

## Towards “Net Zero”. Climate Change Discourse and Australia’s Green Policy in Election Campaigns

**Abstract:** Climate change discourse is increasingly gaining ground in the political arena, both as a possible explanation and/or outcome of different crises and as “a climate crisis” on its own. With an increasing number of metaphors used to describe the phenomena linked to climate change, “net zero” is one the fastest emerging frames, yet it is understudied. This paper draws on climate security research and looks at the climate change discourse in Australia with a focus on the “net zero” target. Is climate change an explanatory instrument in Australian election campaigns that can be ascribed as a political concern?

Climate change has been an appealing but undeveloped topic in Australian political discourse. In Australia environmental concerns have taken ground after the bushfires in 2019 and the climate discourse had an impact on the 2019 and 2022’s electoral campaigns. Climate change is arguably the fastest growing concern in Australian politics; it is fair to say that the 2022 election was “the climate election”. This research adopts a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis approach for a systematic analysis of the “net zero” target in Australian political discourse, its political significance, and its resonance both in electoral speeches and social media in the last ten years. The corpus consists of presidential speeches during the elections and tweets by the Australia Prime Ministers in the timeframe from 2013 to 2022, also taking into consideration comments by users in Australia and worldwide. The analysis of the “net zero” target can contribute to a better understanding of how climate change is politically construed and communicated.

Keywords: *climate change, elections, Net Zero, Australia, discourse*

### 1. Introduction

Climate change has become a reality that is strongly connected to energy, health, and security crises. With an increasing number of metaphors<sup>1</sup> used to describe the phenomena linked to climate change, “net zero” is the fastest emerging one, yet it is understudied. The use of “zero” in climate change campaigning is consistent with global marketing strategies. Since the launch of sugar-free famous drinks, the use of “zero” has been on the rise in the food and beverage industry and many sectors, where it is used alone or associated with other words like sugar, calories, alcohol, gluten, cost, plastic, footprint and so forth. As consumers, we are often exposed to the number zero in the choice of the product that we think is right for us. Given the widespread use of this number, the primary scope of this study is to shed light on the conceptualization of climate change discourses in connection to the increasingly critical use of the “net zero” target.

The article focuses on the use of “zero” and “net zero” metaphors in climate change discourse in the context of recent election campaigns in Australia. It argues that “net zero” sets a far-reaching goal within mitigation policy frames which is open to different understandings and interpretations, which affects the

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<sup>1</sup> Elena Semino, “Corpus Linguistics and Metaphor”, in Barbara Dancygier, ed., *The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2017), 463-76; Elena Semino, “‘Not Soldiers but Fire-fighters’: Metaphors and Covid-19”, *Health Communication*, 36.1 (2021), 50-58; George Lakoff, “The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor”, in A. Ortony, ed., *Metaphor and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1993), 205-251; Denise Milizia, “Climate Change and Global Warming: An American Perspective through the Lenses of Old and New Modes of Communication”, *this issue*.

usage and meaning of the word zero itself. It aims to investigate whether the “net zero” metaphor is effective in getting people’s attention and in changing people’s attitudes about climate change. Australia presents a valuable case study, as it has a long tradition of using “zero” as the ultimate policy aim in a variety of safety-related contexts including climate change. Moreover, climate change is arguably the fastest growing concern in Australian politics; it is fair to say that the 2022 election was “the climate election”.<sup>2</sup> The use of the term zero in Australian political campaigns is quite extensive and goes from zero alcohol when driving to zero cases during the COVID-19 crisis to net zero carbon emissions. “Net zero” is a metaphor, but also a specific policy goal. In the case of climate change, zero is associated with the limits set by the Paris Agreement for 2050.

This study undertakes a corpus-based discourse analysis<sup>34</sup> of mentions of the zero target during the four most recent electoral campaigns in Australia (2013, 2016, 2019 and particularly 2022), taking into account their resonance by examining comments and replies in a social media platform, namely Twitter or “X”, the new denomination.<sup>5</sup>

This article unfolds as follows: first, it introduces the zero-target metaphor with the aim of evaluating its underlying meaning in online reports, speeches, and social media posts. It analyses a self-compiled collection of texts which were collected through the query terms ‘climate change’ and ‘global warming’ with a special focus on the 2022 Australian electoral campaigns. Finally, the study pursues a critical understanding of the “net zero” target in light of the new awareness of the urgency of the climate crisis.

## 2. Introducing the Net Zero Target in Climate Change Discourse

In climate change discourse, the term “net zero” may be regarded as the defining metaphor of the current era.<sup>6</sup> Its policy-related effects are heatedly discussed on traditional and social media, giving rise to heated debates over different interpretations of the zero target. As Fankhauser et al. notice, “Now climate ambition is increasingly expressed as a specific target date for reaching net zero emissions, typically linked to the peak temperature goals of the Paris Agreement”.<sup>7</sup>

Zero is a neat number, and as a mathematical concept, it metaphorically works exceptionally well when discussing science. Metaphor theory typically focuses on the effects of linguistic metaphors, defined as cross-domain mappings in the meaning of words, on individuals’ attitudes in the form of metaphorical frames.<sup>8</sup> Metaphorical framing constitutes the idea that metaphors fulfil one or more functions of framing as defined by Entman to emphasize specific problems, causal relationships, moral evaluations, and/or solutions.<sup>9</sup> It will be shown that even an absolute number like zero has been given different connotations, including that of a journey or pathway towards a target. While the case for decarbonization and “net zero” is clear, there is no standardized path to reach this destination. Fankhauser et al. claim that: “Long-term ambition is often not backed up by sufficient near-term action. Many entities have not yet set out detailed plans to achieve them and are opaque about the role of carbon offsets in place of cutting their own emissions”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Peter Christoff, “Election 2022: Climate and Energy. Policy Performance and Promises”, [www.unimelb.edu.au/climate/archived/climate-research/research-papers-and-reports/election-2022-climate-and-energy](http://www.unimelb.edu.au/climate/archived/climate-research/research-papers-and-reports/election-2022-climate-and-energy)

<sup>3</sup> Paul Baker, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, Third Edition (New York: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Michele Zappavigna, *Discourse of Twitter and Social Media: How We Use Language to Create Affiliation on the Web* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> Sam Fankhauser et al. “The Meaning of Net Zero and How to Get It Right”, online [www.ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:945700f9-ef6c-410f-be46-5af74d886459/files/r1g05fc12c](https://www.ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:945700f9-ef6c-410f-be46-5af74d886459/files/r1g05fc12c), 2021.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>8</sup> Andreas Musolff, *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios* (London/New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Robert Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”, *Journal of Communication*, 43.1 (1993), 56.

