental resources on ineffective and costly emission-reduction and oil-production technologies. Greenpeace argues that the governments of Canada and Alberta have ignored the vast evidence that contradicts the supposed effectiveness and efficiency of technology as a means of resolving the environmental damages created by the production and consumption of fossil fuels. Greenpeace argues that as the governments of Canada and Alberta have ignored the evidence against such technologies, they are “gambling on...carbon capture and storage (CCS) to reduce GHG emissions in the tar sands” (p. 26). This gamble is identified by the organization as an investment of

nearly \$3 billion worth of taxpayers' money to develop several [CCS] demonstration projects" (p. 26).

Greenpeace argues that it is broadly believed that such technology will merely stimulate greater environmental damage and cause greater climate change as it enables increased fossil fuel consumption. In regards to the carbon capture and storage technology specifically, Canadian individuals and organizations themselves are cited as arguing against both the effectiveness and cost efficiency of carbon capture technology. Peter Tertzakian, a Canadian energy analyst, is referenced as stating that the technology is "incredibly inefficient...[and] is designed to clean up the energy from another very inefficient and wasteful process" (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 28). Canadian economist Mark Jaccard claims that without a substantial shift in policy, the federal government "will be burning our money to warm the planet" (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 33).

Greenpeace also quotes reputable Canadian organizations like Environment Canada as stating that rather than addressing the rising emissions in Canada, carbon capture and storage will "increase overall GHG emissions emitted by fossil fuel production" (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 28). The Alberta Carbon Capture and Storage Development Council itself is even cited as claiming that carbon capture and storage is "expensive and currently uneconomic," and will require "taxpayer subsidies of one to \$3 billion a year over several decades" (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 27). Greenpeace argues that as a result of the government's gamble on emission-reduction technologies like carbon capture and storage, Canada will "fail to moderate fossil fuel demand and consumption" (p. 53). By citing the arguments of respected Canadians and

reputable Canadian organizations, Greenpeace implicitly portrays their perspectives as credible, and thus as indicating the existence of evidence against carbon capture and storage technology. Greenpeace draws on these sources as a means of demonstrating the nature of the governments' actions as not only contrary to broadly held Canadian opinion, but as heedless of the evidence that sustains the credibility and reputability of such Canadians and Canadian organizations.

The evidence ideograph is also articulated through Greenpeace's discussion of the government's controversial political decision to sell the nation's peatlands and wetlands to oil companies. The federal government's decision to sell off portions of the boreal forest where the peatlands grow is said to be overlooking established scientific evidence that emphasizes the importance of the peatlands. Greenpeace argues that peatlands and wetlands are commonly understood as representing "critical carbon storehouses" (p. 30) not only for the nation, but also for the world. Greenpeace states that scientists have established "that even the smallest changes to the health of peatlands in the region will convert [Canada's] northern organic soils to a net carbon source to the atmosphere" (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 30). Yet, despite their rarity and their established environmental benefit for the world, over sixty per cent of Canada's peatlands have been leased to oil companies for the "exploitation of tar sands deposits in northern Canada" (p. 30). With such a controversial decision, Greenpeace implicitly suggests that the Canadian government is not engaging in evidence-based decision-making.

While Greenpeace implicitly claims that the provincial government of Alberta and the federal government of Canada have both failed to apply evidence-based decision-making, the organization also argues that both governments have generally disregarded

the value of credible and accurate evidence within government-based emissions reporting. Greenpeace argues that governmental studies of the tar sands have left “huge gaps in emissions data, limited company information, and [contain] startling inconsistencies” (p. 13). Greenpeace states that “Canada has yet to produce a comprehensive report with real, up-to-date [data]...from various mining and steam projects” (p. 13). Moreover, in a section of the document entitled “A Lack of Transparency,” Greenpeace argues that the Albertan government has been relying on non-credible and inaccurate information sources. Greenpeace claims that “Alberta reports didn’t use real industry data, omitted critical information and failed to supply sufficient documentation of assumptions, methods and treatment of uncertainty” regarding the tar sands projects (p. 13). As a result of such disregard for the value of credible and accurate evidence, Greenpeace argues that the government has intentionally misled the Canadian people as well as the larger global community about the realities of climate change.

By engaging evidence derived from widely respected individuals and organizations, Greenpeace seems to be engaging an underlying ideology and value of truth as derived from evidenced based research and articulated through evidence-based decision-making. As Greenpeace cites many instances in which the governments of Canada and Alberta have failed to heed the advice of those presented as being experts, the organization portrays the governments as being untruthful. Thus, the governments’ values are being questioned based on Greenpeace’s own value of evidence and its underlying ideology that truth is derived from evidence.

Ideology of Cooperation: Collective Action Ideograph

The ideograph of collective action is articulated as Greenpeace (2009) discusses the Canadian government's failure to engage in collective action. Greenpeace argues that the swift development of the tar sands has left a "destructive legacy of...paralysis of Canadian public policy on climate change at home, and...[a] persistent obstruction of global action abroad" (p. 32). Greenpeace identifies Canada's failure to "honour [its] Kyoto climate change reduction targets" (p. 4) as an example of the government's unwillingness to engage in collective action. Greenpeace cites the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's particular expression of this failure in which Canada is ranked as "the world's third-worst performer in honoring its Kyoto protocol pledge" (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 8). The employment of this particular rhetoric serves to articulate the deplorable character of the government as being unwilling to engage in international collective policy actions.

Greenpeace argues that not only is the government unwilling to engage in collective action, it is working to prevent greater collective action across the world. While the government has proclaimed itself as an "emerging energy superpower," (p. 33), Greenpeace has labeled it a "global carbon bully" (p. 32). Greenpeace argues that the federal government has become a bully by "try[ing] to split members of the EU [European Union] on their GHG [greenhouse gas] commitments, backpedal[ing] on reduction targets and t[ying] any assistance to developing nations to binding GHG targets" (p. 33). Greenpeace argues that the Canadian government has "lobb[ie]d against low-carbon fuel standards and new climate change legislation...[thereby] galvanizing international debate about the complexities of energy security, dirty oil and the rising

risks of dangerous climate change” (p. 4). It appears that by failing to be cooperative and engage in collaborative action, the Canadian government has not only failed to be a part of the international community, but it has become a detriment to greater international action.

An ideology of cooperation appears to be guiding Greenpeace’s rhetoric to focus on the governments’ failure to engage in, and obstruction of, collective action, rather than simply its failure to protect the environment. For example, Greenpeace labels Canada as “a treaty breaker” and a “world...offender” rather than simply a “national polluter” (p. 8). By engaging an ideology of cooperation, Greenpeace implicitly values the cooperative and thus collaborative relationships that occur between nations around global issues such as climate change. Thus, as Greenpeace focuses on the government’s global alienation—its inability to establish strong relationships and engage in collective action—the organization emphasizes an underlying ideology of cooperation.

Ideology of Stability: Crisis Ideograph

The ideograph of crisis is evident as Greenpeace (2009) identifies the critical state of Canada’s domestic and international affairs due to the lack of national climate policy. Initially, on the domestic level, Greenpeace argues that the Albertan tar sands are creating a crisis situation by destabilizing Canada’s energy resources. Greenpeace argues that the tar sands project has “consume[d] more natural gas than almost any other industrial sector...relentlessly cannibaliz[ing] Canada’s natural gas supplies” (p. 22).

