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Discursive practices and environmental representations

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DIPARTIMENTO DI PSICOLOGIA
DEI PROCESSI DI SVILUPPO
E SOCIALIZZAZIONE



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Overview

- Historical framework (slides 3-5)
- Theoretical background (slides 6-10)
- Discourse Analysis (DA) and Discursive Psychology (DP) (slides 11-13)
- Research area: Constructions of different discursive frames for the environment (slides 15-30)
- Research 1 (slides 31-69)
- Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment (slides 70-76)
- Research 2 (slides 77-95)
- Research 3 (slides 96-108)

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Historical framework (I): The “crisis” in social psychology

Main criticisms to cognitive social psychology (e.g. Gergen, 1973, 1989; Harrè, Secord, 1972; Potter, Edwards, 1990, Antaki, 1994):

- Explaining cognitive processes independently from contexts of people’s everyday life
- Considering the single individual as the unit of analysis
- Leaving behind the activity of negotiation and social construction people normally and constantly achieve in their social encounters (mainly through ordinary conversation and argumentation)
- Creating its own object of study (the epistemology is circular)

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Historical framework (II): The social-constructionist critique

Two main approaches

- Cognitives activities and products are considered as properties of person-environment transactions (e.g. Gibson, 1979).
- Mental phenomena are considered as properties of social interactions, stressing the importance of the functional adaptability of cognition to the everyday social and cultural context (e.g. Vygotskij, 1987; Bruner, 1986; Gergen, 1985; Hewitt, 1997).

Epistemological assumption

Cognition is conceived as an extension of social behaviour (or action), and as diachronically originating from social interactions and particularly from language and communication as social practices (the so-called socio-genesis of thinking).



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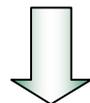
Historical framework (III): The rise of rhetoric in social psychology

- *“Rhetoric can be defined as the theory and practice of eloquence, [...] the whole art of using language to persuade others”* (Forrester, 1996, p. 190), but in a way that looks disinterested: ‘good’ rhetoric is often indirect and oriented toward presenting a partial point of view in terms of shared, factual evidence.
- According to a rhetorical approach to the study of cognition, people’s accounts of actions, descriptions of the world and of mental phenomena are designed to counter actual or potential alternatives (criticisms) and to support a particular view (justifications).
- People’s cognitive activities and products, even apparently “inner” processes, cannot escape the argumentative context and are rhetorically organised (e.g. Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton, Radley, 1988; Billig, 1991).
- The rise of rhetoric in social psychology helps to shift attention from formal and logical principles to the dimensions of persuasiveness and pragmatics as relevant criteria for studying everyday situated actions and cognition.

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Theoretical background (I): Philosophy of language

- For Wittgenstein (1953) the language is a conventional system used to realise specific social actions within a certain social and cultural environment, rather than a logical system of symbols representing an external reality. Referring to the concept of “language games”, linguistic competencies are socially regulated activities with moves and appropriate responses.
- According to Austin’s (1962) speech act theory, to say something is not only to describe but to do something which has practical consequences.



Any utterance is a linguistic act:

- a) locutionary act (creating a specific sense and reference)
- b) illocutionary act (making statement, a promise, a request, etc.)
- c) perlocutionary act (having an effect on the audience)

Language should be studied as an everyday human practice, something people use like a tool to get things done, to accomplish concrete actions in ordinary social interactions.

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Theoretical background (I): Philosophy of language

- According to Grice (1967/1975), conversational acts respond to a general “co-operative principle”: participants in conversational exchanges assume verbal exchanges to be co-operative that is characterised by common and shared goals or directions.
Grice refers also to the notion of “implicature”, as inferential processes speakers and hearers necessarily experience in order to establish meaning.

The “co-operative principle” refers to normative rules, summarised in four maxims:

- a) maxim of quantity (be informative as requested and expected)
- b) be honest (tell the truth)
- c) be relevant (give important and relevant information)
- d) be clear (speak in a clear, ordered and concise manner)



The maxims are abstract and prescriptive

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Theoretical background (II): Conversational Analysis (CA)

- **Object of Analysis:** how people define and produce the nature of the interaction taking place in their everyday conversations.
- **Method:** using ethnomethodology as a analytic strategy. Ethnomethodology has an inductive strategy and gives priority to the study of ordinary people's methods for producing and making sense of everyday social life (e.g. Garfinkel, 1967; Atkinson, Heritage, 1984).
- **Empirical Evidences**
 - a) Talk describes actions, events and situations but also plays a constructive and constitutive role with respect to the very same actions, events and situations (so-called "riflexivity").
 - b) The majority of expressions are "indexical". Their meaning changes depend on their context of use: participants interpret utterances with respect to who the speaker is, who the listener is, what the topic is, what they said previously, etc.
 - c) High generalisation of concrete conversational sequences as locally organised inter-subjectivite structures participants use and orient to in managing everyday social interactions (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974).

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Theoretical background (II): Conversational Analysis (CA)

- **Main assumptions**

a) Interactions' participants do not passively respond to what is happening but actively contribute to produce them.

b) This shared activity of meaning construction has practical consequences in regulating the course of interaction.

c) Any phenomenon should be relevant as such for the participants in the analysed interaction ("observable relevance"): its identification by the researcher should rest on clear-cut evidence based on how the involved speakers seem to treat their own conversational acts and sequences (see Drew, 1995).

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Theoretical background (III): Semiotics, Post-Structuralism, Post-Modernism

Semiotics, defined as the scientific study of sign-systems (de Saussure, 1974), argued that cultural phenomena are generated and acquire meaning thanks to an underlying system involving rules of acceptable sequences and combinations. It tends to produce formal analyses of abstract structure, primarily paying attention to the underlying structure (“langue”) rather than to specific uses (“parole”) of language.

Post-Structuralism leads the switch from the emphasis on the underlying structure to an interest in language uses and processes of change.

Post-Modernism, defined as a general orientation and attitude within philosophy and the human and social sciences contrasting with the principles of modernity, influenced many related areas to language study.

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Discourse Analysis (DA) and Discursive Psychology (DP) (I)

Discourse Analysis, within social psychology, can be defined according to five features (Edwards and Potter, 1992, pp. 28-29):

- DA is primarily concerned with naturally occurring talk and text (mainly transcripts of talk-in-interaction).
- Rather than focusing on linguistic structures, DA concentrates on the content of talk, with the social organisation of its subject matter.
- DA concentrates on talk as social action, with an emphasis on the construction of “versions of events” by participants, the use of rhetorical devices and the importance of variability (in such) as a function of context and use.
- DA is interested in the rhetorical (argumentative) organisation of everyday talk and thinking. In particular, DA is interested in understanding the way rhetoric is employed to support and repress alternative accounts of social life and everyday behaviour.

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Discourse Analysis (DA) and Discursive Psychology (DP) (II)

- DA seeks to address the issue of cognitivism in psychological inquiry, particularly the criteria which underpin attributions of life and mind, examining discourse to analyse how cognitive issues of knowledge and belief, fact and error, truth and explanation are dealt with.



Traditional psychological constructs and paraphernalia become rhetorical actions. They can be used discursively to achieve interpersonal goals, to support or to contrast versions of reality.

Both 'reality' and 'mind' are constructed by people conceptually, through language, during their performance of practical tasks (Edwards, Potter, 2001).

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Discourse Analysis (DA) and Discursive Psychology (DP) (III)

Discursive Psychology is proposed as a form of **Discourse Analysis**.

DP approaches its object of analysis conceiving it as having three main features:

- a) discourse is situated (occasioned and rhetorical)
- b) discourse is action-oriented (considered as performing different kinds of actions)
- c) discourse is constructed (via words, metaphor, idioms, etc.)

The influence of DA and DP on Environmental Psychology has been to contrast its traditional cognitivist approach in order to foster research interest in the analysis of environmental discourse.

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Research areas

Research increasingly focused on two complementary levels:

- The study of communicative strategies and practises, through which environmental representations are concretely realised and differently framed, used by people involved in a public dispute and by the mass media.
- The study of people's reactions to different discursive constructions and framing of the environment.

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Research areas

Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (I)

- The **focus** is on the discursive strategies used to concretely realise different representations of an environmental issue, which in turn implicitly or explicitly favour different interpretations and different meanings attributed to the environmental issue itself
- The **main assumption** is that the environment, or at least its meaning, is socially constructed within an argumentative context, where each counterpart is engaged in justifying its own position and criticising the opposite one
- **Researches** mainly described specific discursive modalities of building up rhetorical frames for the environment in various everyday life contexts in which people interact directly, face-to-face or by writing.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (II)

Macnaghten's research (1993a)

Aim: to show how the meaning of environmental categories ("nature" in this case) is a social construction elaborated by people more than a sort of pre-individual pre-defined and fixed entity in people's minds (the study examines the various meanings of the "nature" category based on the discursive context in which they emerge).

Audience considered: a British public inquiry in which reasons are heard and evidence presented by interested parties is weighed and contrasted.

Discussion's topic: whether a plan for environmental transformation should be approved, in particular whether a private company should be given permission to transform land at the edge of a small city into an underground dump.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (III)

Method: a qualitative Discourse Analysis, similar to the DARG approach.