<sup>10</sup> Fankhauser et al., *The Meaning*, 12.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has identified over 200 scenarios that are consistent with either 1.5°C or 2°C rising temperature limits.<sup>11</sup> Some scenarios see zero as the result of a subtraction, still admitting emissions to be compensated for and/or absorbed by additional factors; others are more rigid and include action to avoid emissions in the first place. The “net zero” target is included in the Paris Agreement and explicitly scheduled to be achieved by 2050. UN Secretary-General António Guterres in March 2022 established a High-Level Expert Group on the Net-Zero Emissions Commitments of Non-State Entities. The Expert Group presented its recommendations at COP27 on 8 November 2022. According to the United Nations, “getting to net zero requires all governments – first and foremost the biggest emitters – to significantly strengthen their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and take bold, immediate steps towards reducing emissions now”.<sup>12</sup>

The media are the main source of people’s understanding of climate change. Broadcast media, social media, and political campaigns have long been used to amplify realistic and unrealistic goals concerning the climate crisis.<sup>13</sup> Climate change has often been framed as a predominantly ethical issue in which real solutions are rarely available to the public.<sup>14</sup> Information about the crisis tends to include suspicion, stereotypes, misinformation, and discrimination. As a result, there is substantial public skepticism and wariness towards climate change.<sup>15</sup>

One consistent finding has been that strategic language is effective at getting people’s attention and promoting new conceptualizations by making the message “feel psychologically close”.<sup>16</sup> Frames and metaphors have increasingly gained salience to the extent that some use the phrase “climate change” as a metaphor to describe more extreme weather.<sup>17</sup> While there is scholarly agreement about the value of conceptual metaphors in fostering understanding of complex scientific arguments, scholars have also warned about negative implications of their use<sup>18</sup> in discussing science. According to Semino, “the most frequent metaphors tend to draw from basic, embodied, sensorimotor experiences”.<sup>19</sup> The “war” metaphor increases concerns about a particular issue, making citizens feel like they have an obligation to fight; at the same time, military frames might lead to panic.<sup>20</sup> Discussions of climate are no exception in this regard, with several conceptual and discourse metaphors used with different meaning implications.

The greenhouse gases effect is one of the most common metaphors to explain an otherwise complex scientific phenomenon. This case involves using the colour green to refer to a problem. In most cases, however, the colour green is associated with environmentalism and it is a widely used metaphor for promoting the adoption of climate-friendly political positions, participation in climate-friendly practices, and advocacy for the adoption of such practices.<sup>21</sup> The terms “Green New Deal” and “Green Recovery”

<sup>11</sup> IPCC. Global Warming of 1.5C. An IPCC Special Report, online, [www.ipcc.ch/sr15](http://www.ipcc.ch/sr15), 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Paris Agreement, 2015, [www.unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement](http://www.unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Janet Yang et. al., “Fearful Conservatives, Angry Liberals: Information Processing Related to the 2016 Presidential Election and Climate Change”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 96.3 (2017), 742-766.

<sup>15</sup> Paris Agreement.

<sup>16</sup> Anne K. Armstrong et al., *Communicating Climate Change: A Guide for Educators* (New York: Cornell U.P., 2018), 64.

<sup>17</sup> An extensive framework for the emergence of metaphors in the climate change discourse has been provided by Atanasova and Koteyko. Dimitrinka Atanasova and Nelya Koteyko, “Metaphors in Guardian Online and Mail Online Opinion-page Content on Climate Change: War, Religion, and Politics”, *Environmental Communication*, 11.4 (2017), 452-469

<sup>18</sup> George Lakoff, “The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor.

<sup>19</sup> Elena Semino, “‘Not Soldiers’”, 54.

<sup>20</sup> Denise Milizia, “Framing the Pandemic in the UK and in the US: The War, the Science and the Herd”, *Textus: English Studies in Italy*, 1 (2023); Dimitrinka Atanasova. “How Constructive News Outlets Reported the Synergistic Effects of Climate Change and COVID-19 through Metaphors”, *Journalism Practice*, 16.2-3 (2022), 384-403.

<sup>21</sup> Cinzia Bevitori. “The Meanings of Responsibility in the British and American Press on Climate Change: A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis Perspective”, in Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, ed., *Explorations across Languages and Corpora* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 243-259.

that emerged in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis were employed to argue for climate-friendly stimulus packages and recovery policies.<sup>22</sup> Aside from the case of greenhouse gases, green metaphors tend to imply the positive impacts of a certain initiative on the environment.<sup>23</sup>

Addressing climate change involves “mitigation”, principally by reducing emissions into the atmosphere, and adaptation, or “adjusting” to the changes brought about by climate change. Metaphors connected to movement work well here, such as “drop”, “fall”, and variants thereof. War-related metaphors can be included in the latter.<sup>24</sup> Within these two framings of mitigation and adjusting, “net zero” is an extreme one. “Net zero” stands as a metaphor that highlights both the negative effects of climate change and the positive effects of green policies. The target zero requires a neat cut of emissions, implying that emissions must be perceived as dangerous, and urgent alternative solutions to increasing CO<sub>2</sub> levels must be sought.