Yet, Greenpeace argues that Canada’s tar sands have also played a significant role in destabilizing the entire planet. The organization claims that Canada’s tar sands are “tip[ping] CO₂ levels beyond a [global] climate stabilization target” (p. 40). The

organization states that “the exploitation of unconventional fossil fuels is a ‘wild card’ that invites dangerous climate insecurity” (p. 40). Greenpeace argues that Canada’s continued development of the tar sands represents “an unconventional bomb” (2009, p. 39), and a “catastrophic exercise” (2009, p. 40). In its concluding statement, Greenpeace makes a final attempt to emphasize the globalized crisis brought about by the Canadian tar sands: “Canada, a carbon debtor nation, appears to be leading the international community towards a chaotic and volatile energy future” (p. 43). Such language suggests that Greenpeace is portraying Canada as not only creating an unstable crisis situation at home, but as instigating greater global energy instability and widespread chaos.

Greenpeace’s ideograph of crisis is also amplified through the earlier identified ideograph of responsibility, as the organization discusses the large-scale economic and environmental problems connected to the governments’ irresponsible decisions. Greenpeace implicitly argues that the Canadian government’s environmentally irresponsible decision to continue to invest in the tar sands will create disastrous global consequences. The organization argues that the continued development of the tar sands is believed to have a “carbon footprint that will create a global conundrum” (Greenpeace, 2009, p. 39). This “conundrum” is described as “dangerous and uncontrollable climate change” (p. 39). Thus, using the ideograph of crisis as well as that of responsibility, Greenpeace argues that the decisions and actions of the Canadian and Albertan governments have positioned both Canada and the world into a crisis.

I argue that the ideograph of crisis is guided by an underlying ideology of stability. By following an underlying ideology of stability—in which instability is undesirable and potentially representative of a crisis—Greenpeace has portrayed Canada

and the broader world as being in a position of crisis marked by Canadian caused economic and environmental instability. On the domestic level, crisis is characterized as a situation of energy instability. Canada's unstable or crisis situation is articulated through National Resources Canada's claim that "climate change had already unsettled every region of Canada with extreme weather events such as ice storms and unprecedented flooding, as well as large insect infestation in North America (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 41). At the international level, crisis is also described as a situation of instability. The organization argues that as a result of the Canadian government's rapid development of the tar sands, the government is "unsettling one of the world's great carbon storehouses: The Boreal forest" (p. 30). Moreover, as aforementioned, Greenpeace identifies Canada's development of the tar sands as a "tipping point" (p. 39), a "bomb" (p.39), a "catastrophic exercise" (p. 40) leading the world to an unstable or "volatile energy future" (p. 43). Thus, through its language and arguments, Greenpeace places both Canada and the world in positions of crisis marked by Canadian-caused economic and environmental instability.

Ideology of Reputation: Shame Ideograph

Shame represents an ideograph conveyed throughout the document as Greenpeace engages in comparative analyses. Greenpeace (2009) consistently cites cases in which Canada ranks poorly in global environmental-based comparisons, thereby portraying Canada's status as being inferior to other higher ranked or comparatively more environmentally friendly nations. For example, the Conference Board of Canada is cited as ranking Canada "16th on emissions per capita" out of 17 peer nations in the OECD (p. 10). Canada is also cited as having received a "D" from the Board for "poor performance

on GHG emissions” (as quoted by Greenpeace, 2009, p. 10). Canada is thus depicted as being comparatively inferior, where the country is labeled as “one of the world’s most wasteful consumers of energy” (p. 12), and is sarcastically “championed as a global leader in the exploitation of GHG-intensive fuels” (p. 40). By engaging an ideology in which Canadians attach a sense of pride to their global reputation, Greenpeace is able to attach feelings of shame to the government’s economically and environmentally irresponsible actions.

At the domestic level, Greenpeace identifies the comparatively high rate of environmental damage caused by Canada’s tar sands in an effort to, again, shame the country. Canada’s tar sands are cited as “outpac[ing] emissions from Canada’s two largest sectors of carbon producers: Transportation, and electricity and heating” (p. 19). In another example, the intensity of the emissions from the Canadian tar sands projects are emphasized through international comparisons, where Greenpeace argues that they “foul the atmosphere at a pollution rate greater than that of many medium-sized European nations and of most African nations” (p. 19). Greenpeace also argues that “to many international observers, Canada’s objections to effective action simply mirror the selfish interests of a power tar sands lobby that wants to accelerate oil exports” (p. 32). I argue that the ideograph of shame is guided by an underlying ideology of reputation in which Canada and thus Canadians are seen as being competitively concerned about their standing in the world. By articulating the actions of the federal government as shameful and disreputable, Greenpeace implicitly emphasizes an ideological standpoint that prioritizes national standing and international perceptions of Canada and Canadians.

Interpellation

Greenpeace's articulation of the ideographs of responsibility, evidence, collective action, crisis and shame and their underlying (operative) ideologies of centralized power, truth, cooperation, stability and reputation, collectively construct particular Canadian identities. As discussed in the previous subsection (and more extensively in the previous chapter), I argue that if the audience accepts the organization's arguments, it suggests that they have also consequently accepted the underlying ideologies guiding these arguments, and thus have engaged in (or been interpellated by) an understanding of themselves as conveyed by such ideological articulations. Thus, before analyzing the particular rhetorical interpellation that Greenpeace's rhetoric constructs, it is first important to identify who the organization's target audience is to determine whose identity may be interpellated.

While Greenpeace doesn't specifically identify its target audience, the organization's focus on Canada and its demonization of the Canadian and Albertan governments suggests that, (as with the NRTEE), Greenpeace is likely targeting the Canadian public. For example, Greenpeace applies the ideograph of responsibility and its underlying ideology of centralized government to shift the focus of its rhetoric away from a direct discussion of climate change and towards the current state or quality of governmental leadership in Canada. Greenpeace is careful to simply condemn the actions of the governments, as the recommendation of alternative actions would suggest that its rhetoric is targeting the governments rather than the public.

The organization also appears to have tailored its language so as to be readily understood by the average Canadian who is not necessarily a scientist or a climatologist,

or even an environmentalist. This rhetorical technique is evident as Greenpeace uses easily understood analogies to make its arguments meaningful. For example, Greenpeace states that “if tar sands production grows from 1.3 million barrels a day to three or five million by 2030, the project will emit more CO₂ on an annual basis than all the world’s volcanoes” (p. 19). In this case, Greenpeace chose to frame its data within a relatively simple and easily pictured comparison. Greenpeace’s rhetorical technique of calling for a change in governmental leadership, and articulating its arguments in a manner which is understandable by the average Canadian suggests that the organization’s rhetoric may be designed not only to discuss climate change, but to urge Canadians to make changes within their governments in particular, and consequently within Canada on a broader scale. Thus, Greenpeace’s ideological rhetoric is likely interpellating a particular version of Canadian identity.