In particular, first he selected all excerpts explicitly referring to the term “nature” and then analysed those in which the “nature” category was not explicitly invoked but the same kind of social relationships were implied by the analysed text, or the same kind of grammatical constructions encapsulating these relationships were used in the analysed text

Main results: four “discourses” (repertoires in DARG’s terms) in the debate were identified, allowing the counterparts (local council that was against the intervention and the builder that was for the intervention) to reciprocally oppose each other.

The strategy followed by the **potential builders** of the dump was to use versions of these repertoires to uphold that the place in question was “separate” from the “nature” category.

The same four repertoires were used by the **local administrators** to argue in favour of the “naturalness” of the specific place

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (IV)

The four discourses:

- 1) "Nature as a wild state"
- 2) "Nature as passive visual harmony"
- 3) "Nature as visual harmony of activities"
- 4) "Nature as ecological equilibrium"

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (V)

1) “Nature as wild state”: nature doesn’t leave legitimate space for human use

In terms of discursive strategy, the arguments centre on the fact of being able to define, or not, the specific place in these terms and the project as meant, or not meant, to have an effect on this state of affairs

The following extract is an example of repertoire used by the builders to hold that the place is already separate from nature:

“Such major features as the concrete interchange, the deep cutting and embankments to the north and south of the interchange now dominate the local landscape. ... These structures have already left a permanent artificial or man-made landscape; the natural landscape of the valley has been dramatically disturbed”.

Instead, the following extract (Macnaghten, 1993a, p. 59) shows how the same repertoire is used by the local administrator to hold that the site is in an “intact” state:

“Viewed from the City the natural open hill ridge line just surmounts the roof lines of the built up areas, maintaining the countryside skirt to the City. ... it is a very simple form of folding hillside which is called the undeveloped foothills of the Haldon Ridge. ... we are dealing with an existing, unspoilt, natural countryside”.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (VI)

2) **“Nature as passive virtual harmony”**: nature implies the social relation of a spectator passively looking at the visual harmony of an area.

In terms of discursive strategy, the arguments centre on the fact that visually the place is or is not harmonious whether or not it is coherently integrated in the surrounding area and further that the proposed project is adapted or not to the characteristics of the landscape.

The Macnaghten’s extracts (1993a, pp. 60-61) show how the local administrators use this repertoire to uphold that the place is an integrating part of an area that has natural landscape harmony.

On the contrary, the builders use the same repertoire to underline that the site is separate from the surrounding area characterised by landscape harmony.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (VII)

3) “Nature as visual harmony of activities”: nature is defined in terms of the visual harmony produced by uses of the environment.

In terms of discursive strategy, the arguments centre on the fact that the present agricultural activities and the activities connected with the project can be considered as natural uses or, on the contrary, as artificial ones.

The Macnaghetn’s extracts show that builders’s strategy is to separate the particular site from the “nature” category, while the local administrators’ one is to uphold the pertinence.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (VIII)

4) “Nature as ecological equilibrium”: nature is not defined in visual terms but in terms of ecological impact.

The social implication of this construction is that all human activity cannot be separated from nature since all activities have ecological consequences, although some of these can be more dangerous than others.

During the contradictory questioning, the dispute between builders and local administrators offers a text in which one construction of “nature” is used to contrast another.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (IX)

Each counterpart uses a specific discursive construction of the “nature” category, as evident in the following extract (Macnaghten, 1993a, pp. 65-66; C is the council official and D is the builder):

C: The site contributes to the integrity of the range of green hills to the west and south-west of the City.

D: It depends whether you refer to the ‘green hills’ as a planning area of ‘green hills’ or as ‘green hills’ as I understand them.

C: However, it is characterised in policy terms: the area comprises green gently undulating hills.

D: They are not always green. If I may finish, I would say that the colours change as I said in my statement, so they are not always green. They are multicoloured.

C: They are predominantly green, aren’t they?

D: Well, I accept they are predominantly green.

C: And pastureland tends to remain green throughout the year, does it not?

C: Pastureland does or can remain green. I suppose it can go yellow.

The Macnaghten’s study well exemplifies a sequential kind of approach that is closely inspired by a CA approach which tends to base the analysis on turns sequences.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (X)

Michael's research (1991)

Aim: analysing the “discursive configurations” that define three specific phenomena (“nature”, “science” and “lay society”).

Sample: patients undergoing radiotherapy.

Method: a kind of DA.

Main results: two macro-typologies of discursive configurations corresponding to two rhetorically differentiated clusters of people were identified.

The **first cluster**, called “the co-operative ideal type”, included people who considered “nature” as “benign”, and in general conceptualised as allied to “lay society”.

The **second cluster** was defined as “interventionist ideal type”, presenting a view of nature as something to be subdued to the control of science.

After the introduction of a special kind of radio-activity (Radon natural gas), as topic of discussion, the two typologies fragmented and re-built their opinions in various ways, generating extremely different discursive versions.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (XI)

Michael's research (1991)

Conclusions: even though people have consolidated discursive representations for categories such as “nature” or “science”, meanings and evaluations associated with them can be continuously negotiated in the discourse.

Categories like “nature” are continuously re-shaped and re-conceptualised by people according to the different discursive interactions where these categories are rhetorically used to sustain the validity of a given version of facts and to encourage others.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (XII)

Burgess and Harrison's research (1993)

Aim: analysing the discourse of environmental organisations on one side and constructors, landowners and politicians on the other. In particular, the study explores how discourse on some specific environmental topics, presented by local and national media, is managed by the organisations devoted to protecting the environment vs. the constructors and landowners.

Main results: The counterparts involved in the dispute selectively and rhetorically make use of different discourse proposed by the media, according to their own specific goals.

Rydin and Myerson's research (1989)

The argumentative nature of environmental phenomena is emphasised. A rhetorical analysis was applied to political discourse generated around a specific issue made by different social groups. These groups created different versions of a specific environmental, depending on their "ideologies".

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (XIII)

Dixon, Reicher and Foster's research (1997)

Aim: studying, during the desegregation process in South Africa, the way a group of white people living in a specific area named Hout Bay used discursive constructions of opposition to the desegregation process. The specific event studied was the desegregation of the black inhabitants of a circumscribed “squatter camp” placed in this kind of residential area.

Analysed material: various discursive sources such as articles included in a free, shared, printed local bulletin and white inhabitants' letters published in local newspapers were analysed.

Main results: analysed texts are characterised by the massive use of “disclaimer” discursive strategies, such as the “denial of racism” (“we are not against people of different colours but ...”, Dixon et al., 1997, p. 326).

The discursive construction of this “physically foreign status” of the “squatter camp”, based on its objective physical/geographical features, allowed for a mitigation strategy in the expression of racist attitudes in the discourse made by white people against inhabitants of the squatter camp.

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (XIV)

A physical characteristic of a place becomes a rhetorical device, suitable to justify and sustain the “foreign status” of the camp and inhabitants, and to oppose the desegregation process.

“Places are not simply physical locations, mere passive containers of, or background to, human action; instead, they are treated as dynamic productions that acquire meaning in and through discourse” (Dixon et al., 1997, p. 319).

Dixon and Durrheim’s research (2000)

It stressed the links between social and environmental psychology, referring to the “place identity” construct:

“a discursive displacement of place-identity might permit a re-conceptualization of person-place relationship. [...] notions such as ‘rhetoric’, ‘discursive action’, ‘ideological tradition’ and ‘ideological dilemma’ might open up a critical, non-individualistic and action-oriented view of place identity” (p. 41).

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Research area: Construction of different discursive frames for the environment (XV)

In conclusion:

- Environmental categories as well as categories in general are continuously re-defined, re-shaped, re-conceptualised, that is negotiated, by people engaged in group processes aimed at local environmental management.
- No discursive construction is randomly produced. It supports, explicitly or implicitly, a certain version of events, facts, reality and it is intertwined with cultural, social, economic, political, ideological stances and interests.
- A discursive construction is a concrete action with practical effects. It also affects other collective actions which impact on environmental features, creating, maintaining or modifying them.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

Local mass media communication and environmental disputes: an
analysis of local press communication on the designation of the Tuscan
Archipelago National Park in Italy

Carrus, Cini, Bonaiuto, Mauro (2008). S&NR, in press.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Theoretical framework

- An increased shared awareness that global environmental problems have their roots in local processes at the individual, social and societal level.
- Political authorities and decision makers have typically addressed the issue of biodiversity loss through the designation of natural protected areas.
- A substantial barrier to the designation of natural protected areas is often represented by the opposition of local communities.
- Recent studies in the environmental psychology domain identified various social psychological factors acting as “barriers” to people’s willingness to accept the institution of natural protected areas within their territories: one can refer to the “environmental dilemmas” arising when designating a natural protected area.
- The processes, either at the individual, social or societal level, driving people’s support for (or opposition to) natural protected areas are then worthy of consideration for environment-behavior research.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- An important research theme for scholars in this field relates to the role of mass media communication in the construction of debated environmental issues.
- Mass media communication has an active role in the construction of environmental categories and it is particularly relevant because specific environmental changes are part of locally debated disputes or social conflicts.
- The discursive strategies used by local mass media might represent a specific vehicle for local collective action in favor of, or in contrast to, the designed park.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

Aim

Focusing on the role of local daily press in presenting (and constructing) different representations of a specific case of natural park designation in Italy: the Tuscan Archipelago National Park (TANP).