Concerns about the effects of climate change and global warming depend on the perceptions of the related risks. As Bevitori and Johnson argue, climate change is conceived as a risk and a threat to world/global security.<sup>25</sup> To quote directly: “It is worth noting that the near-synonym threat collocates much more frequently than risk (60 times) with security (mainly in *The Guardian*), and 5 times with conflict. In security discourses, security threats are defined as more concrete and probable than security risks”.<sup>26</sup>

Australia, in this regard, has experienced some of the most severe consequences of extreme climate change and, as a resource-based economy, has long relied on the export of coal and gas. Australia has a warm climate, high annual rainfall, and a population concentrated on the coastline, making it particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change.

As Tana (2022) points out,

While Covid-19 brought the attention of the globe to the devastating impacts of global warming, the last few years have seen Australia come face to face with its own unique signs of impending climate disaster. From the “Black Summer” bushfires of 2019–2020, which saw over 18 million hectares (ha) burned and millions of animals perish, to unprecedented floods happening across the eastern part of the country, as well as the sixth major bleaching of the Great Barrier Reef and the koala listed as endangered – Australia’s climate vulnerability has become glaringly obvious and yet the country has remained slow to act.<sup>27</sup>

Disastrous events and their consequences are so “liquid”<sup>28</sup> that neither risk perception nor reaction to risk is as straightforward or as rational as one might hope. The “net zero” metaphor is used, both metaphorically and practically, to mitigate the risks of climate change. Being a neat target, “net zero” could become a metaphor that might effectively change behaviours. Among ethical issues related to climate change, the integrity of “net zero” stands as a sort of corollary according to which the urgency of climate change is a prerequisite for committing to the target. As the following section will show, a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis is useful for analysing how language both influences the perception of “net zero” as a target and can be a vehicle for undermining its effectiveness. The use of the “net zero” target acts as a mediator between the message and the audience, as it will emerge from analysis of Twitter commentaries.

<sup>22</sup> Atanasova, *How Constructive*, 394.

<sup>23</sup> Bevitori, *The Meanings*.

<sup>24</sup> Atanasova and Kotevko, *Metaphors in Guardian*.

<sup>25</sup> Cinzia Bevitori and Jane Johnson, “Risk and Resilience in a Changing Climate: A Diachronic Analysis in the Press Across the Globe”, *Text & Talk*, 42.2 (2022), 1-23.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 557.

<sup>27</sup> Jessica Tana, “Exploring Australia’s “Climate Election””, 2022, [www.sei.org/perspectives/exploring-australias-climate-election/](http://www.sei.org/perspectives/exploring-australias-climate-election/).

<sup>28</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (EPUB: Oxford Polity Press, 2000).

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Approach

This study is corpus-based in the sense that the analysis is meant to test the hypothesis that the “net zero” target is reiterated across different uses. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the approach for qualitative analysis of commentaries, in particular the Discourse Historical Approach developed by Ruth Wodak, who looks at discourse as both socially constituted and as a constitutive semiotic practice embedded in history.<sup>29</sup> Corpus Linguistics (CL) is adopted for quantitative analysis of the corpora for a deeper understanding of “net zero”, looking at language and green politics as mutually instrumental. Corpus-assisted discourse analysis is aimed at identifying linguistic strategies using CL items tools and techniques including frequency lists, keywords, clusters, collocates, and concordances.<sup>30</sup> The benefit of using CL in discourse analysis is twofold.<sup>31</sup> First, it allows the use of computer-assisted corpus-analytic tools in the processing of large samples of texts and identifying salient linguistic patterns. Second, “it highlights the incorporation of discourse analytic methods and theories in the descriptions and interpretations of the findings generated by corpus-analytic tools”<sup>32</sup>, allowing the efficient analysis of a large sample of texts and providing empirical evidence for testing research assumptions. CL analysis generates findings that cannot be acquired through mere manual analysis of a small sample of texts, reduces the researcher bias in data selection and interpretation, and makes the analytic procedure replicable.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the combination of CDA<sup>34</sup> and CL as in Baker suits the scope of this study of the “net zero” frame.<sup>35</sup>

By means of this case study on “net zero”, a number of ways in which “added value”<sup>36</sup> can be brought to discourse analysis by the integration of corpus techniques will be demonstrated. In fact, a large number of texts can build a detailed picture of how “net zero” is performed in the discourse type; moreover, the insights on discourse functions developed by CL can be integrated with the textual structures and non-obvious meanings that emerge from CDA. As Baker points out, such an integrated approach allows to uncover linguistic patterns as aimed in CDA using statistical overviews of corpora.<sup>37</sup> The use of corpora for CDA also reduces researcher’s bias, considering changes within the discourse (also through diachronic analysis), and is productive of means of triangulation beyond binary logics and dichotomies.<sup>38</sup> Given that no corpus can interpret itself and any discourse analysis requires a form of interpretation, CDA can suitably fill the gap between CL analysis and discourse interpretation. CL and CDA are mutually beneficial tools to discover and explain language patterns producing mainstream ways of thinking.<sup>39</sup> Even the absence of a lexical item can emerge as a significant aspect, since it might suggest lack of engagement, unawareness, or hidden intentions. As Partington and Marchi put it, corpus

<sup>29</sup> Michael Meyer and Ruth Wodak, ed., *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage), 2001.

<sup>30</sup> Baker, *Using Corpora*.

<sup>31</sup> Lihua Liu, “Discourse Construction of Social Power: Interpersonal Rhetoric in Editorials of the China Daily”, *Discourse Studies* 11.1 (2009), 59-78.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Baker at al., “A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press”, *Discourse & Society*, 19.3 (2008), 273-306. Erik Friginal E. and Jack Hardy, *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Approaches to Discourse Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2020).

<sup>34</sup> Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company), 2001.

<sup>35</sup> Ruth Wodak, “What CDA Is About: A Summary of Its History, Important Concepts and Its Developments”, in Michael Meyer and Ruth Wodak, ed., *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage), 2001.

<sup>36</sup> Alan Scott Partington and Anna Marchi, “Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis”, in Douglas Biber and Randi Reppen, eds., *The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2015).