As Greenpeace’s rhetoric is guided by the (operative) ideologies of centralized government and reputation, the organization interpellates the Canadian people as being tolerant of governmental authority as long as such authority is used in responsible ways. Greenpeace’s critique of the Canadian and Albertan governments suggests that they have a responsibility to act. By establishing government as a vital societal actor, Greenpeace is calling forth a Canadian public that, while respecting this position of government, also harbors particular expectations or standards of responsibility that government must meet. Such expectations are expressed through Greenpeace’s interpellation of Canadians as a people who understand and value truth to be comprised of evidence-based decision-making. As Greenpeace’s rhetoric is also guided by an (operative) ideology of truth as derived from credible and accurate evidence-based decision-making, the organization

implicitly portrays a responsible and truthful government as that which engages evidence. Canadians are therefore interpellated as a people who expect their governments to act responsibly and truthfully by engaging in credible and accurate evidence-based decision-making.

Canadian identity is also shaped by Greenpeace's underlying (operative) ideologies of cooperation and reputation as expressed through the ideographs of collective action and shame respectively. As Greenpeace conveys the Canadian government's controversial and uncooperative actions as having effectively alienated Canada within the world, the organization seemingly hails a people who desire collective international action as a means of establishing cooperative and peaceful relationships within the world. Yet, as Canada's environmental record is portrayed as being detrimental to the nation's reputation, Greenpeace seemingly constructs Canadians as a people who are also concerned with their standing or reputation in the world. Thus, Canadians are seemingly identified as a people who desire internationally cooperative actions to ensure that their global reputation is upheld.

Canadians are also interpellated through Greenpeace's rhetoric as a people who value stability. As Greenpeace articulates the state of impending domestic and global crisis, as depicted through the environmental and economic instability being aggravated by Canada's development of its tar sands, the organization seems to interpellate Canadians as despising crisis and chaos, and thus as desiring actions that will lead to greater stability. Canadians who adopt this construction of their identity would consequently value collective action, as well as the reputation and global stability that collective (climate-based) action is suggested to create. Thus, collectively, Canadians are

being interpellated as a people who desire a centralized government that is both truthful to its people, and that engages in collective or collaborative action that is mindful of, and functions to uphold, the nation's greater global reputation and global stability.

Section 3: Friends of Science

The third section of this chapter identifies the ideologies guiding the Friends of Science's rhetoric (2013) within its document entitled, "Climate Change Science." The document was written by Ken Gregory, the director of the Friends of Science organization. While the document was originally published on August 30, 2007, the Friends of Science has reposted a number of revised versions of this document on their website. Therefore, I have analyzed a more recent version of the document, revised as of January 8, 2013. Within this revised document, as with its previous versions, the Friends of Science has applied a number of scientific arguments primarily regarding the state and nature of climate change. While the Friends of Science (2013) states that climate change is happening, they argue that it is not an anthropogenic phenomenon. The Friends of Science argues that climate change is a naturally occurring phenomenon, and they claim that any action taken to mitigate the effects of climate change is unnecessary and consequently, is a waste of time and money.

In this subsection, I argue that there are three key (operative) ideologies guiding the Friends of Science's rhetoric within its document: 1) An ideology of the natural world as distinct from humanity; 2) An ideology of the world as a hierarchy in which humanity sits at the top; and 3) An ideology of science as affording truth or certainty and legitimacy. The organization articulates these ideologies through the ideographs of naturalness, benefit, scientific method and scientific conviction. In the final part of this

subsection, I argue that the ideological rhetoric applied by the Friends of Science has interpellated Canadians as a people who see themselves as distinct from and more important than their environment. The distinction between Canadians and the world is seemingly fueled by a sense of self-preservation held by all of humanity; humanity strives to understand that which is different from itself in order to maintain its dominance in the world. In addition to this notion of natural dominance, Canadians, are also interpellated as being a careful, contemplative people. This version of Canadian identity emphasizes a value on science and scientific techniques as deriving greater truth and certainty of the world. Thus, Canadians are interpellated as meticulously striving for a precise and definite understanding of the world by carefully adhering to an ideology of modern science.

Ideology of the Natural World: Naturalness Ideograph

The ideograph of naturalness is articulated by the Friends of Science (2013) in its portrayal of climate change as a natural phenomenon. The ideograph is used as a means to position climate change in such a way as to relieve humanity of its responsibilities towards the issue. The Friends of Science argues that climate change is based on the changing nature of the sun and that “the Earth-sun orbital changes are the principal causes of long term climate change” (p. 42). The Friends of Science claims that “the Earth's history shows that the climate has always been changing, over both short-term and long-term time scales...changes have sometimes been abrupt and severe, without any help from humans” (p. 10). The Friends of Science argues that by examining the Earth’s history of climate change, it is evident that “human activity could not have had a significant effect on the temperature changes before 1900...[thus climate] changes are the

result of natural processes” (p. 14). Moreover, the Friends of Science suggests that climate change is being felt across the solar system, as “several planets and moons have warmed recently along with the Earth, [thereby] confirming a natural sun caused warming trend” (p. 4).

By depicting climate change as a natural phenomenon, the Friends of Science seemingly invokes an ideology of the natural world, where nature or the natural state of things is presumed to be distinct from the “human world.” Through an ideograph of naturalness as guided by an ideology of the natural world, the Friends of Science seems to make the argument that as humanity is distinct from nature, and as climate change is a natural phenomenon, then climate change is consequently distinct from humanity. By positioning climate change as a natural phenomenon, climate change is understood as an event that is neither caused by human action nor requires human management. The Friends of Science argues that “the general public...[has been] seriously misled on climate issues resulting in wasteful expenditures of billions of dollars in an ineffective attempt to control climate” (2013, p. 2). Thus, this ideological and rhetorical argument functions to effectively release humanity from having such “needless” responsibility for climate change.

Ideology of the World as a Hierarchy: Benefit Ideograph

The ideograph of “benefit” is articulated by the Friends of Science (2013) through its discussion of the positive aspects or benefits of climate change. Initially the ideograph is articulated through the Friends of Science’s discussion of the benefits of CO₂ emissions. Specifically, the Friends of Science highlights the beneficial nature of CO₂ as “generally increas[ing] bio-productivity” (p. 55). The organization cites studies that have

shown that “the more [CO₂] in the air, the better [plants] function and the more productive they become” (p. 58). The organization’s emphasis on plant productivity is presented as a means for humanity to avoid “a Malthusian disaster” (Friends of Science, 2013, p. 55). Thus, increasing CO₂ emissions is articulated not only as a benefit to humans and to the Earth, but also as a necessary requirement to address the needs of the growing global population. The organization states that “fortunately, the increase in CO₂ concentrations will substantially enhance crop yields...allow[ing] us to produce sufficient agricultural commodities to feed the growing population” (Friends of Science, 2013, p. 58).

The Friends of Science also identifies the benefits of climate change to the forestry industry as the organization argues that “the CO₂ fertilization effect will increase the rate of forest growth and CO₂ induced crop yield increases will reduce the pressures to cut down forests for farmland expansion” (2013, p. 4). Along with plant productivity, however, the organization also articulates the ideograph of “benefits” in its discussion of the comfort and health benefits that climate change could afford to humanity. For example, the organization argues that “for Canada, any CO₂ warming effect would...benefit us by reducing our space heating costs and making a more pleasant climate” (2013, p. 4). Greater warmth is argued as “be[ing] beneficial to human health, especially for the elderly” (2013, p. 4). The Friends of Science argues that “changes in temperature are typically associated with inverse changes in death rates” (2013, p. 150).