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

General context: The Tuscan Archipelago National Park

- The Tuscan Archipelago is composed of seven main islands: Elba, Capraia, Gorgona, Pianosa, Montecristo, Giglio and Giannutri and several smaller islands.
- The first protection initiatives in the Tuscan archipelago date back to 1982.
- The project was not developed at that time because of disagreement of the local communities. The institution of the National Park was finally approved in 1996, with a different boundary definition of the area that excluded the most populated zones.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Method: Material gathering and selection

- The specific local newspaper “*Il Tirreno*” was selected, because, on the basis of the newspaper market records provided by an official source (i.e., the Italian Federation of Newspaper Publishers - FIEG, *Federazione Italiana Editori di Giornali*), it is the most sold the area of interest (the county of Livorno and its coastal area).
- The period March 1995-November 1996 was examined, so to include the months before and after the formal designation of the park.
- A specific article published on July 6th 1996, entitled “*Il Parco Nazionale è una realtà*” (*The National Park is a reality*), was taken as discriminating point to separate articles between and after the institution of the Park.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Method: Material gathering and selection

115 articles were included in the final analyses

Criteria for articles selection:

- articles that widely refer to the TANP in general;
- articles that refer to the main institutive Act of the Park, which is the national parks framework act, number 394/91;
- articles referring to specific Park-related events, such as demonstrations or meetings;
- articles referring to issues such as hunting or fishing and the regulations introduced by the Park;
- articles referring to the rising of local political parties or opinion movements in connection to the Park designation, or to Park-related events (e.g., the birth of the anti-park party).

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

Method: Approaches

The content analysis of local press communication about the designation of the TANP followed and integrated two different approaches: a **quantitative** and a **qualitative** one.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

Statistical Analyses of the quantitative study

- Lexical Correspondence Analysis (LCA) was conducted on the titles of the selected articles
- Lexical Correspondence Analysis (LCA) was conducted on the body of the selected articles

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Statistical Analyses of the quantitative study

For the LCA on the titles, the **active textual variables** (i.e. variables that lead to the determination of the factors), were 115 lexical items (reduced from 919). For the analysis based on the body of the articles, the **active textual variables** were 144 (reduced from 6952).

In both the first and the second LCA, the **active extra-textual variables** refer to:

- the period of publication (before or after the institution of the nature reserve, respectively)
- the protagonists who took part in the debate about the institution of the reserve (local politicians, national politicians, national and local environmentalist groups, national and local unions/federations, hunting and fishing associations, other local associations and institutions).

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

Procedure of the qualitative study

- All the selected articles were classified according to the release date and to the different types of argumentation used.
- The different argumentations emerged were grouped into five topics: political, economic, moral, social identity topic and environmental.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment:
Research 1

Quantitative study: results

Two factors emerged from the LCA conducted on **titles**, accounting together for the 32.06% of the total inertia:

I FACTOR (19,38%):

CONFLICT BETWEEN LOCAL AND NATIONAL PROTAGONISTS AFTER THE PARK DESIGNATION

vs.

NEGOTIATION PRIOR TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE RESERVE

II FACTOR (12,26%):

TERRITORIAL LOCALISM vs. NEGOTIATION ABOUT LEGISLATIVE CONTENTS

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

IFACTOR

The positive semi-axis:
conflict between local and national protagonists after the park designation

Emerged a strong criticism of the way the reserve was pushed through, as it was laid down by the central Government.

IFACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
Ronchi Act	7.3	0.68	Referendum	3.0	0.45
economic organisations	6.0	0.53	Act394	2.3	0.31
Elb a libera ¹	3.8	0.64	to modify	1.8	0.24
Baratta Bill	3.6	0.39	proposal	1.7	0.51
divisions	3.1	0.77	to negotiate	1.5	0.30
hunting lobbies	2.6	0.54	to have to	1.4	0.46
criticisms	2.3	0.28	negotiation talks	1.2	0.22
to contrast	2.2	0.43	greet	1.1	0.22
demonstrations	2.2	0.28	requests	1.0	0.24
disappointment	1.7	0.25			
complaints	1.6	0.58			
manipulation	1.6	0.58			
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
period = after the park institution	30.8	0.96	period = prior to the park institution	15.0	0.96

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

I FACTOR

The negative semi-axis:
negotiation prior to the
institution of the reserve

Emerged an emphasis on all the
'grass-roots' proposals aimed at
modifying and correcting
legislative directives.

I FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
Ronchi Act	7.3	0.68	Referendum	3.0	0.45
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demonstrations	2.2	0.28	requests	1.0	0.24
disappointment	1.7	0.25			
complaints	1.6	0.58			
manipulation	1.6	0.58			
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
period = after the park institution	30.8	0.96	period = prior to the park institution	15.0	0.96

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

II FACTOR

The positive semi-axis:
territorial localism

The setting up of the park via institutional is perceived unfair, as an imposition 'from above', and as a form of exclusion of local forces from the territorial management.

This has caused controversy, opposition, and an increased desire for local entrenchment.

II FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
autonomy	6.4	0.65	anti-reserve movement	2.8	0.21
rejection	5.1	0.44	to modify	1.9	0.16
ministerial perimeter	4.9	0.42	Act 394	1.8	0.15
re -explode	3.7	0.51	to negotiate	1.3	0.16
from a bove	3.7	0.51	negotiation talks	1.2	0.14
imposition	3.7	0.51	greet	1.1	0.14
to insist	3.7	0.51			
anger	3.7	0.51			
exclusion	3.7	0.51			
residents	3.7	0.51			
territory	3.7	0.51			

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

II FACTOR

The negative semi-axis:
negotiation about legislative contents

Emerged negotiation at a political level rather than at a popular one. The opposition to Act 394 seems to attract widespread calls for revision.

II FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
autonomy	6.4	0.65	anti-reserve movement	2.8	0.21
rejection	5.1	0.44	to modify	1.9	0.16
ministerial perimeter	4.9	0.42	Act 394	1.8	0.15
re-explode	3.7	0.51	to negotiate	1.3	0.16
from a bove	3.7	0.51	negotiation talks	1.2	0.14
imposition	3.7	0.51	greet	1.1	0.14
to insist	3.7	0.51			
anger	3.7	0.51			
exclusion	3.7	0.51			
residents	3.7	0.51			
territory	3.7	0.51			

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Four factors emerged from the LCA conducted on **articles' bodies**, accounting together for the 48.14% of the total inertia:

I FACTOR (29.08%)

ACTIVE LOCALISM AFTER THE INSTITUTION vs. CRITICISM OF LEGISLATIVE ASPECTS PRIOR TO THE PARK INSTITUTION

II FACTOR (16.82%)

LOCAL/NATIONAL CONFLICT vs. POST-INSTITUTION DISAPPOINTMENT

III FACTOR (9.71%)

CENTRALIZED POWER vs. POPULAR WILL

IV FACTOR (9.35%)

THE NATURE RESERVE AS A VIABLE REALITY vs. AN ALL-OUT OPPOSITION TO THE PARK

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

I FACTOR

The positive semi-axis:
active localism after the
institution

The dimension of territoriality
emerges with the shape of an
outward closure.

Local protagonists desire to
express their view and to reach
an agreement with their
ministerial interlocutor, as well
as to claim a role for themselves
in the decisional process.

I FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
localism	27.1	0.91	Act 394	2.8	0.51
to express	3.2	0.51	restrictions	2.8	0.28
boundary definition	2.9	0.30	position	2.2	0.32
to claim	2.7	0.57	referendum	2.0	0.30
deals/agreements	2.5	0.35	anti-reserve movement	1.9	0.24
institutive decree	2.4	0.21	debates	1.3	0.57
autonomy	2.0	0.26	to change	1.2	0.38
further restrictions	2.0	0.29			
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
period = after the park institution	23.5	0.71	period = prior to the park institution	5.2	0.71

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

I FACTOR

The negative semi-axis:
criticism of legislative aspects prior to the park institution

Debated issues are the “restrictions” that the new Act 394 would entail.

Popular consultation appears essentially as a political mean against an environmental change perceived as imposed ‘from above’.

I FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
localism	27.1	0.91	Act 394	2.8	0.51
to express	3.2	0.51	restrictions	2.8	0.28
boundary definition	2.9	0.30	position	2.2	0.32
to claim	2.7	0.57	referendum	2.0	0.30
deals/agreements	2.5	0.35	anti-reserve movement	1.9	0.24
institutive decree	2.4	0.21	debates	1.3	0.57
autonomy	2.0	0.26	to change	1.2	0.38
further restrictions	2.0	0.29			
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
period = after the park institution	23.5	0.71	period = prior to the park institution	5.2	0.71

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

II FACTOR

The positive semi-axis:

local/national conflict

The political debate is here the dominant feature and takes on the form of a clash between local and national political entities.