<sup>37</sup> Baker, *Using Corpora*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

linguistics techniques allow us “to identify absences, to quantify the relative absence or presence of certain messages, and to track over time how certain messages can move into or out of the ongoing discourse”.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.2 Data collection

The corpora comprise a collection of speeches and tweets from 2013 to 2022 by the Australian Prime Ministers Tony Abbott (who served as the 28<sup>th</sup> prime minister of Australia from 2013 to 2015 for the Liberal Party), Malcolm Turnbull (who served as the 29<sup>th</sup> prime minister of Australia from 2015 to 2018 for the Liberal Party), Scott Morrison (who served as the 30<sup>th</sup> prime minister of Australia from 2018 to 2022 for the Liberal Party), and Anthony Albanese (for the Labor Party, who was elected in May 2022). The main corpus was divided into three sub-corpora: one for Prime Ministers’ speeches, one for Prime Ministers’ tweets and a corpus including comments by users worldwide. The speeches were collected from the official platforms of the Australian Government.<sup>41</sup> Presidential speeches and tweets are two very different genres of institutional talk in which it is possible to combine features of informal talk and confrontational or strategic talk.<sup>42</sup>

Each corpus was given a name composed of the acronym with the first letter of the single words:

1. APES: Australian Politicians’ Election Speeches (tokens: 819,423 types: 544,660; timespan: 12 months);
2. APT: Australian Politicians’ Tweets<sup>43</sup> (tokens: 777,163; types: 489,785; timespan: 9 years);
3. APTUC: Australian Politicians Tweets Users Comments (tokens: 987,362; types: 615,432; timespan: 9 years).

The sample design started with the identification of the topics and themes associated with coverage of climate change and global warming. The software Sketch Engine<sup>44</sup> and its corpus-analytic tool Wordsketch<sup>45</sup> was used to identify keywords and an examination of the texts led to the analysis of the most prominent topics/themes.<sup>46</sup> The frequency lists combined with keyness analysis can rank these significant words. Subsequently, for keyness, frequency lists, collocations, co-occurrences, boundaries were set. The research focused on the top 20 keywords on each list to identify the shared topics/themes of the three corpora. The limit for co-occurrences was up to four words in the left and right content. After that, the corpora were compared. Comparative analysis of lexical patterns is a powerful tool to investigate how social, cultural, and political representations are constructed and reinforced by the accumulation of linguistic patterns.

It was followed by a close examination of the particular ways of framing “net zero” and variants in the corpora. According to Entman, to frame is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”.<sup>47</sup> The

<sup>40</sup> Partington and Marchi, “Using Corpora”.

<sup>41</sup> [www.moadoph.gov.au](http://www.moadoph.gov.au).

<sup>42</sup> Partington and Marchi, “Using Corpora”.

<sup>43</sup> [www.twitter.com](https://www.twitter.com).

<sup>44</sup> [www.sketchengine.eu](http://www.sketchengine.eu).

<sup>45</sup> Adam Kilgarriff, Vít Baisa, Jan Bušta, Miloš Jakubíček, Vojtěch Kovář, Jan Michelfeit, Pavel Rychlý, Vít Suchomel, “The Sketch Engine: Ten Years On”, *Lexicography* 1.7 (2014).

<sup>46</sup> Liu, *Discourse Construction*, 62.

<sup>47</sup> Entman, *Framing*, 56.



particular ways of framing “net zero” were examined through their strong collocates<sup>48</sup> with the corpus-analytic tool Sketch Engine, focusing on the top collocates of “net zero” in their respective corpora. Nevertheless, the analysis of framing in terms of collocates may not present an accurate picture of the exact stance.<sup>49</sup> To examine to what extent the selected text aligns with the scientific consensus on “net zero”, this study uses perspectivization strategy adopted towards “net zero” as a tool. The concordance lines of some collocates of “net zero” were further examined to reveal the specific perspectivization strategies taken towards these statements.

#### 4. Election campaigns and green policy in Australia

Ahead of the 2021 UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow, Australia committed to net zero emissions by 2050 but made no change to the 2030 target of 50% carbon emissions’ reduction set as part of the Paris Agreement. “Net zero” is a highly polarizing and divisive issue in Australia. Opposition to green policies remains strong in Australia even though climate action momentum continues to grow.<sup>50</sup> Since 2021, there has been ignorance, conflict, and demonization of and about both carbon-related business and carbon-free or zero-carbon measures.<sup>51</sup>

While policy analysts expected the 2022 campaign to result in the “climate election”<sup>52</sup>, Australia performed badly in the Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) 2022 report. Australia ranked 55<sup>th</sup> and was deemed a very low-performing country to reach the zero target.<sup>53</sup> Australia’s climate policies and performance have fluctuated in the wake of its federal election in May 2022. While climate protection was not a key theme in the political manifestos and discourses of the campaign, momentum in favour of climate-aware policies was evident before and after the elections.<sup>54</sup> The Australian Labor Party took over the majority and its government promised more ambitious climate action. The Australian Greens, a confederation of political parties committed to sustainability, won seats in the Parliament for the first time.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, the Australian Parliament recently passed the country’s Climate Change Bill 2022, pledging to reduce carbon emissions by 43% compared to 2005 levels (up from the previous 26–28%) and to reach net zero by 2050.

As stated in the Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) 2022 report:

The Coalition has a net zero by 2050 target as well as a more immediate target of 26-28% by 2030 (based on 2005 emission levels). However, the Coalition expects to reach up to 35% by 2030. Labor has also adopted a net zero by 2050 target, as well as a 2030 target of 43%. The Greens, as environmental-issue owners, have a much earlier target of net zero by 2035 or sooner, while Centre Alliance supports the Coalition’s 2030 target and Katter’s Australian Party is strongly opposed to net zero by 2050. 2022 AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ELECTION | 18 As for the independents seeking re-election in the House of Representatives, Andrew Wilkie supports reaching net zero as soon as 2030, and Zali Steggall and Helen Haines support 60% by 2030 and net zero by 2050.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Liu, *Discourse Construction*.