The Friends of Science applies the ideograph of “benefit” to present climate change as the ultimate solution to many human problems; where humanity might have once been threatened by its growing numbers, where industry might have once been

threatened by limited resources, and where human health might have once been compromised by cold temperatures, climate change is presented as resolving these issues. Yet, these benefits are presented by the Friends of Science as broadly held benefits to all of nature, rather than as specifically *human* benefits. For example, rather than identifying humanity's population growth itself as a global sustainability problem, the organization portrays it simply as an example of how climate change will benefit the world: Satisfying the food demands of humanity. The Friends of Science does not engage in a discussion of the global impacts of human growth, or in a discussion of industry's damaging practices. The Friends of Science also does not discuss the challenges that may arise as a result of people having longer lifespans. Rather, the organization seemingly applies an ideological perspective of the world as existing within a hierarchical structure, with humanity as occupying a most (or perhaps the most) important position in the world. Thus, any climate change that serves to benefit humanity is therefore, unquestionably, a positive development.

Ideology of Science as Affording Truth, Legitimacy, and Certainty

The scientific method ideograph. As the Friends of Science (2013) emphasizes the particular techniques of modern science in an effort to establish and clarify what constitutes a "fact," the organization applies an ideograph of the scientific method. The ideograph is articulated primarily through the organization's expressed values of objective, observable, accurate, and reproducible data. The ideograph of the scientific method, and the subsequent values of objectivity and of accurate and verifiable data, are primarily rhetorically expressed as the Friends of Science emphasizes the unscientific nature of the climate claims made by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

(IPCC). The rhetorical articulation of the scientific method ideograph is seemingly guided by an underlying ideology that ascribes legitimacy and truth to the findings of modern science. Such an ideology affords a high degree of certainty and authority to facts or statements derived from objective and verifiable data. Therefore, as the Friends of Science emphasizes the science behind its own findings and the unscientific nature of the IPCC's findings, the underlying ideology of science conveys a sense of legitimacy and truth to the Friends of Science, and discredits the unscientific beliefs and arguments of the IPCC.

Initially, the IPCC is portrayed as failing to properly apply the scientific method by engaging incorrect data and faulty climate models. The Friends of Science claims that “the IPCC has ignored...peer-reviewed research that has cast even more doubt on the hypothesis of dangerous human-caused global warming” (p. 131). The organization also argues that the IPCC has “select[ed] and adjust[ed] data to conform to its CO2 warming hypothesis...ignor[ing] alternative climate theories” (p. 4). The Friends of Science also criticizes studies of the IPCC that have used “faulty algorithm[s], and the inappropriate selection of data” (p. 4). Moreover, the Friends of Science states that “there is little scientific back-up for the...[data] used by the IPCC” (p. 112). Thus, as the IPCC has ignored the rules of the scientific method and subjectively selected only certain scientific studies to support its theories, and has manipulated its data, the subsequent findings are portrayed as being unscientific and therefore as incorrect.

Throughout the document the Friends of Science also portrays the IPCC as presenting findings that are unsupported by actual climate data. For example, the organization states that “the [IPCC's] computer models predict that the 20th-century

temperatures should have increased by 1.6 to 3.74 Celsius, while the actual observed 20th-century temperature increase was about 0.6 Celsius” (p. 62). As a result of the contradictory nature of the model’s findings, the organization states that the IPCC’s models are “useless” (p. 62), are a “robust failure” (p. 73), and are “fundamentally wrong” (p. 115). Such language is implicitly translated onto the IPCC itself; the IPCC is consequently conveyed as useless, and as a failure that is fundamentally wrong about climate change.

Moreover, as the IPCC fails to adhere to the scientific method, the Friends of Science portrays the IPCC’s findings as not only inaccurate, but as illogical.

We know that the CO₂ theory of climate change requires the troposphere to warm faster than the surface, but the opposite has happened. It is illogical to believe that CO₂ is the primary temperature driver and concurrently [to] believe that the surface measurements used [by] the IPCC are accurate. (Friends of Science, 2013, p. 123)

By portraying the scientific method (or modern science more broadly) as logical, any methodological deviation consequently becomes illogical; thus as the IPCC’s findings are shown to be unscientific and are described as being “illogical,” the organization itself is implicitly portrayed as being illogical and thus as implicitly being irrational. In other words, through the ideograph of the scientific method and its associated ideology of science as truth and legitimacy, the findings of the IPCC are not only discredited, but the organization itself is disgraced.

The ideograph of the scientific method is also articulated through the organization’s expressed value of reproducible or verified data. The Friends of Science

expresses this particular articulation of the ideograph as it repeatedly expresses the scientific consensus surrounding its own claims and the lack of consensus regarding the IPCC claims. The Friends of Science often introduces its claims with the following prefixes: “Many studies have shown” (p. 112), or “the bulk of scientific studies show” (p. 150), as well as, “most scientist[s] agree” (p. 121), and “several studies have found” (p. 153). For example, when the Friends of Science argues that climate change is a natural phenomenon driven by the sun rather than by anthropogenic causes, the organization identifies the scientific validation for this perspective by stating that “numerous papers published in major peer-reviewed scientific journals shows the sun is the primary driver of climate change” (p. 19). In contrast, this same ideographic technique is also used by the Friends of Science to discredit the findings of the IPCC. For example, the organization argues that “many scientists strongly disagree with the IPCC[’s] conclusions” (p. 5). Thus, as the Friends of Science portrays its own claims as being based on many scientific studies, it implicitly seeks to establish its own legitimacy, and as it critiques the unscientific nature of the IPCC, it implicitly seeks to discredit the IPCC.

Scientific conviction ideograph. Scientific conviction represents an ideograph employed within the Friends of Science’s (2013) rhetoric to emphasize the certainty or the unquestionable nature of the Friends of Science’s science-based climate data and climate claims. As mentioned in the earlier subsection, the Friends of Science proclaims its data to be fundamentally scientific and therefore true, yet as the organization articulates the ideograph of scientific conviction, it goes one step further by articulating such truths as certainties. The ideograph of scientific conviction is evident within the particular vocabulary the Friends of Science uses to denote the certainty of its findings.

The organization identifies its own claims as being not just supported by evidence (as discussed in the previous subsection) but as derived from the “real world” and therefore as correct and certain (p. 46, 54, 132, 142). Subsequently, as the Friends of Science articulates its own claims as being supported by “real-world observational evidence” (p. 92), it represents such findings as actual or sure understandings of climate change. For example, the Friends of Science argues that “actual temperature data...*proves*...that CO₂ is not the main climate driver” (p. 4, emphasis added). It also states that “the comparison of observed data to computer models *proves* that no such water vapor induced warming amplification exists, so CO₂ is not the main climate driver” (p. 4, emphasis added). It is also argued that “the ice core data *proves* that CO₂ is not a primary climate driver” (p. 19, emphasis added).

The organization also conveys the ideograph of conviction in its critique of the IPCC’s climate models. By emphasizing the science-based conviction informing its critiques, the Friends of Science articulates an underlying ideology of science-based certainty as it emphasizes the falseness of the IPCC’s unscientific climate perspectives. The Friends of Science applies the ideograph of conviction by stating that “all the models have the feedback in the wrong direction, confirming that the models are fundamentally wrong” (p. 115). In its critique of the IPCC’s scientific research on the land temperatures, it claims that “this is the wrong way to do science (p. 4, 5). Thus, as the ideograph of conviction is used to afford legitimacy and validity to the climate claims of the Friends of Science, it is also engaged to afford a similar sense of absolute certainty to the falseness of the IPCC’s climate claims.