Demands are made for reform, and for the involvement of local populations with the aim of contrasting the ministerial decisional power.

II FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
reforms	3.2	0.25	discomfort	5.9	0.36
popular consultation	2.6	0.28	embittered	4.6	0.41
to be in a position to	2.3	0.31	sustainable tourism	4.5	0.55
opinions	1.9	0.23	protests	4.5	0.50
reserve management	1.9	0.24	environmental protection	3.3	0.32
to fight	1.8	0.38	anti-reserve demonstration	3.3	0.27
reserve hypothesis	1.7	0.23	environmental development	3.1	0.28
opposition	1.5	0.32	forcing	2.8	0.38
controversies	1.4	0.28			
Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
local politicians	7.5	0.46	local unions	19.1	0.39
			environmentalist groups	15.0	0.27
			period = after the park institution	8.1	0.18

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

II FACTOR

The negative semi-axis:

post-institution disappointment

Environmentalist movements give voice to their uneasiness and bitterness for a situation of conflict.

There is dissatisfaction among those who view the park as placing constraints on their line of activities, and an impingement on their specific culture, history, and traditions.

II FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
reforms	3.2	0.25	discomfort	5.9	0.36
popular consultation	2.6	0.28	embittered	4.6	0.41
to be in a position to	2.3	0.31	sustainable tourism	4.5	0.55
opinions	1.9	0.23	protests	4.5	0.50
reserve management	1.9	0.24	environmental protection	3.3	0.32
to fight	1.8	0.38	anti-reserve demonstration	3.3	0.27
reserve hypothesis	1.7	0.23	environmental development	3.1	0.28
opposition	1.5	0.32	forcing	2.8	0.38
controversies	1.4	0.28			
Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
local politicians	7.5	0.46	local unions	19.1	0.39
			environmentalist groups	15.0	0.27
			period = after the park institution	8.1	0.18

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

III FACTOR

The positive semi-axis:
centralized power

Obligations and constraints imposed 'from above', which is felt particularly strong by smaller local lobbies, that emerge as extra-textual variables associated.

III FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
territory	4.3	0.25	institutive decree	8.7	0.45
to have to	3.5	0.38	negotiation talks	4.1	0.40
decisions	2.8	0.33	citizenry	3.6	0.47
further restrictions	2.8	0.24	problem	3.4	0.24
discus ion	2.1	0.17	demand	3.0	0.50
to close off	1.9	0.22	to approve	2.7	0.26
			popular will	2.6	0.17
			minority	2.2	0.38
			to respect	2.2	0.33
			to accept	1.9	0.38
			opinions	1.9	0.18
Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extr a-textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
other local organizations	7.7	0.16			

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

III FACTOR

The negative semi-axis: popular will

The element of popular participation in the debate seems to highlight the negotiation and deliberative dimension of the event, and the need for public involvement in the decision making process

III FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
territory	4.3	0.25	institutive decree	8.7	0.45
to have to	3.5	0.38	negotiation talks	4.1	0.40
decisions	2.8	0.33	citizenry	3.6	0.47
further restrictions	2.8	0.24	problem	3.4	0.24
discussion	2.1	0.17	demand	3.0	0.50
to close off	1.9	0.22	to approve	2.7	0.26
			popular will	2.6	0.17
			minority	2.2	0.38
			to respect	2.2	0.33
			to accept	1.9	0.38
			opinions	1.9	0.18
Active extra-textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra-textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
other local organizations	7.7	0.16			

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

IV FACTOR

The positive semi-axis:

the nature reserve as a viable reality

Emerged the satisfaction of those who believed from the outset in the reserve project.

Environmental change, in terms of sustainable development and accepting certain restrictions, will be well received if understood as a step forward in the direction of environmental and economic advantages.

IV FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
restrictions	4.9	0.27	defence of territory	6.1	0.50
sustainable development	4.8	0.32	our island	3.8	0.43
satisfaction	3.8	0.51	decisions	2.5	0.28
to believe in something	3.2	0.42	to contrast	2.2	0.27
feasible reserve	2.6	0.35	exasperated	1.9	0.29
appreciation	1.9	0.50	anti-reserve movement	1.0	0.18
opinions	1.6	0.14			
discussions	1.6	0.13			
to condemn	1.5	0.32			
trasformation	1.4	0.52			
to change	1.1	0.20			
Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
environmentalist groups	25.9	0.36	other local organizations	11.3	0.22

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

IV FACTOR

The negative semi-axis:
an all-out opposition to the park

Emerged the dimension of local entrenchment, local identity and the issue of territorial protection. This testifies for a more articulated elaboration of the issues against the park designation. It is mostly the small local organizations that represent such a standpoint.

IV FACTOR					
POSITIVE SEMI -AXIS			NEGATIVE SEMI -AXIS		
Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
restrictions	4.9	0.27	defence of territory	6.1	0.50
sustainable development	4.8	0.32	our island	3.8	0.43
satisfaction	3.8	0.51	decisions	2.5	0.28
to believe in something	3.2	0.42	to contrast	2.2	0.27
feasible reserve	2.6	0.35	exasperated	1.9	0.29
appreciation	1.9	0.50	anti -reserve movement	1.0	0.18
opinions	1.6	0.14			
discussions	1.6	0.13			
to condemn	1.5	0.32			
transformation	1.4	0.52			
to change	1.1	0.20			
Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine	Active extra -textual variables	Contributions	Cosine
environmentalist groups	25.9	0.36	other local organizations	11.3	0.22

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Quantitative study: results' synthesis (titles)

- Emerged a clear reference to the **political dimension** of the park designation affair, with a specific emphasis on issues of local identity. In particular, our analyses revealed the salience of a conflict between the local and national political levels involved in the park designation process.
- **Local people negotiation modes** were mainly represented **before** the park designation, when they could still consider the chance of emphasizing their proposals.
- Mainly in the period **after** the reserve institution, the content of the titles shows the **strong disappointment** of local administrators and decision makers for a process judged, from their point of view, as too much centralized. This disappointment is reflected by particularly “strong” verbal tones and by high rhetorical emphasis used.
- The reference to the issue of **territoriality**. The park designation process is responded to by leaders of the local communities via a closure towards any external “interference”. Local political activism seems in this case to take the shape of a territorial defense against an unwanted (and perceived as unfair) external intrusion, coming from a centralized authority.

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Quantitative study: results' synthesis (articles' bodies)

- Referring to the issue of **territoriality**, the defense of local prerogatives does not take on the form of an extreme criticism. Rather it seems to leave some room for proposals coming from a popular willingness to express a pro-active opinion. In particular, mainly in the period **prior** to the park institution, the expression of local discontent finds support in the requests, made from local representatives to the central government, for discussing and changing the major legislative framework regulating park designations.
- Referring to the period **after** the TANP institution, local administrations **claim for their right** to have a voice in the designation and management of the proposed park: however, the tones used are in this case softer compared to those found in the titles.
- Emerged different emotional consequences of the park designation. A sense of **post-designation disillusion** seems in fact to rise among the local communities.

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Qualitative study: the five topics

- **Political** arguments strategies pertain to acts, legislation, management of the park, political parties, NGOs or stakeholders associations (including labor and craft unions) operating in the region:

January 13th 1996, p. 22 (prior to the park institution)

Something doesn't work with the mayors of Elba – said Del Lungo – they say that decisions about the national park are taken without their opinion, but when we propose a meeting they don't come. They are those who don't want to talk about the park. After all I never received real proposals by the Mayors of Elba, only resolutions on changes to the 394 Act that certainly are not a responsibility of the region but of the [Environment] Secretary Baratta.

August 14th 1996, p. IV (after the park institution)

<< [...] the future president has to be representative of institutions, (affidabile) for Archipelago institutions and population, able to take in the future the role of synthesis and coordination between the park and institution positions, politicians and local associations>>

(Mr. Del Lungo was the Secretary for the Environment of the Tuscany Region)

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- **Economic** argument strategies pertain to the local economy, and to those local land-use changes in the archipelago territory directly or indirectly affecting the economic activities of the islands (e.g., fishing, hunting, tourism), as in the excerpts below:

January 13th 1996, p. 22 (prior to the park institution)

For Del Lungo, however, regardless of the outcome, one fact is certain: the eventual designation of the archipelago national park will not damage economic categories. 'Roll up your sleeves – said also Del Lungo – because jobs will not decrease'.

August 14th 1996, p. IV (after the park institution)

Miranda, the provincial councillor of Cdu, repeats that, for the future of Elba, to the guide of the park have to be a representative of island economic categories with high guarantees of professionalism.

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- **Moral** arguments strategies are appeals to civic sensibilities, basic democracy and representativeness principles, or references to actions of domination and unfairness, as in the excerpts below:

December 5th 1995, p. 22 (prior to the park institution)

We of *Forza Italia* [a conservative political party] notice nothing more than a forcing will, arrogance of power, and overwhelming of the interest of local people. [...] we are adverse to every attempt to let the park constitution down from the top, without the preliminary assent of local people.