<sup>49</sup> Ryan Cunningham, “Strategic Communication in the New Media Sphere”, *JFQ*, 59.4 (2010), 110-114.

<sup>50</sup> Matteo Bonotti and Narelle Miragliotta, eds., “The 2022 Australian Federal Election: Themes, Challenges and Issues”, 2022, available at: [www.apo.org.au/node/317811](http://www.apo.org.au/node/317811).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Christopher Rootes. “The First Climate Change Election? The Australian General Election of 24 November 2007”, *Environmental Politics*, 17.3 (2008), 473-480.

<sup>53</sup> CCPI, 2022, [www.ccpi.org](http://www.ccpi.org)

<sup>54</sup> Bonotti and Miragliotta, *The 2022 Australian*.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> CCPI, 2022

Grassroots climate change campaigns have been exceptionally popular, and despite its slow policy change, Australia has been one of the world’s leading countries in this regard. The bushfire crisis during the summer 2018-2019 affected millions all around the country, and green policies in Australia received largely sympathetic media reporting and commentary.<sup>57</sup>

Before 2013 there was bipartisan support for action for climate change in both Labor and Liberal Parties. As Tranter notices, “While Malcom Turnbull, a supporter of action climate change and former environment minister in the Howard government, was opposition leader, partisan differences were muted, with the two major party leaders in agreement over the need to act, if not on the precise means of action”.<sup>58</sup> “Net zero” frame became dominant in the representation of goals of Australia’s green policies after 2013 and following the emergence of the Greens Party, which gained electoral seats in the last elections. From 2013 onwards, climate change campaigners have been oriented towards the left-wing Labor Party following the approach set by Kevin Rudd, who joined the Kyoto Protocol. On the other hand, right-wing Liberal Party leaders are more prone to scepticism following John Howard.<sup>59</sup> Traditionally, Liberals hold economic growth as their highest priority, even if it means compromising on the climate.

## 5. “Towards Net Zero” Discourse

Zero target campaigns are common in Australia, especially when it comes to safety. Zero is the target used in regard to road safety to avoid and reduce deaths and injuries on Australia’s roads. The “towards zero” website reinforces the message that “any death or serious injury on our roads is one too many. We all need to work together towards achieving a zero road toll”.<sup>60</sup> The underlying assumption of this campaign is “shared responsibility” and the fact that statistics represent real people. The same concept underlies the “net zero” carbon emission campaign. The analysis focuses on this twofold use of the zero target. Collocates of zero and “net zero” referred to climate change and global warming have been selected in the corpora.

### 5.1 Findings

The section that follows presents the findings regarding the most frequently used words, collocations of zero and its variants, its interpretative role (that is, whether they promote green attitudes), and trends over time.

In APTUC the top 10 key words are mainly abbreviations, names of Australian places and politicians as shown in the table below.

1.	govt
2.	aust
3.	bondi
4.	pollie
5.	cronulla
6.	congratulations

<sup>57</sup> Bruce Tranter, “Political Divisions Over Climate Change and Environmental Issues in Australia”, *Environmental Politics*, 20.1 (2011), 78-96.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>59</sup> Katherine Russo, “Speculation About the Future: Populism and Climate Change in the News’ Discourse”, in Encarnacion Hidalgo-Tenorio et al., eds., *Populist Discourse: Critical Approaches to Contemporary Politics*, 1st edition (London: Routledge, 2019).

<sup>60</sup> [www.towardszero.nsw.gov.au](http://www.towardszero.nsw.gov.au)



7. doorstop
8. malcolm
9. aus
10. rudd

Fig 1: Keywords (single-word) in APTUC

The trend is replicated in APES with few significant differences: while in the tweets one of the keywords is “congratulations”, in the speeches “condolence” appears ranked 8; the word “bushfire” is ranked 7, as the table (fig.2) shows. This is justified by the difference between the two genres of the corpora.

1. Australian
2. Nauru
3. Shire
4. Mateship
5. Doorstop
6. Hadley
7. Bushfire
8. Condolence
9. Rudd
10. Indo-pacific

Fig. 2: Keywords (single-word) in APES

In APES, the word “climate” occupies the position 246 in the keywords list. Words related to climate do not appear in the top 50 keywords, while economy and its variant (business) occupy five places in this list (fig.3). The presence of the names of the Prime Ministers suggest that they normally refer to one another in election speeches.



(items: 33,673)

Term	Term	Term	Term	Term
1 turnbull government	11 border policy	21 tax relief	31 budget blowout	41 australian defence
2 ray hadley	12 doorstop interview	22 turnbull govt	32 company tax cut	42 electricity price
3 bill shorten	13 pacific family	23 plan for jobs	33 cronulla beach	43 tax plan
4 boat arrival	14 australian economy	24 australian business	34 malaysian people	44 tax cut
5 economic plan	15 essential service	25 polie paddle	35 asylum seeker	45 turnbull gov
6 company tax	16 mateship trek	26 working australian	36 media statement	46 m brisso
7 border failure	17 strong economy	27 disaster payment	37 defence force	47 australian in jobs
8 people smuggler	18 illegal entry	28 media conference	38 australian people	48 retiree tax
9 border protection	19 young australian	29 business condition	39 transitioning economy	49 kevin rudd
10 keeping australian	20 illegal boat	30 jobs growth	40 record funding	50 illegal arrival

Fig. 3: Keywords (multi-word) in APES

In the APES corpus the noun “zero” appears only once with the adjective “net” and has “towards” as left content and “economic growth” as right content. In APT, similarly to APES, there prevalence of economy and equivalents as shown in fig. 4. Remarkably, “net zero” appears in the top 100 keywords as fig. 5 suggests.