The ideograph of scientific conviction is also articulated in the particular climate

theory comparisons the organization makes in which its own climate theories are articulated as having won or beaten the IPCC's climate theories. Within its document, the Friends of Science created a table comparing the IPCC's CO₂-based climate theories to its own sun and cosmic ray warming climate theories (see Figure 6). The Friends of Science created a table with five columns: The first is entitled "Issue." Six key climate issues are presented under this column within the tables' six rows. Such climate issues include "Antarctic and Arctic Temperatures" and "Troposphere Temperatures" for example (p. 54). The second and third columns are entitled "Prediction-CO₂ Theory," and "Prediction-Sun/Cosmic Ray Theory" respectively (p. 54). Thus, along side each of the six climate-issues identified are corresponding predictions of the two opposing climate theories. The fourth column is entitled "Actual Data" which is used to compare to the predictions of the two climate theories. Lastly, the fifth and final column is entitled "Which Theory Wins," and thus the theory whose predictions more closely reflect that which is in the "Actual Data" column is considered as having "won" (p. 54). The Friends of Science's Sun/Cosmic Ray climate theory is identified as having "won" by accurately predicting the "actual data" that occurred in each of the six key climate issues.

In the table comparing the two prominent climate theories of the Friends of Science and the IPCC, the organization demonstrates how the science-based nature of one theory has lead it to "win," thereby verifying its truth and certainty. As the Friends of Science portrays its climate change theories as having won, it articulates the ideograph of scientific conviction by articulating the poof of its own theories as evidenced by their virtue of having scientifically "beat" those of the IPCC. The organization's science-based arguments are thus presented as establishing truth, as proving facts, and finally, as

Issue	Prediction - CO2 Theory	Prediction - Sun/Cosmic Ray Theory	Actual Data	Which Theory Wins
Antarctic and Arctic Temperatures	Temperatures in the Arctic and Antarctic will rise symmetrically	Temperatures will initially move in opposite directions	Temperatures move in opposite directions	Sun/Cosmic Ray
Troposphere Temperature	Fastest warming will be in the troposphere over the tropics	The troposphere warming will be uniform	The surface warming is similar or greater than troposphere warming	Sun/Cosmic Ray
Timing of CO2 and Temperature Changes at End of Ice Age	CO2 increases then temperature increases	Temperature increases then CO2 increases	CO2 concentrations increase about 800 years after temperature increases	Sun/Cosmic Ray
Temperature correlate with the driver over last 400 year	na	na	Cosmic ray flux and Sun activity correlates with temperature, CO2 does not	Sun/Cosmic Ray
Temperatures during Ordovician period	Very hot due to CO2 levels > 10X present	Very cold due to high cosmic ray flux	Very cold ice age	Sun/Cosmic Ray
Other Planets' Climate	No change	Other planets will warm	Warming has been detected on several other planets	Sun/Cosmic Ray

Figure 6. CO2 theory versus the sun/cosmic ray warming theory chart (p. 54). This Figure illustrates the Friends of Science's comparison between the IPCC's CO2 theory of climate change and its own sun/cosmic ray climate theory.

effectively beating or being more legitimate than that which is not scientific. As a result of the rhetoric of the ideographs of the scientific method and certainty, the climate data and climate claims presented by the Friends of Science are portrayed as being not only

true, but as absolutely and unquestionably certain. Thus, the ideograph of scientific conviction is guided by a similar ideology as that guiding the scientific method ideograph: an ideology that ascribes truth and certainty to the findings of modern science. This ideology identifies science-based claims or “truths” as sure facts, as “proving” particular perspectives and disproving others.

Interpellation

Prior to analyzing the particular rhetorical interpellations of the Friends of Science’s (2013) rhetoric, it is important to first identify who their target audience is to determine whose identity they are seeking to interpellate. At the outset, the Friends of Science states that it is their goal “to educate the public through dissemination of relevant, balanced and objective technical information on the scientific merit of the Kyoto Protocol and the global warming issue” (p. 2). Although the Friends of Science is based in Calgary, Alberta, the organization has received national attention through the Globe and Mail, and continues to lobby across the country, promoting information conferences on the myth of climate change (Montgomery, 2006). Thus, as the Friends of Science has garnered attention across the country, it is assumed that the “public” being targeted by the organization is the Canadian public.

It is also evident that the Friends of Science maintains this target audience throughout the document despite the organization’s heavy emphasis on scientific terminology and technical language. To ensure that the average Canadian—who is likely neither a scientist nor a climatologist—understands the Friends of Science’s arguments, the organization summarizes its scientific arguments in plain language. For example, while the Friends of Science states that carbon dioxide “boost[s] the net photosynthetic

rate of the foliage” (p. 55), it also summarizes this sentiment by stating that “since atmospheric CO₂ is the basic ‘food’ of nearly all plants, the more of it there is in the air, the better they function and the more productive they become” (p. 58). Thus, despite its heavy focus on the science underlying climate change, the Friends of Science still rhetorically constructs its arguments to target the average Canadian, and therefore its rhetorical ideological arguments function to interpellate Canadian identity.

As the Friends of Science’s rhetoric is guided by the (operative) ideologies of the natural world and the world as a hierarchy, the organization interpellates Canadian people who see themselves as being distinct from and more important than the world in which they live. As the Friends of Science positions climate change as a natural phenomenon and applies the underlying ideology of the natural world as distinct from humanity or the “human world,” the organization is constructing a reality in which Canadians perceive themselves as being disconnected from their environment. As the Friends of Science argues that the nature of climate change is beneficial by focusing solely on the human benefits, the organization is interpellating Canadian society as a people who believe humanity to be more important than the world in which it exists, and as a people who would only act to address issues that concern humanity directly.

In addition to these particular interpellations, Canadians are also interpellated as desiring greater truth and certainty of the world. This desire is characterized through the Friends of Science’s ideological and rhetorical discussion of the importance of science. Through its articulations of this ideology, the Friends of Science interpellates the Canadian people as not only valuing truth and knowledge as derived by science, but as seeking scientific truths as a means of establishing greater certainty in the world. Through

the ideograph of the scientific method, Canadians are interpellated as being a contemplative people; a people who value actions and decisions derived from the application of the particular techniques engaged by modern science as a means of disclosing greater knowledge and understanding of the world. As the Friends of Science carefully adheres to particular scientific techniques, the organization portrays Canadians as consequently desiring such careful and meticulous research as well as seeking the certainty that science provides. Thus, while Canadians are interpellated as viewing themselves as separate from their environment, they are also interpellated as seeking particular scientific actions or methods to understand their environment and fulfill their desire for a sense of certainty about the world.

Section 4: Analysis Summary Tables

This final section of chapter four offers three tables summarizing my analysis of the three documents: The NRTEE, Greenpeace, and the Friends of Science.