July 29th 1996, p. 13 (after the park institution)

<< [...] It is an imposition from above. There's no doubt, we will fight for our rights and for elbani's freedom>>.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- **Social identity** strategies include references to local group membership, and to the sense of belonging to social groups, such as “people”, “population”, “community”, especially when different groups are presented as opposing each other:

September 10th 1996, p. 5 (after the park institution)

This park, wanted by [Environment] Secretary Ronchi, is foreign to the reality of Elba, of its people, and of its future.

March 10th 1996, p. 20 (prior to the park institution)

<<what are we looking for? Simply not to make island deprived of its dignity – concludes Gentini – how it seems to be if we look at the manoeuvre intended to spoil and to delegitimize (?) it>>.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- **Environmental** arguments pertain to concerns about the natural environment such as preservation, sustainable development and other ecological themes, as in the excerpts below:

July 30th 1996, p. 4 (after the park institution)

The Park, in the case of Elba, do not protect untouched nature; rather, it preserves a relationship between man and nature aiming to a well-managed tourism development.

January 23th 1996, p. 20 (prior to the park institution)

[...]also on the level of tourism economy, the profit [was] the base on which the project was born, with the target to make Elba the first, great touristic ecosystem, eco-sustainable development oriented.

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Qualitative study: results

- Referring the five topics identified from the preliminary qualitative content analyses of the selected articles, **political topics** are the most represented (43%), while economic, moral and social identity argumentations have similar trends (16%, 17% and 15%, respectively). Environmental topics, instead, are the less represented ones (only 9%).
- A great part of the argumentations are not against the Park *tout-court*, but against the park so as it is previewed by the Act 394/91.
- There are references to legislative modifications all along the considered period, both prior and after the Park institution. From a discursive point of view, there seem to exist an opposition between the Park wanted by people and the one people feel as “imposed”: this expression is used when referring to the project previewed by the Act 394/91.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- The accent placed on the Park established by authority, by those who declares themselves against the Park institution, is a *leitmotiv*; let's consider for example the excerpt below:

January 22nd 1996, p. 13 (prior to the park institution)

During the meeting, concepts heard for a long time in every public reunion were repeated: Park let down from above, Park imposed to people without consulting and involving them, without the advise of local administrations.

- The decision to institute the Park in spite of the adverse opinions of residents, local politicians and class representatives, is described in the local press as a lack of respect of basic rights and democratic principles.

June 10th 1996, p. 13 (prior to the park institution)

For Mr. Paolo Pesciatini, as local politician, it's impossible to trust in the Government:<< National politicians talked about negotiation modes, and now Ronchi [Environmental Minister] says that they don't exist. Now the Government states that the park's perimeter won't reach the sea, how we can trust that?>>.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- The defense of the territory by its inhabitants is realized by discursive forms that on one hand confirm membership to the “archipelago inhabitants” group, in opposition to government and its ministries. On the other hand, it concretizes in a rising of consciousness about beauty and naturalistic richness of the territory.
- In a continuous stream of communications between hunters and ecologists, they both finally agree with each other. The requests of environmentalists (conservation of the fauna living in the park territories) found positive answers and support in the interest of the hunters to preserve the same species, because their survival is also fundamental for the prosecution of hunting, as the following excerpts reveals:

January 25th 1996, p. 20 (prior to the park institution)

Environmental associations' position (is) based [...] on the maintainance, whenever is possible, of hunting activities. We trust in a park that can push a new developmental model for the Archipelago in order to match economy and environment.

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- It is interesting to consider how hunters proclaim themselves as nature and wilderness defenders. They know the territory and its fauna very well, because of their hunting activity, and they prove to be conscious that an intensive hunting would be counterproductive also for their activity. Hunters seem to have more (or at least the same) interest than environmentalists in conserving biodiversity, and they also feel more conscious and better informed on specific peculiarities of the archipelago islands.
- The economic topic is more often associated to references to other local groups, such as fishermen associations and hotel managers. In fact, these perceive the restrictions introduced by the park project exclusively as a threat for their own survival, and as a serious limit to their activities.

March 28th 1996, p. 21 (prior to the park institution)

If the environmental project passes, if fishing is banned from the rock of Africhella, it is the end for us, and everybody has the right to defend his life in the way he feels more opportune.

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- Fishermen foresee serious effects and their activities are directly involved in the decisions about park ties to fishing ground: the reference to “starve” and to fishermen’s “lives” gives the measure of their opposition to the park designation. In fact the park is perceived as bad, threatening and completely foreign to the economic needs of residents.
- On the contrary, the promoters of the park project use argumentations that do not mention residents’ basic needs, and insist in emphasizing the advantages for tourism deriving from the designation of the protected area.
- The use of verbal tenses is also worth of a short consideration: The verbal tense used by the fishermen’s spokesmen is the present, as if the perceived negative effects of the restrictions were already active. On the contrary, environmentalists use a more correct, but less nippy, future tense (“will represent”).

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Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

Qualitative study: results' synthesis

- The major emphasis of the discourse is placed on the **clash** between the request of local administrators, giving voice to local inhabitants, and the central government.
- The decision to designate the park without listening to the opinion of local residents and their political representatives is described, **prior** to the reserve institution, as a **violation of those basic rights** and democratic principles that the Government itself should represent and defend.
- The discussion about **modifying the Act 394/91** became less intense **after** the institution, when the focus moved to the “management affair”: in that period locals claimed more power in park's management.

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Construction of different discursive frames for the environment: Research 1

- Another finding that parallels those emerged from the quantitative study relates to the dimension of **territoriality**, represented as a closure to external influences and as a defense of one's own territory.
- Further light on the issue of **the contrast between environmentalist groups and small local associations**: specific local hunters association, differently from other ones, was able to reach a sort of agreement with their environmentalist counterparts. The hunters present themselves as defenders of nature and biodiversity. The primary argument used by hunters is based on their asserted deep knowledge of the park territory, and of the species therein. Therefore, they seem to be aware of how the over-harvesting of the local fauna would end in negative outcomes for all, including themselves.
- A further insight emerging from the qualitative analyses, which the quantitative one was not able to detect, relates to **the differential use of the verbal tenses**, and to the rhetorical meaning that this usage conveys. (e.g. the fishermen representatives, who talked about the park restrictions as if they were already present, even prior to the formal park designation).

The Study of Environmental Discourse

Research areas

Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

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Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

- **Topic:** How different linguistic frames for the causes, characteristics or consequences of an environmental phenomenon lead people's different opinions, evaluations and decisions.
- **Aim:** manipulating the linguistic frame of presentation of specific environmental problems or changes in order to observe consequent differentiated reactions in people.

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Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

- **Researches**

Empirical evidences: the environmental changes, phenomena, consequences (e.g. Radioactivity) are more accepted or preferred when they are previously presented as “natural” rather than “man-made” (Kaplan, Kaplan, Wendt, 1972; Wohlwill, 1983; Reicher, Podpadek, Macnaghten, Brown, Eiser, 1993).

These studies do not actually examine what people really mean by “natural” (or “not natural”), therefore assuming an inter-individual and inter-situational stability in the meaning ascribed to the category “nature”.

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Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

- **Researches**

Macnaghten, Brown, Reicher (1992)

Aim: analysing people's different opinions about the "acceptability" of specific environmental changes.

Method: in an experiment context, two main frames of landscape scenes are presented for the definition of the category "nature", "nature as visual source of harmony" and "nature as uncontaminated place". Authors manipulated the association of the two different landscapes to two specific kinds of change cause/produced by Nature and by Human beings.

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Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

Results: the influence of the initial frame on the subsequent evaluations of environmental changes emerged. Such changes are considered as more “tolerable” in the specific case of “natural cause in an uncontaminated landscape”.

The authors outlined “*what nature is held to be cannot be subject to a priori definition. Indeed, the very fact that subjects accepted diverse definitions of nature as self-evident indicates the diverse ways in which the category of ‘nature’ may be understood. Subjects reactions to objects and changes in the environments depends upon the ways in which instances are related to the category of “nature” and the way in which the category is defined*” (p. 58).

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Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

Macnaghten (1993b)

Aim: analyzing how people's environmental behaviors and opinions may change depending on how the specific environmental problem is "framed".

Results: variations in the discursive context give origin to different behaviors from people requested to express their opinion on some environmental problems (e.g. noise, car use, tourism development, etc.).

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Research area: Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment

Reicher, Podpadec, Macnaghten, Brown, Eiser (1993)

Aim: investigating people's different opinions about "radioactivity".

Results: people react in a more tolerant way when radioactivity is associated with the "natural" category rather than the "man-made" category.

Manipulating three different versions of the items of a questionnaire in which radioactivity was presented as (first condition) "natural", (second condition) "man-made" and (third, control condition) "undefined", emerged a significantly higher degree of acceptance of radioactivity when it was defined "natural" rather than "man-made" or simply left "undefined".

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Local Identity and the Role of Individual Differences in the Use of
Natural Resources: The Case of Water Consumption

Bonaiuto, Bilotta, Bonnes, Carrus, Ceccarelli, Martorella (2008). JASP, in press.