(items: 111,771)

Term	Term	Term	Term
1 malcolm turnbull mp	14 doorstep interview	27 scott morrison	40 parliament today
2 ray hadley	15 new coal	28 australian economy	41 border policy
3 turnbull government	16 company tax	29 upper hunter	42 kevin rudd
4 malcolm turnbull	17 boat arrival	30 new coal mine	43 john howard
5 carbon tax	18 nbn co	31 pumped hydro	44 plan for jobs
6 bill shorten	19 border protection	32 r chirgwin	45 turnbull govt
7 green hydrogen	20 people smuggler	33 keeping australian	46 northern beaches tunnel
8 pollie pedal	21 australian business	34 australian people	47 coal mine
9 economic plan	22 m mccormackmp	35 liberal candidate	48 morning tea
10 northern beach	23 border failure	36 p hannam	49 essential service
11 parliament house	24 young australian	37 beaches tunnel	50 great honour
12 liberal party	25 dawn service	38 retiree tax	
13 strong economy	26 tony abbott	39 labor party	

Fig. 4: Keywords (multi-word) in APT

(items: 111,771)

Term	Term	Term	Term
51 good discussion	64 rose bay	71 net zero	90 fixed wireless
52 pacific family	65 tax plan	78 australian defence	91 instant asset
53 canberra today	66 full speech	79 creating job	92 asset write-off
54 nbn rollout	67 australia day	80 blue hydrogen	93 broadband forum
55 jobs growth	68 western sydney	81 media conference	94 transcript of interview
56 tax relief	69 national energy guarantee	82 medium business	95 disaster payment
57 great win	70 illegal boat	83 great friend	96 campaign office
58 mateship trek	71 working australian	84 central coast	97 australian family
59 electricity price	72 coalition government	85 marriage equality	98 defence force
60 business condition	73 pumped storage	86 former prime minister	99 asylum seeker
61 weekly chat	74 sydney today	87 pollie paddle	100 great work
62 illegal entry	75 new york review	88 power price	
63 morrison government	76 australian job	89 liberal team	

Fig. 5: Keywords (multi-word) in APT (rankings 51-100)

As fig. 6 shows, in APT the phrase “net zero” has a frequency of 27.02 per million tokens. It collocates mostly with the preposition “by” followed by 2050, but also “in 2049” appears once.

CQL zero + net • 21  
27.02 per million tokens • 0.0027%

Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1	doc#1 /03/2022 11:27:13 1.51E+18 +00:00 RT @eddie1: Energy security?</s><s>Net zero ? #withHydropower we can. 21/03/2022 10:45:		
2	doc#1 v 16/10/2021 03:31:21 1.45E+18 +00:00 Kevin makes a powerful point.</s><s>Net zero by 2050 is good.</s><s>But it's the bare min		
3	doc#1 1 05:02:42 1.45E+18 +00:00 Andrew Forrest urges Scott Morrison to commit to net zero even if it means splitting Coalition http 14/10/2		
4	doc#1 4:51 1.45E+18 +00:00 RT @SmartEnergyCndi: Renewable #hydrogen is key to net zero , creating new jobs & export o 13/10/2021 21:2		
5	doc#1 30:28 1.39E+18 +00:00 No new oil, gas or coal development if world is to reach net zero by 2050, says world energy body h 18/05/2021		
6	doc#1 3/05/2021 09:22:38 1.39E+18 +00:00 RT @JamieSmythF: "We will not achieve net zero in the cafés, dinner parties and wine bars of o		
7	doc#1 19:28 1.39E+18 +00:00 ...in fact we have now the technology we need to get to net zero ; solar & wind plus storage wi 22/04/2021 22:1		
8	doc#1 12:26:53 1.38E+18 +00:00 RT @mcannonbrookes: "We're not going to achieve net zero in the cafes, dinner parties & win 20/04/2021 0		
9	doc#1 3 +00:00 RT @zalisstegall: Trudeau tables Canadian climate change bill, with a net zero by 2050 target, 5 yea 19/11/2020 03:04:50 1,3		
10	doc#1 2020 11:30:31 1.32E+18 +00:00 Japan to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions to net zero by 2050 - Nikkei Asia. https://t.co/quOoZZYv 2		
11	doc#1 320 22:43:54 1.23E+18 +00:00 Last tweet this morning: a policy which opposes net zero by 2050 is a policy of 3 degrees plus globa 22		
12	doc#1 +18 +00:00 Watching @InsidersABC - hands wringing about 'how do we get to net zero by 2050?'</s><s>Bottom line 22/02/2020 05:2		
13	doc#1 solar power into the grid poss... at climate change, accelerate progress towards net zero and strengthen energ... eady one of the clean		
14	doc#1 ould be devastating" Anna Borg describing why business must move urgently to net zero . @wef @FortescueF onia to power a ships en		
15	doc#1 The critical issue is to increase the 2030 cut.</s><s>You cannot start getting to net zero in 2049.</s><s>We need substantial near term		
16	doc#1 ilia.</s><s>Our nation-leading El... one @Matt_KeanMP - EVs vital to reaching net zero but also enhance Australia's fuel security.</s><		
17	doc#1 /s><s>As @RepTedLieu explains, racism is t... crease it and properly embrace net zero by 2050 is cutting us off from... ghtwing politics		

Fig. 6: Net zero concordance in APT.

Lists of relatively long clusters of 4, 5, 6, and 7 items in length were prepared, and individual items which reoccurred could be isolated. In all corpora, left collocates have to do with a form of approximation; “near”, “nearly”, “closer”, “close” along with “towards” are among the strongest collocates. In the left content, verbs like “achieve” and “reach”, “get” and its derivatives are common. Interestingly, the phrase “net zero” does not appear in Anthony Albanese’s speeches during the election campaign of 2022, while Scott Morrison used it just four times. Noun modifiers of zero in APT, from the most to the least frequent, are: emissions, goal, board, commitment, cost. Neither Morrison nor Albanese used “coal” and “climate change” together in their speeches in 2022. Morrison mentioned coal once in his speech during the 2019 election campaign. Albanese started using the phrase “net zero” after the elections, in some cases with the traditional deadline of 2050. Reference to climate is two times more frequent during the 2019 and 2022 campaigns compared to 2013 and 2016. Overall, while it is not perfectly accurate to state that 2022 was a “climate election”, given the absence of relevant keywords in the corpus, the changes in its use mark an increasing awareness towards the issue.