NRTEE			
Ideologies	Ideographs	Arguments	Interpellation
Economy	Economy	Failing to implement a climate policy will place the economy in a risky position Focus on prosperity	Canadians desire a greater distinctive and notable role in the world; stepping out from the shadow of the United States.
	Dependence	Canada's relationship with the United States is a state of economically beneficial dependence	
Autonomy	Distinction	Implementing a climate policy will make Canada into a world "leader" on climate policy. Canadian-made climate policy will help distinguish Canada from the United States	Canadians are cooperative and friendly.
	Unification	Canada is devoid of debate and is in consensus on the nature of climate change. Therefore, Canada is an established autonomous nation.	Canadians are economically cautious concerned with maintaining economic security.

Table 1

Greenpeace			
Ideologies	Ideographs	Arguments	Interpellation
Centralized Government	Responsibility	The governments of Canada and Alberta have acted in a financially and environmentally irresponsible manner, thus questioning their credibility as powerful actors in society.	<p>Canadians are a people who tolerate centralized government, maintain expectations of responsible action.</p> <p>Responsible action is a desire of Canadians, and is understood as value of truth expressed as evidence-based decision-making.</p> <p>Canadians seek out collective action to establish a prominent global reputation and uphold national and global stability and order.</p>
Truth	Evidence	The governments of Canada and Alberta have failed to heed the advice of experts, which have critiqued the effectiveness of technological solutions to climate change and have condemned the government's decision to sell off its peatlands. As a result, the governments are portrayed as acting in a false and untruthful manner.	
Cooperation	Collective Action	As the governments have failed to engage in the Kyoto accord and spoken out against global climate-action they have failed to engage in international collective action, and have obstructed international action.	
Stability	Crisis	<p>Crisis is characterized as a situation of energy instability where nuclear power is cannibalizing than nation's resources.</p> <p>It is also occurring as a result of the Canadian government's rapid development of the tar sands which are leading the world to an unstable energy future.</p>	
Reputation	Shame	Canada's poor ranking in global environmental-based comparisons conveys a sense of shame due to the country's inferior status	

Table 2

Friends of Science			
Ideologies	Ideographs	Arguments	Interpellation
Natural World	Naturalness	Climate change is described as a natural phenomenon occurring throughout Earth's history and on many planets within the solar system.	<p>Canadians are people who see themselves as distinct from and more important than the greater world in which they exist.</p> <p>Such distinction and importance functions to create a desire within Canadians for a greater truthful and certain understanding of the world.</p> <p>Canadians are also a carefully contemplative people that value science and scientific techniques as deriving greater truth and certainty of the world.</p> <p>Thus, as Canadians desire greater certainty and truths of the world such truths and certainties must be carefully, scientifically established.</p>
World as a Hierarchy	Benefit	Human benefits of climate change (i.e. longer life spans and greater industrial opportunities) are portrayed as indicating the beneficial nature of climate change for the entire world.	
Science as Affording Truth and Certainty	Scientific Method	The ideograph of the scientific method and the subsequent value of objectivity and of accurate and verifiable data is used to demonstrate the scientific nature of the organization's claims, and the unscientific nature of the claims of the IPCC.	
	Scientific Conviction	The ideograph of scientific conviction is evident within the particular vocabulary the Friends of Science uses to denote the certainty of its findings.	

Table 3

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

In this final chapter, I apply the ideological and rhetorical theories I explored earlier in the theory and methods chapter to the findings of the analyses. In the theory and methods chapter, I argued that the ideologies underlying the rhetoric of the NRTEE, Greenpeace, and the Friends of Science represented Michael McGee's (1975) notion of political myths: perspectives of the world that are comprised of particular combinations of societal ideologies. Using Siniša Malešević's (2006) theory, I argued that the ideologies guiding the political myths of societal groups like the NRTEE, Greenpeace, and the Friends of Science represent the operative rhetorical interpretations of normative Canadian ideologies. In this chapter, I apply Malešević's (2006) conception of normative and operative societal ideologies to the similarities that exist between the three documents' underlying (operative) ideologies. I argue that there are three instances in which the NRTEE, Greenpeace, and the Friends of Science share similar operative ideological expressions. I argue that such similarities could indicate that there is a shared set of normative ideologies inherent to Canadian society influencing the organizations' rhetoric.

The first operative ideological similarity is prevalent within all three documents. Each organization expresses similar ideological rhetoric that focuses on how climate change (and its associated policies) may affect the affairs of Canadians, rather than exploring how climate change might affect the Canadian environment. The second operative ideological similarity is evident as the NRTEE and Greenpeace similarly focus on Canada's standing in the world, while the third operative ideological similarity is evident as Greenpeace and the Friends of Science each emphasize the importance of a

particular perspective of truth. I argue that such ideological similarities may indicate a shared set of normative or fundamental Canadian ideologies guiding the rhetoric in these three documents. In this chapter I argue that the first operative ideological similarity is occurring as each organization is likely drawing from a normative ideology of humanity. I argue that the second operative ideological similarity is occurring as both the NRTEE and Greenpeace are each drawing on a normative ideology of authority. Lastly, I argue that the third operative ideological similarity is occurring as both Greenpeace and the Friends of Science are each drawing on a normative ideology of truth.

As I reveal the shared set of normative ideologies that may be guiding such rhetoric, I also uncover more fundamental or normative versions of Canadian identity. As with the normative ideologies inherent to Canadian society, normative versions of Canadian identity are also being collectively, though differently, shaped through the three Canadian political myths of climate change analyzed in this thesis. Consequently, I identify some of the ways in which the underlying ideologies of Canadian climate change rhetoric may be influencing how Canadians perceive themselves, and how this perception might affect the governments' policy responses to climate change.

Yet, as I mentioned near the end of chapter three, Michael McGee (1980) argues that ideologies (and the identities they interpellate) must be diachronically (historically) analyzed in order to generate a complete understanding of a society's ideological rhetoric. Consequently, I apply a brief diachronic analysis to the "normative" identities being interpellated by the more normative ideologies evident within the climate change rhetoric I have analyzed. While the depth of this diachronic analysis is limited, it functions to support the proposed "normative" nature of the determined identities and

ideologies by demonstrating how such identities and ideologies might have originated and been established within Canadian society.

Normative Ideologies and Interpellations

Normative Ideology of Humanity

The first operative ideological similarity is evident as all three organizations focus on impacts that climate change or climate change policy will have on Canadians, rather than simply upon the Canadian environment. Such a focus is evident within the NRTEE's rhetoric as its operative ideologies of economy and autonomy function to emphasize the financial burdens and political opportunities associated with climate change policy development. For example, the NRTEE stresses the financial costs that may result should the government decide against the implementation of a national climate policy. This focus seems to prioritize the economy over the environment as the NRTEE pays little attention to the seemingly more apparent environmental risks of such a decision. Furthermore, as the NRTEE recommends a national harmonization policy, the Canadian economy is again seemingly prioritized over that of the Canadian environment as such a policy ensures that Canada maintains its strong economic ties with the United States (potentially at the cost of the environment). Canadian leadership or standing in the world also seemingly takes precedence to the environment. The NRTEE presents its recommended climate policy as the means by which Canada may distinguish itself from the United States as a leader on climate policy implementation, rather than merely as a means for greater environmental protection.