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Water Consumption as Social Dilemmas (SD)

Social Dilemmas are situations in which each member of a group has a clear and unambiguous incentive to make a choice that – when made by all members – provides poorer outcomes for all than they would have received if none had made the choice (Dawes & Messick, 2000).

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

- Conservation behaviour (including water saving) as a **cooperation** for a collective goal
- Cooperation is **selfish** and **rational** (not altruistic), but only in the long-run

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

How to solve a SD ?

- **Hard (structural) solutions**

e.g.

Coercion & sanctions

Centralization & control

Privatization

- **Soft (psychological) solutions**

Focus on individual's willingness to voluntarily cooperate for pursuing a common goal

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Predictors of cooperation in SDs

- Communication
- Information
- Trust
- Social Value Orientation
- Social identification

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

Rationale

- **Social Value Orientation**
pro-self vs. pro-social

Pro-social persons are more inclined to value others and collective interest rather than self-interest

- **Social Identification**
high vs. low identifiers

High identifiers act more as members of a group instead that as single individuals

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Aims

Assessing the combined effects of

- **Social Value Orientation (SVO)**
- **Community Identification**

upon fresh-water consumption during different **scarcity conditions**

through a **field study**

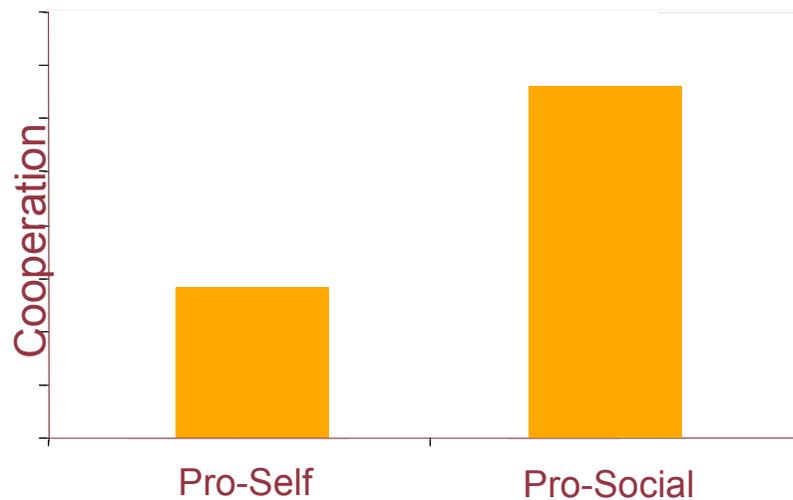
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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Hypotheses - 1

Main effect

> SVO > Cooperation



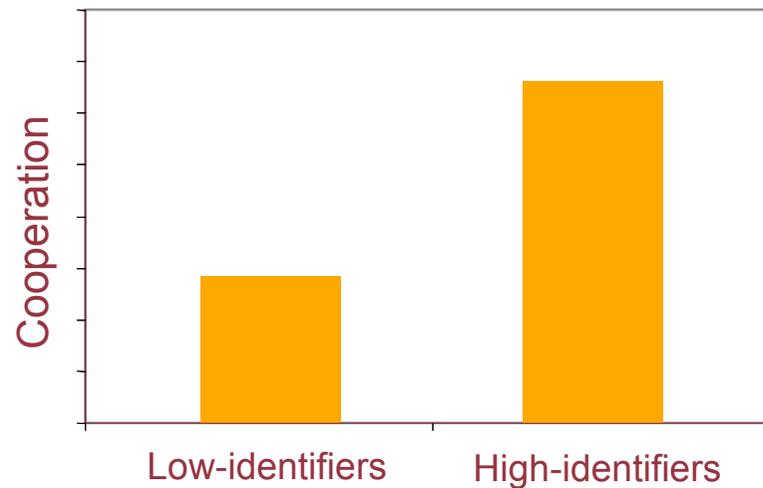
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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Hypotheses - 1

Main effect

> Identification > Cooperation



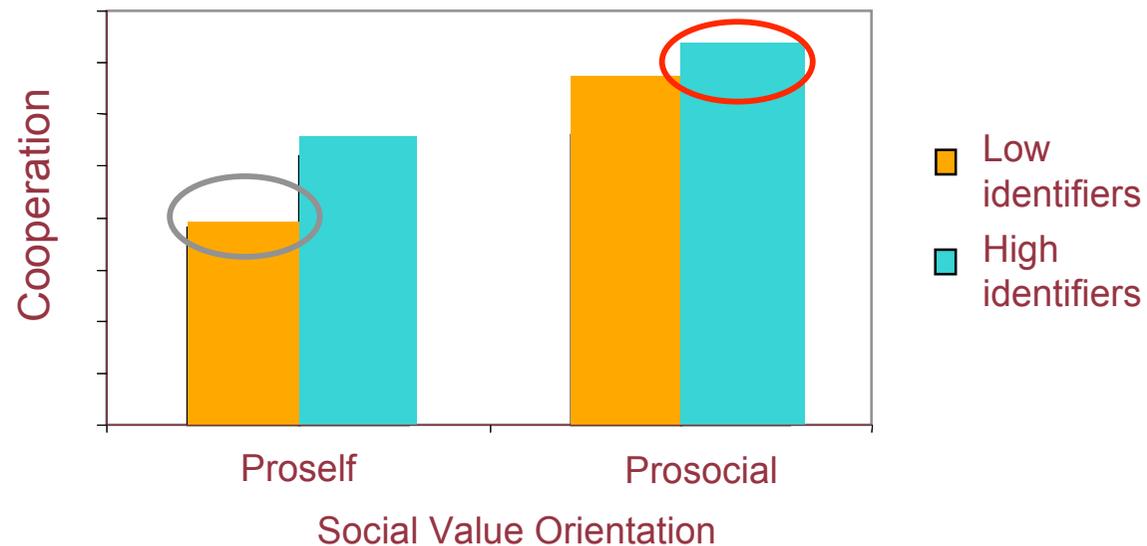
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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

Hypotheses - 3

2-way interaction
Pro-social/High identifiers
Pro-self/Low identifiers

> Cooperation
< Cooperation



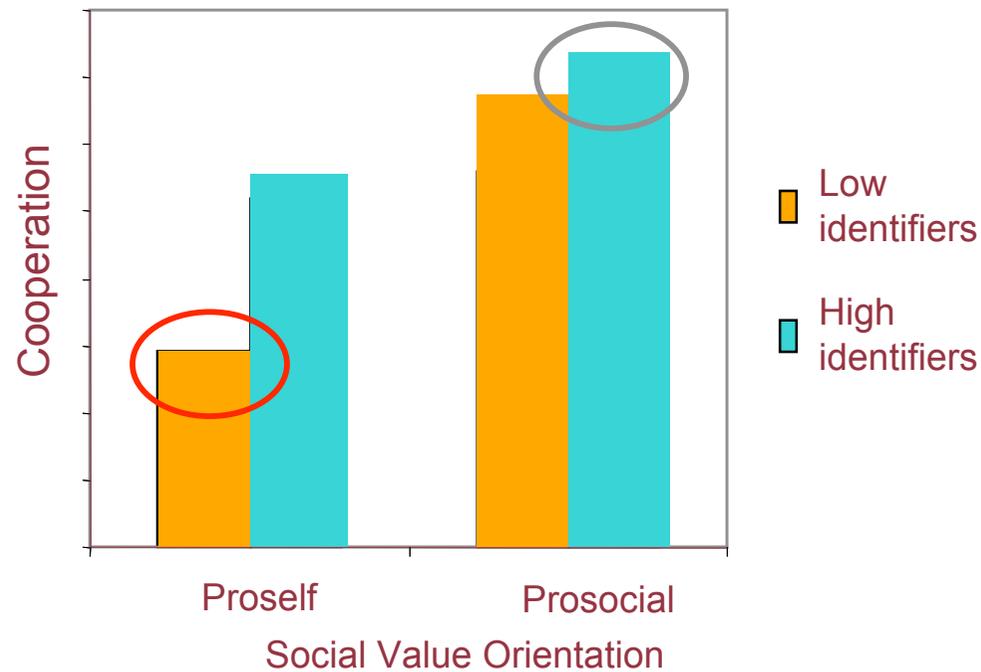
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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

Hypotheses - 3

2-way interaction
Pro-social/High identifiers
Pro-self/Low identifiers

> Cooperation
< Cooperation



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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Method

Participants

758 inhabitants of Elba Island
Balanced for socio-demo

Procedure

Self-report questionnaire

Period

Easter & Summer time, 2002

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

Variables & Measures

Independent

- **Social Value Orientation:** proself vs. prosocial
Nine-Item Decomposed Game - Khulman & Marshall, 1995
- **Community identification:** high vs. low identifiers
Likert scale - adapted from Prezza (2001) & Tyler & Degoey (1995)

Dependent

- **Voluntary (no fines) and structural (fines) cooperation in water saving actions**
Likert scale - adapted from Van Vugt (2001)