5.2 Analysis of “Net Zero” in the Public Remarks of Prime Ministers

“Net zero” used in reference to climate change emerged after 2013. Interestingly, in APT tweets corpus, the phrase “net zero” appears mostly in Malcom Turnbull’s tweets (27.02 per million tokens) and only once in the election speeches delivered by the former Prime Minister Scott Morrison. It is not mentioned by Albanese in APES. It is worth noting that both belong to the same party, the Liberal Party of Australia. This difference in the frequency of “net zero” could mark different approaches towards the target within the same political party.

### 5.2.1 “Net zero” and climate change in Malcom Turnbull’s addresses

In the corpus APT, examples from the tweets by Malcom Turnbull include:

- a. Last tweet this morning: a policy which opposes net zero by 2050 is a policy of 3 degrees plus global[ly] The consequences of this transition: a habitable planet, cheaper energy, more economic growth @RyanWil62993886 Wrong on both counts.
- b. Reverse deforestation, reforest wherever possible. A decade ago the "how" was hard to see. Engineering and economics NOT ideology and idiocy. Watching @InsidersABC - hands wringing about "how do we get to net zero by 2050?".<sup>61</sup>

This was a general tweet by Turnbull on “net zero” showing that the target is not only related to the Australian farming sector but, more broadly, to economic growth on a global scale. “Net zero” collocates with both negative, affirmative sentences and questions in one single thread. This seems to depict “net zero” as an “ideology and idiocy”, plating with the assonance between the two words which are unequivocally rejected by the capitalized “NOT”. Turnbull’s stance towards “net zero” is kept ambiguous. In another tweet, we read: “I followed Australian activist Chanel Contos Kevin makes a powerful point. Net zero by 2050 is good. But it's the bare minimum”. *But* here is italicized and, thus, stressed.

The use of “net zero” combined with a form of negation is recurrent in the APES speeches by Turnbull. In one speech, he stated: “It is often said that justice delayed is justice denied. Well climate action delayed is equally climate change denied. If we keep pushing back larger cuts to emissions into the future, we will never reach net zero emissions”.<sup>62</sup> The repetition of “delayed” and “denied” in association with the adverb “never” emphasizes the urgency of the matter and the difficulty of reaching the target. The word “lower” and its variants is frequently used in APES by Malcom Turnbull. In the same speech, he said: “Climate change affects all of us - it is a global problem. And it is one where all nations must play their part and recognise the importance of their contribution to lowering emissions globally”.<sup>63</sup> The use of an inclusive “us” meaning all the nations plays a role for extending the effects of climate change and the responsibilities for lower emissions. The co-existence of “net zero” and “low emissions” contribute to increase ambiguity around CO2 emissions, given that a neat number and a low number are two extremely different concepts that work together to call for action.

### 5.2.2 Scott Morrison’s addresses

Scott Morrison wrote only one tweet containing the phrase “net zero”: “wing on from our time in the G20, when the now PM [Mario Draghi] was running the European Central Bank AUIT master of statecraft, and a true friend of Australia, in reducing emissions towards net zero and driving economic growth, and keen to meet at an early opportunity”.<sup>64</sup> This was the first phase of health crisis management, in which the relationship with Italy was crucial; Australia aligned with Italy on both COVID-19 and “net zero”. The latter is far from a unifying target, though. In another post, Scott Morrison retweets: “Andrew Forrest urges Scott Morrison to commit to net zero even if it means splitting Coalition”.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Malcom Turnbull, APT February 22, 2020.

<sup>62</sup> Malcom Turnbull, APES, October 20, 2021

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Scott Morrison, APT May 12, 2021.

<sup>65</sup> Scott Morrison, APT October 14, 2021.

The language of the comments in the tweet thread was different than what the quotes suggest. The analysis that follows will show that despite the existence of a neat target like “zero”, there is no neutral acceptance of “net zero” measures in Australian politics or among its public. “Net zero” even recalls apocalyptic scenarios for 2050. In one of the documents, the future is described as having citizens without enough electricity, harsh winters with thousands of people freezing to death, planes that won’t be running anymore, and engineers who will be working 24/7 to make infrastructure function.<sup>66</sup> Conversely, in APES positive reinforcement is expressed by the Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison at the COP26 conference:

18 months ago we were staring into the abyss of a one in hundred year pandemic. The vaccines we would need had not only not been invented, but there had never been a vaccine for a Coronavirus.

But here we are. Billions vaccinated and the world is reclaiming what COVID has taken from us.

The challenge of combating climate change will be met the same way.

And it will be met by those who are frankly largely not in this room. It will be our scientists, our technologists, our engineers, our entrepreneurs, our industrialists and our financiers that will actually chart the path to net zero. And it is up to us as Leaders of governments to back them in.<sup>67</sup>

The permutation of the passive syntagm “will be met” in reference to two different challenges (COVID-19 and climate change) within the same sentence significantly stresses a transfer of responsibilities from the people that are in “that room” (COP26) and those who are not, namely a range of relevant professional figures. A general “technology will be the answer” conclusion embraces the groups of different experts alluded to in the very last sentence of the speech: “Our researchers, scientists, entrepreneurs, investors and most importantly our people are ready. The Australian way is to bet on them — and we think that’s a good bet”. The list of heterogenous actors is a form of overlexicalization strategy that emphasizes the material action better than the actors themselves, the betting action that in this case is investment in decarbonizing technologies.