In a similar fashion, both Greenpeace and the Friends of Science emphasize the political and social issues associated with climate change and climate change policy

rather than emphasizing the seemingly more apparent environmental issues. For example, Greenpeace's operative ideology of reputation guides the organization's rhetoric to portray Canada's comparatively inferior international environmental standing and its governments' uncooperative actions as politically shameful rather than as environmentally damaging. While the Friends of Science applies a significantly different perspective of climate change than Greenpeace, the organization also similarly focuses on the "human" implications of climate change. For example, rather than simply arguing that climate change is a natural phenomenon, the Friends of Science applies a hierarchical perspective of the world, consequently focusing on the benefits that climate change will have for Canadian health and Canadian life spans. Thus, the organizations apply operative ideologies that focus on the economic, political, social and biological implications that climate change and its associated policies might have for Canadians. As a result, the organizations are seemingly drawing on a more normative Canadian ideology of humanity as a preeminent species existing autonomously apart from the environment.

This normative ideology initially appears to portray Canadian society in a somewhat negative light, as a people who are naively preoccupied with humanity as artificially severed from the environment. Yet, a historical perspective of Canadian society not only emphasizes the normative nature of such an ideology, but portrays it in a more favorable light. Stephen Brooks (2009) argues that for most of the nation's history, "Canada's sense of community has often seemed terribly fragile, threatened by French/English tensions, Western grievances against Ontario and Quebec, and most recently, conflicts between the aspirations of Aboriginal Canadians and the policies of the federal and provincial governments" (p. 47). Samuel Laselva similarly argues that "for

Canadians, the most basic challenge is to come to terms with their own diversity” (2009, p. 18). Despite such tensions or challenges, Canada has managed to create and preserve “one of the oldest and most durable” constitutions in the world (Brooks, 2009, p. 47). As the nation’s immigrant and refugee populations continue to rise, the country will likely only continue its practice of mitigating human differences. From this historical perspective, Canadians’ fundamental or normative ideology of humanity may have shaped and been shaped by its long-standing practice of moderating human conflicts, rather than environmental or geographical conflicts.

Interpellation from the normative ideology of humanity. The normative ideological foundation of the organizations’ operative ideological interpellations suggests that as Canadians prospectively value human affairs over environmental affairs, they consequently see themselves as a people that are engaging in important humanistic actions. While each organization interpellates Canadians slightly differently—as a people that prioritize economic, political or social aspects of society—Canadians are being fundamentally portrayed as deeply invested in the mitigation or resolution of societal issues. As a result of such investment, unless climate action is portrayed as benefiting humanity or as resolving human conflicts, Canadians are less likely to appreciate its importance, and thus, they are less likely to implement it. For example, if a changing climate is seen as a benefit to Canadians, then they may follow the recommendations of the Friends of Science and simply ignore or even celebrate the changing climate.

Thus, regardless of whether Canadians are interpellated by the ideological rhetoric of one organization or the other, this particular analysis of Canadian ideological rhetoric suggests that Canadians may fundamentally view themselves through a lens of

individualism. Rather than engaging a holistic view of themselves within their environmental context—a perspective such as that we might expect from a more Aboriginal way of understanding the world—Canadians are portrayed as people who see themselves as separate from the environment. While this normative interpellation does not bode well for climate policy, it solidifies a particular role for Canadians in the world: As a people concerned about human affairs and intent upon establishing a place in which socio-cultural differences can collectively and peacefully exist.

Normative Ideology of Authority

While both the NRTEE and Greenpeace similarly focus on human affairs in general, they also both emphasize the importance of Canada's standing in the world in particular. The NRTEE implicitly argues that a national climate policy will afford Canada a more distinctive role in the world, while Greenpeace implicitly argues that a national climate policy will afford Canada a more respected standing in the world. These particular expressions of Canada's standing in the world convey a second ideological rhetorical similarity, as both organizations may be drawing from a normative ideology that sees authority as both a public desire and a governmental prerogative.

As previously mentioned, Canada's history has been built around actions mitigating cultural tensions; however, the nature of such tensions were often manifested through instances of "broadly shared perceptions of regional injustice," or diverse and competing desires for greater authority in the country (Bickerton & Gagnon, 2009, p. 80). James Bickerton and Alain Gagnon (2009) argue that such tensions were often manifested through regional differences of "Western alienation, Maritime disaffection, Newfoundland neo-nationalism and Quebec nationalism" (p. 80). Yet, Stephen Brooks

(2009) argues that throughout Canada's history of regional and cultural desires for greater authority, "Canadians...[have often] look[ed] to government to meet their needs" (p. 61).

The Canadian government has evidently been afforded significant authority over the lives of Canadians as it continues to play a large role in the redistribution of wealth and health care to all Canadians (Brooks, 2009). Moreover, as the Canadian government has actively promoted cultural values of bilingualism and multiculturalism, these strategies have implicitly helped to mitigate alternative claims to its preeminent authority (Brooks, 2009). Thus, as the NRTEE and Greenpeace both express the need for greater climate-policy action as a means through which Canada could acquire a more distinctive or respected position in the world, they seemingly draw from this normative ideological desire for authority as facilitated and advanced by the government.

Interpellation from the normative ideology of authority. While the organizations rhetorically interpellate Canadians slightly differently—as a people that are either unsure of how to differentiate themselves from the United States, or as a people that are unsure of their place in the world—both organizations portray Canadians as an insecure people desiring greater governmental control, versus individual accountability. If Canadians are as insecure as is suggested, and if they view authority as a necessary governmental prerogative, then they would theoretically be more likely to support a more radical national climate change policy that requires significant political changes. As the government's implementation of such changes would likely afford Canada a greater sense of authority on climate change policy in the world, Canada and Canadians would also likely be afforded a recognized role and renowned identity as leaders in climate policy.

Normative Ideology of Truth

The third ideological rhetorical similarity is evident as both Greenpeace and the Friends of Science similarly express truth as existing objectively. For example, Greenpeace's operative ideology of truth functions to portray the Canadian government's climate-policy decisions as failing to engage in a truthful understanding of climate change. The organization implicitly argues that truth is that which is supported by credible sources. The Friends of Science, on the other hand, express truth through its ideology of science. The organization claims that the true nature of climate change can only be determined by carefully applying the techniques of modern science. Consequently, the Friends of Science portrays truth as the outcome of scientific research. While the Friends of Science emphasizes the scientific nature of truth to greater degree than Greenpeace, both organizations seem to be drawing from a more normative or fundamental ideological understanding of truth as an objective concept: something that can be empirically realized or determined.

In Canadian society, truth is seemingly understood through two distinctive knowledge systems: 1) Aboriginal traditional knowledge; and 2) Western Science. Aboriginal traditional knowledge is described as being comprised of "complex interactions and relationships among peoples (indigenous and nonindigenous), situations, experiences, observations, and practices" (Davies, 2006, p. 149). Consequently, this knowledge system seemingly applies a subjective understanding of truth, as dependent upon each individual's particular situations, experiences, observations and practices (Davies, 2006). While this particular knowledge system is prevalent amongst many of Canada's Aboriginal people, Canada's European immigrants brought a different

understanding of truth to Canadian society. This knowledge system, generally referred to as Western science, has been defined as a knowledge system that holds “claims to truth or authority...[as] derived from facts” (Davis, 2006, p. 146). From this perspective, truth is understood objectively where one might identify or deduce the ultimate truths of the world rather than construct them subjectively from one’s own experiences. As Greenpeace and the Friends of Science emphasize an objective understanding of truth, the organizations seem to draw on a normative ideology of truth such as that portrayed by Western science.