Controlling for

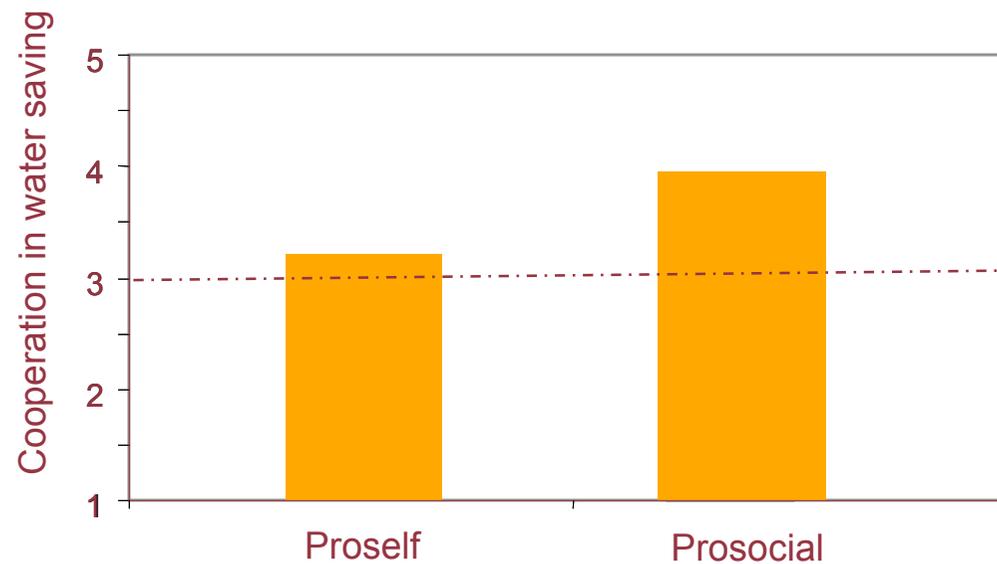
- **Scarcity conditions:** Easter vs. Summer time
- **Perceived legitimacy of authorities**
Likert scale - adapted from Tyler & Degoey (1995)

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

2 X 2 Factorial ANOVA

Main effects		SVO	F (1, 550) = 45.4	p < .001
Identification			F (1, 550) = 25.0	p < .001
2-way interaction	SVO * Identification		F (1, 550) = 7.8	p < .005
Controlling for covariate 'perceived authority's legitimacy'				



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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

2 X 2 Factorial ANOVA

Main effects
.001

SVO

F (1, 550) = 45.4 p <

Identification

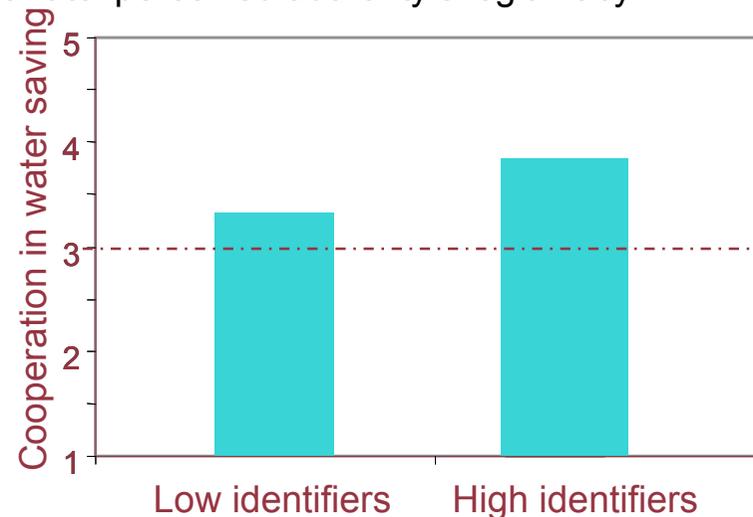
F (1, 550) = 25.0 p < .001

2-way interaction

SVO * Identification

F (1, 550) = 7.8 p < .005

Controlling for covariate 'perceived authority's legitimacy'



The Study of Environmental Discourse

Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

2 X 2 Factorial ANOVA

Main effects
.001

Identification

2-way interaction

7.8 p < .005

Controlling for covariate 'perceived authority's legitimacy'

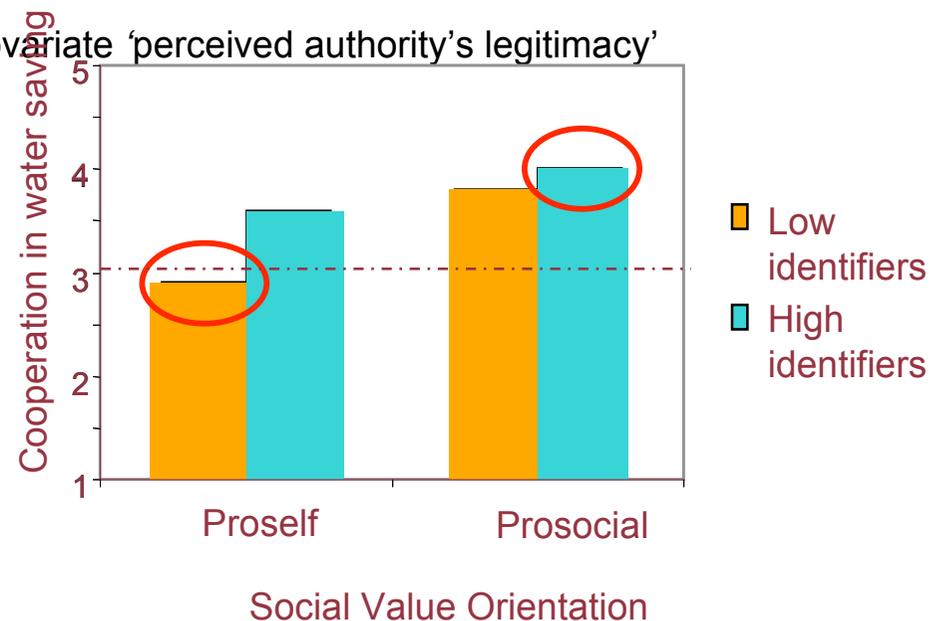
SVO

$F(1, 550) = 45.4 \quad p <$

$F(1, 550) = 25.0 \quad p < .001$

$F(1, 550) =$

SVO * Identification



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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Conditions of water scarcity

Mean scores of voluntary cooperation for reducing water consumption

	Low identifiers		High identifiers	
	<i>Proself</i>	<i>Prosocial</i>	<i>Proself</i>	<i>Prosocial</i>
Voluntary	2,9	3,8	3,6	4,0
Structural	4,6	4,5	4,6	4,6

0=low cooperation

6=high cooperation

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 2

Conditions of water scarcity

Mean scores of voluntary cooperation for reducing water consumption

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 2

Conclusions

- Individual differences and social psychological factors interact in orienting fresh-water consumption, across different scarcity conditions
- Community ties might buffer the negative impact of individual's selfishness upon fresh-water saving behaviours
- Boosting sense of community, trust in authority's and pro-social orientation to promote sustainable fresh-water consumption

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Place identity and ecological behavior:
the effect of local identification upon support
for biodiversity conservation and use of fresh water resources

Carrus, Bonaiuto, Bilotta, Ceccarelli, Bonnes (2006). Paper at IAPS19, Alexandria

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Experiment

Aims

Assessing the effects of regional identity upon support/opposition to specific protected areas

Main research question

Contextual factors (i.e., park typology, characteristics of the designating authorities) may moderate the relation between regional identification and support for parks?

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Design

Mixed factorial design
3 (salience) x 2 (identification) x 2 (scenario)

N = 178 n = 30	SOCIAL IDENTITY SALIENCE					
	Regional identity salient		Personal identity salient		National identity salient	
	CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARK					
REGIONAL IDENTIFICATION	Regional authority	National authority	Regional authority	National authority	Regional authority	National authority
High						
Low						

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Hypotheses

Hp 1

2-way salience x scenario interaction

Subjects in the **regional identity salient** condition express less support for scenarios describing conflicts between local residents and **outgroup authorities**.
Opposite pattern in the **national identity salient** condition

Hp 2

3-way salience x scenario x identification interaction

Bigger effects among high regional identifiers

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Participants & Procedure

178 Sardinian residents are asked to assess 2 scenarios describing the institution of a protected area located in their region

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Independent Variables

- **Social identity salience**

Between Subj.: regional vs. personal vs. national
Self-definition task. Haslam et al., 1999, PSPB

- **Regional identification**

Between Subj.: high vs. low scores in Likert scale
median-split. Carrus, 2002

- **Park characteristic**

Within Subj.: Scenario A vs. Scenario B
scenario. Kortenkamp & Moore, 2001, JEP

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 3

Self definition task (10 min.)