The phrase “net zero” occurs twice in the first part of the speech but is not used later. Different targets appear in another passage of the same speech by Prime Minister Morrison, when he said:

We have already reduced emissions by more than 20 per cent since 2005 and 54 per cent as an emissions intensity measure. We’re ahead of the pack. Over the same time, our economy has grown by 45 per cent, proving that economic growth is not at odds with emissions reduction. And by 2030 our nationally determined contribution here at COP26 notes that our emissions in Australia will fall by 35 per cent by 2030, far exceeding our Paris commitment. Australia meets and beats on its commitments.<sup>68</sup>

The term “emissions” is repeated twice within the same sentence, once in terms of reduction and the other time in terms of intensity. The use of the two idiomatic expressions “to be ahead of the pack” and “to meet and beat” within a short passage is noteworthy as it suggests a strategy of reputation building. Australia does not have a good reputation in the field of environmentalism due to its heavy reliance on coal. Australia’s role is semiotized to construe leadership that would not exist otherwise. In line with neoliberal policies, the insistence on economic growth offers a vision of a reduction of emissions that does not compromise the Australian economy.

<sup>66</sup> User, APTUC, October 14, 2021.

<sup>67</sup> Scott Morrison, APES November 1, 2021.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. Author’s emphasis.

### 5.2.3 Anthony Albanese’s addresses

Even though newly elected Prime Minister Anthony Albanese only used “net zero” in his tweets and not in speeches, climate change is a recurrent theme in his election campaign. The term appeared twelve times in total during the election campaign. One illustrative passage explicitly compares the COVID-19 pandemic to other challenges, including the climate crisis. To quote directly:

My fellow Australians,

Through the pandemic, our country enjoyed an extraordinary advantage- we could close our borders and seal ourselves off from the world. There’s no doubt that was the right call, which is why I supported it. But let’s be clear – this is not an option for the challenges ahead. Economic competition doesn’t stop at national borders. Climate change doesn’t respect lines on a map. Strategic threats in our region cannot be quarantined.<sup>69</sup>



Fig. 7: Anthony Albanese in APES, February 20, 2020.

The italicization of “but” creates a clear distinction between the pandemic and the related possibility of closing borders – as in the phrase “seal ourselves off from the world” – and other challenges including the economy, climate change, and foreign affairs. The personification “climate change does not respect lines on a map” is used to emphasize the urgency and the far-reaching nature of the issue. This theme is reinforced later in the speech with the use of the war metaphor: “We will end the climate wars, and our plan will help us protect our environment – our coasts, our farmland, our reef, our rivers, our forests”.<sup>70</sup> The permutation of “our” associated with natural elements after the personification conveys anxiety.

A form of self-praise emerges from one of tweets in the collection: “Australia is already at Net Zero”, or “in a net zero world Australia is an energy superpower”, or “Australia already exceeds net zero by 500%”.<sup>71</sup> Those tweets are connected to the hashtag #AusPol. Interestingly, the hashtag “#climate change” on Twitter collects different views and contains both posts that genuinely accept the “net zero” target and posts that criticize and/or mock it using language such as “we can’t have net zero” or “net zero scam”. Other tweets have more neutral connotations, such as: “Australia is well on the way to net

<sup>69</sup> Anthony Albanese, APES, May 1, 2022.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. Author’s emphasis.

<sup>71</sup> APT, March 28, 2023.



zero”, “Australia is on the right path to net zero emissions”, and “Australia is on the path to net zero energy security”.<sup>72</sup>



Fig. 8: Reply to Anthony Albanese in APES, February 20, 2020.

From the comments on the tweets, what emerges is that “net zero” is mostly conceived of as a distant goal linked either to worries about the climate when the target is accepted, or to preoccupations with economic stability when the target is despised. This polarization is likely to take the shape of “climate wars” between “net zero” supporters and antagonists. In fact, a spokesperson for the Greens Party of Australia invented a new term – ‘ecocidal’ – to describe opponents of net zero.<sup>73</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

Achieving “net zero” requires a level of global responsibility and consensus that cannot be reached by the net zero target alone. Polarization divides users that are genuinely committed to the target and those who are not convinced but rather alarmed by a net zero future. The focus of the present article has been on written verbal communication through both traditional and social media outlets concerning the “net zero” target in the years following its emergence in 2013.

The “net zero” target, which is both concrete and absolute, has permeated public discourse in Australia and elsewhere. The use of “net zero” in the analyzed texts has aimed at convincing people, mostly businesses, to take care of the environment and transition to a carbon-free future. In this sense, the “net zero” phrase is not different from the other zero campaigns that Australia first launched with the intention of “making people do the right thing for them”.<sup>74</sup> What has profoundly changed is the way the net zero target is being conceptualized, from something linear to something more divisive.

Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis, the tendency that emerged is that “net zero” frames the discourse of climate change as a race with a finishing line with an undefined starting point. The metaphor source domain is an abstract concept like green policies, which is outweighed by a concrete target domain concept, namely zero carbon emissions. The interpretation of the latter is far from linear, as emerged from the analysis. This shows that the “net zero” target implies a level of approximation expressed by the language that has been left to individual interpretations.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Vanessa Allom et al., “Comparing the Cost-effectiveness of Campaigns Delivered Via Various Combinations of Television and Online Media”, *Frontiers in Public Health*, 6.83 (2018).

Moreover, there are divergences in the language used to express this target. A form of controversy emerged. Words trigger different associations and different meanings that vary according to the political alliance of the speakers.<sup>75</sup> In the case of the “net zero” target, each signatory country of the Paris Agreement has implemented different policies to achieve the goal, with a similar trend: while, for the left-wing parties like the Labor Party and the Greens of Australia, the term “net zero” is associated with progress towards sustainability, for conservatives, the term is associated with a threat to the neoliberal world and lifestyle. As things stand, it is difficult to assess the efficacy of “net zero” metaphor properly because of the lack of an agreed-upon interpretation.

It is clear, given the extensive use of zero in product advertisements, that the number has great potential for getting people’s attention and getting them engaged in their choices. Further studies including social campaigns and social movements should be undertaken to test whether “net zero” is emotionally appealing to citizens. To turn net zero into a useful frame of reference for leaders and decision makers, the metaphor and the actions linked to it need to be translated into clear, fair, and concrete pathways for nation states, subnational entities, companies and other organisations both locally and internationally.

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<sup>75</sup> Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London: Routledge), 1991.