While Canadian society has been theoretically shaped around both objective and subjective notions of truth, the objective notions as prescribed by Western science represent dominant viewpoints in Canada as well as within much of the developed world. Consequently, although an objective, evidence-based notion of truth is not entirely representative of all Canadians’ beliefs or ideologies of truth, it has prospectively played the most significant role in shaping Canadians’ understandings of truth relative to climate change. Therefore I argue that—as the ideological rhetoric of Greenpeace and the Friends of Science suggests—Canadians are more likely to hold a normative ideological understanding of truth as existing within objective reality; a notion that can be identified or revealed.

Interpellation from the normative ideology of truth. As Greenpeace and the Friends of Science operatively interpret a normative ideology of truth, they subsequently interpellate Canadians in similar ways. For example, Greenpeace interpellates Canadians as a people who value truth as an objective concept, and as a people who only accredit actions that stem from such an understanding of truth. The Friends of Science

interpellates Canadians as a careful people who do not rush into action blindly. Canadians are portrayed as a people who carefully apply scientific techniques as a means of contemplating the true nature of the world, and subsequently, as a means of carefully determining what actions (if any) may be required. Thus, both organizations interpellate Canadians as valuing truth as the means through which one might correctly respond (or not respond) to issues like climate change. This more normative interpellation of Canadians suggests that regardless of whether Canadians are interpellated by the rhetoric of Greenpeace or the Friends of Science, any action (or inaction) towards climate change will have to be grounded within objective, evidence-based, and accessible understandings of their environment.

Conclusions

My research has shown how the rhetorical elements used within Canadian climate change communication may be serving to reconstruct certain societal ideologies, and how such ideologies might be both affecting the Canadian government's policy approaches to climate change and influencing how we perceive ourselves as Canadians. Michael McGee (1987) argues that "the object of a comparative study of ideologies cannot be to argue that one is better than the other...[but] to understand and to defuse each side's perception that the other's commitment [or arguments are]...ingenuine" (p. 433). In other words, by identifying the normative ideological similarities that exist between differing perspectives on climate change, Canadians may begin to develop a clearer understanding of, and better respect for, each other's perspectives on climate change and climate change policy development. Canadian policy makers may also be able to construct more appealing and appropriate policies on climate change that more accurately reflect the

ways in which Canadians understand their place in the world, and how they see themselves responding to this understanding.

For example, while all three organizations recommend differing Canadian policy responses to climate change, a rhetorical ideological analysis reveals that each organization is possibly attempting to protect Canadian society by focusing on the economic (NRTEE), political (Greenpeace), or social (Friends of Science) concerns of Canadians. Moreover while Greenpeace argues for a more pronounced response to climate change than the NRTEE, both organizations seemingly agree that the Canadian government needs to apply a climate-policy immediately. Furthermore, while Greenpeace and the Friends of Science each engage in distinctive understandings of climate change, both organizations apply a similar scientific understanding of truth. In light of these ideological similarities, a rhetorical ideological analysis has functioned to help reveal the underlying similarities between seemingly distinctive and often opposing perspectives on climate change.

Yet, for Canadians and policy makers to engage (or not engage) in policy development built around these normative ideologies, they first must actively engage with the organizations' interpellations of Canadian identity. Michael McGee (1975) and Maurice Charland (1987) argue that it is not simply one's beliefs that will motivate action; rather, action is derived from the ways in which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world. Thus, I argue it is through the rhetorical act of interpellation that one may reveal how these particular operative ideological rhetorical expressions may elicit particular actions from Canadians, and consequently, may influence the ways in which Canada responds to climate change.

Therefore, upon identifying a shared set of normative ideologies, I argue that the organizations' operative interpretations of these three normative ideologies construct three distinct perspectives of Canadians: 1) A people who are deeply invested in the mitigation and resolution of societal issues; 2) An insecure people who desire a greater sense of authority in the world as established by their government; and, 3) A careful people who do not act blindly, but rather seek out objective truth as a means of identifying correct actions. If Canadians understand their identities in some or all of these ways, then they are likely to only engage in a climate change policy that is portrayed as directly benefiting Canadians and not just their environment. Yet, any policy action towards climate change will likely have to be meticulously substantiated with scientific evidence to ensure the support of the Canadian public. By determining the ways in which Canadian identity is being portrayed within particular Canadian political myths on climate change, I have demonstrated how such operative ideologies may be influencing how Canadians perceive themselves, and consequently, how national climate policies may have to be structured to garner their support.

Moreover, beyond the parameters of the purpose of this research—limited to identifying the differing ideologies and identities occurring as an outcome of Canadian climate change communication—the rhetorical ideological approach engaged in this thesis also reveals an important approach to understanding Canadian social issues. The ideological rhetorical analyses engaged within this research have demonstrated the existence of significant underlying ideological similarities within one of the more debated issues of our time. This suggests that rhetorical analysis may be the preeminent tool for

fostering greater cooperation and understanding even in the most controversial or complicated situations.

As discussed earlier, Kenneth Burke (1969b) sees rhetoric as “the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing co-operation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (p. 43). In other words, rhetoric is the tool by which we may look beyond our differences and begin to embrace our similarities. As a hotly debated global issue, climate change represents a primary example of a subject plagued by apparently contradictory opinions. One might assume that Greenpeace and the Friends of Science couldn’t be more different in their perspectives on climate change. Yet, as has been shown in my research, an ideological rhetorical analysis of the diverging perspectives has identified a degree of commonality existing amongst even the most seemingly divergent perspectives. Both organizations, for example, similarly applied an ideology of objective or scientific truth; however, as they applied the perspectives of different scientists, their versions of what constituted “truth” differed greatly. In an age when the term “rhetoric” frequently produces suspicion of manipulation and dishonesty, it may be that this misunderstood academic discipline and approach to understanding the human condition is actually the means through which individuals can create greater trust and cooperation within their national boundaries around the globe.

Ironically, however, the findings of this research suggest that Canadian society may not be moving toward a greater state of cooperation or resolution regarding the issue of climate change. The normative ideology of objective truth suggests that Canadians may fundamentally be a people who are seeking a singular “correct” perspective of the world. Yet, ironically, this ideology is not likely to lead to greater understanding and

cooperation in a society of divergent cultures and interests. This perspective is also not likely to lead Canada towards establishing greater cooperative and representative actions (or inactions) towards climate change, as if there is only one “truth,” then only one perspective on climate change can be correct.

Thus, it is ironic to think that Canadians may possibly be on the wrong (ideological) path to climate change resolution if they are using objective and empirically based truth to inform their policy decisions. I argue that a sustainable Canadian political collective requires that Canadians themselves apply a rhetorical ideological world-view. In other words, only by first allowing for multiple perspectives and multiple truths can one move past (argumentative) differences in order to identify (ideological and identity based) similarities. As Michael McGee argues that rhetoric is material—in the sense that a society comes to accept and apply the constructs of rhetoric within their everyday lives—the identification and acknowledgement of ideological and identity-based similarities within communication likely represents one of the first steps towards creating social change in a society. Thus, only by examining a society’s language can one examine a society’s identity, and only through an understanding of a society’s identity can that society begin to effect purposeful and sustainable social change.

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