Condition

National identity salient

We are interested to understand how WE ITALIANS perceive ourselves . Please, answer to the following questions :

A) State the three things that **we Italians** do more often

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

B) State the three things that **we Italians** do more often

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

C) State the three things that **we Italians** do better than others

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

D) State the three things that **we Italians** do worse than others

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

Condition

Regional identity salient

We are interested to understand how WE SARDINIANS perceive ourselves . Please, answer to the following questions :

A) State the three things that **we Sardinians** do more often

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

B) State the three things that **we Sardinians** do more often

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

C) State the three things that **we Sardinians** do better than others

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

D) State the three things that **we Sardinians** do worse than others

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Scenarios (1/2 page text)

Scenario A
National Park

Describes conflicts between local communities and national authorities (outgroup) designating the Park

Scenario B
Regional Park

Do not describes conflicts between local communities and regional authorities (ingroup) designating the Park

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment:
Research 3

Dependent Variable

**Support for the protected area
described in the scenario**

6 Likert-types items

e.g.: *"I'm in favour of the institution of the Park A"*

SCENARIO A: $a = .90$

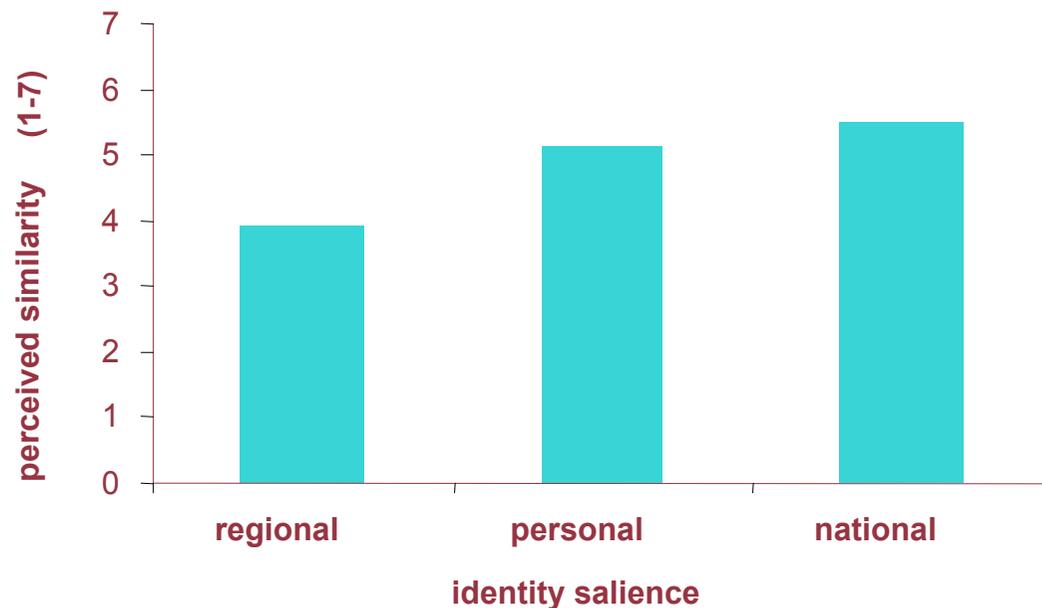
SCENARIO B: $a = .94$

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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 3

Manipulation check

Perceived intra-group similarity of the national group in the 3 experimental conditions (6 items)
-I feel very similar to the other Italians – differences significant for $p < .05$



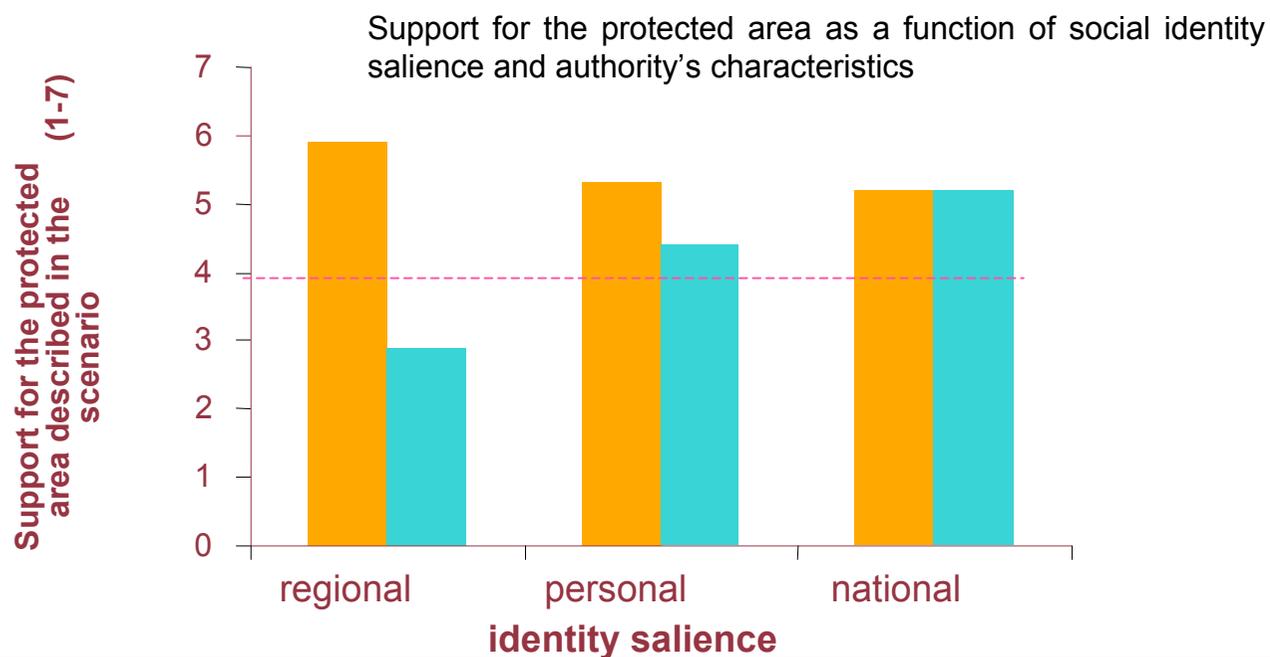
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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 3

RESULTS: 2-way interaction

H_p 1: 2-way Salience * Scenario

F (2, 172) = 23.8 p = .001



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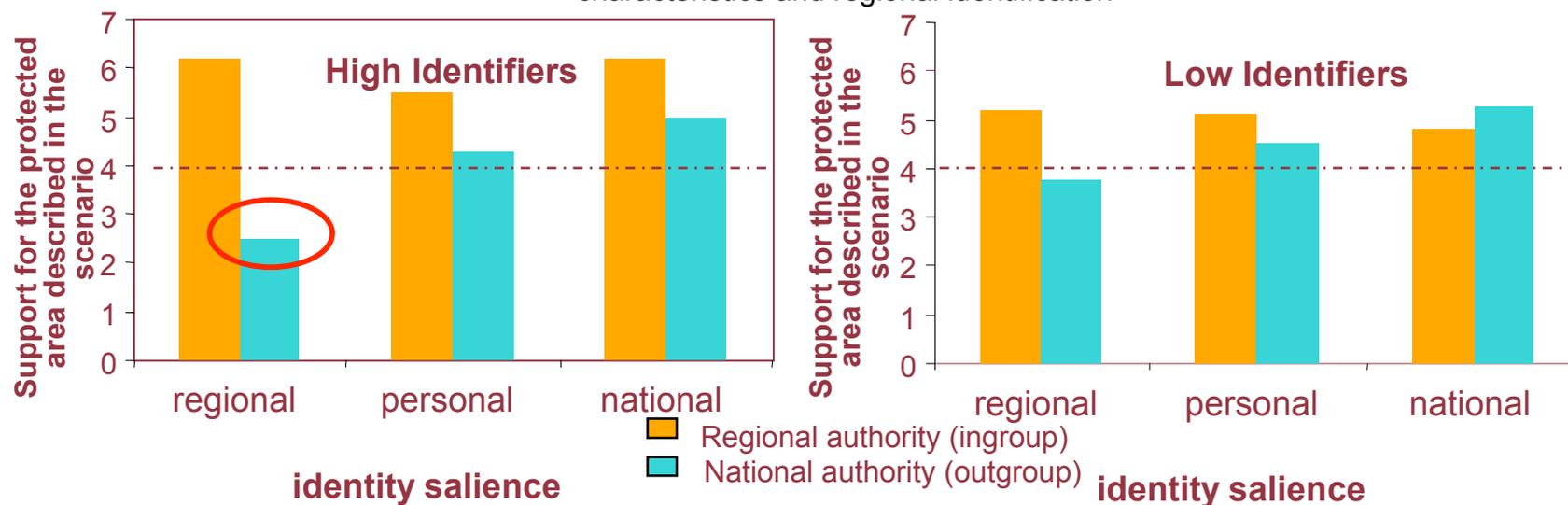
Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 3

RESULTS: 3-way interaction

H_p 2: 3-way Salience * Scenario * Identification

$F(2, 172) = 3.94$ $p = .02$

Support for the protected area as a function of social identity salience and authority's characteristics and regional identification



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Reactions to different discursive frames of the environment: Research 3

Conclusions

- Places and territories are a relevant sources for human identity.
- Identity process may drive human behaviour in a variety of social interaction domains, including environmental issues.
- SIT & SCT are plausible social psychological theoretical bases for explaining support/opposition to centralized (top-down) environmental policies.
- Protected areas management as intergroup processes between local communities and public authorities.
- Social identification can both promote or hamper support for environmental policies, according to the context.

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