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# GREEN GOVERNMENTALITY, RESPONSIBILIZATION, AND RESISTANCE: INTERNATIONAL ENGOS' ISSUE FRAMINGS OF FUTURE ENERGY SUPPLY AND CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION

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## Abstract

*The starting point for this paper is the increasing shift towards green governmentality as a particular mode of governance in the Western world, implying a shift from state-centered regulation to market-based mechanisms. In this paper, we are particularly interested in the role of environmental nongovernmental organizations (ENGOS) in this form of governance. The central question concerns how international ENGOS' approaches to energy supply and climate mitigation can be understood as aligned with or dissenting from green governmentality. To approach this issue, we analyze the major energy reports of three international ENGOS – i.e. Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and WWF – focusing on their issue framings of future energy supply and climate change mitigation. We conclude that these ENGOS' issue framings are aligned with green governmentality to varying degrees, involving the economization of environmental issues and the responsabilization and moralization of economic actions. These ENGOS also to varying degrees express opposition or resistance to this mode of governance, for example, by opening up the discussion of various aspects of responsibility, including both remedy and culpability.*

**Keywords:** *green governmentality, responsabilization, politics of responsibility, ENGOS, energy supply, climate change*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Increased attention to environmental governance in social sciences in the past 15 years indicates a desire to better understand how modern societies are governed. Relevant studies suggest that contemporary governance is characterized by multiple sources of authority and that “boundaries between societal spheres – state, market and civil society – are increasingly blurred” (Söderström et al., 2016:5). Western liberal democracies have had a general tendency to devolve power, knowledge, and control from formal authorities to private actors. This form of decentralization entails the responsabiliza-

tion of various market actors to voluntarily care for socio-environmental issues. In the wake of this shift, we have seen the emergence of various techniques of government, such as climate campaigns, certification systems, and eco-labeling, that tend to shift environmental responsibilities to corporations and individual consumers (Soneryd and Ugglå, 2015; Bulkeley et al., 2016). Such techniques are led and promoted not only by governments but also by other actors, such as businesses and environmental NGOs (ENGOS), supporting the idea of voluntary agreements and self-regulation (Hursh and Henderson, 2011).

The starting point of this paper is the increasing shift towards modes of governance that can be subsumed under the term “green governmentality”. Green governmentality works through multiple techniques, rationalities, and agencies that seek to steer the conduct of human behavior in an environmentally friendly direction. Although coexisting modes of environmental governance rely on various rationales and forms of regulation, the mode of governance placing the responsibility on private actors is widespread in most of the Western world today (Soneryd and Ugglå, 2015). In this paper, we are particularly interested in ENGOS’ role in green governmentality related to energy supply and climate change mitigation, a relatively neglected issue so far.

Most empirical studies drawing on the concept of green governmentality in energy consumption concentrate on the responsabilization of citizens and consumers, for example, through various environmental or climate campaigns addressing the audience with advice about wise and responsible environmental conduct (see, e.g. Hobson, 2013; Lövbrand and Stripple, 2014; Soneryd and Ugglå, 2015). Other studies with a governmentality perspective have examined carbon markets, analyzing “power and politics without a state locus, origin and outcome” (Paterson and Stripple, 2012:564). The governmentality concept has generally been applied to analyze how power and government work in ways that provide a narrow view of subjects’ capacities, foregoing opportunities to analyze various forms of resistance and dissent (Rutherford, 2007; Death, 2010; Lövbrand and Stripple, 2014). Few studies have considered the relationship between governmentality and social movements, although there are exceptions (Death, 2010; Ullrich and Keller, 2014; Thörn and Svedberg, 2016).

A study of three international ENGOS (i.e. Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and WWF) and two oil companies (i.e. Shell and BP) considered the tendencies toward convergence in their views of future energy systems (Anshelm and Hansson, 2011). The analysis specifically targeted the convergence between ENGOS and commercial organizations, and the authors argued that antagonism between the environmental movement and business is declining. Concentrating on the organizations’ configurations of future energy systems in central policy documents, the authors concluded that the ENGOS use a language of “new environmental pragmatism” and seem to deliberately have ignored more critical matters, such as “questioning over-consumption in the developed world and criticizing over-exploitation of natural resources” (Anshelm and Hansson, 2011:87). This reasoning draws on a binary between power and resistance, implying that movements are “either revolutionary or collaborative” (Death, 2010:237). A more

plausible approach in the study of movements is to be open to the possibility that organizations may perform both these roles, and to varying degrees (cf. Thörn and Svenberg, 2016).

In this study we return to the three ENGOs examined by Anshelm and Hansson (2011) and consider these organizations' issue framings (i.e. selection and arranging of issue elements to convey a certain meaning) regarding future energy supply and climate change mitigation. Drawing on the duality of the governmentality concept (i.e. capturing both how power works and the possibility of dissent), this paper analyzes both tendencies towards and potential resistance to green governmentality. We ask how major ENGOs' approaches to energy supply and climate mitigation can be understood as aligned with or dissenting from green governmentality. This approach should provide a more nuanced understanding of how ENGOs relate to green governmentality. The study is based on a qualitative analysis of the three ENGOs' major energy reports.

In the following sections, we first elaborate on the theoretical framework of green governmentality, responsabilization, and resistance, and thereafter present the design of the study. We then present the results, structured according to the three organizations' issue framings of energy supply and climate change mitigation. In a concluding section, we discuss two implications of the organizations' framings: on the one hand, the strong economization of environmental issues together with the implied moralization of economic actions and, on the other hand, the difference between ENGO engagement in activities emphasizing responsabilization versus a politics of responsibility.

## 2. GREEN GOVERNMENTALITY, RESPONSIBILIZATION, AND RESISTANCE

The concept of green governmentality draws on Foucault's governmentality concept. The governmentality concept does not offer a substantial theory, but rather a useful approach to and ways of thinking about how power works in liberal democracies (Rutherford, 2007; Strippel and Bulkeley, 2014). The semantic linkage between the words *govern* and *mentality* indicates that people's mindsets are at the core in this way of governing. Governmentality thus involves techniques of government differing from rules backed by sanctions for the direction of human conduct (Strippel and Bulkeley, 2014). The concept is based on the notion that power has become decentralized and is performed by multiple actors through various means; for example, private actors can be responsabilized via voluntary agreements, contracts, education, information campaigns, and advisory practices (Dean, 1999; Soneryd and Ugglja, 2015).

To discuss and theorize how responsibility is transferred from political institutions to private actors and how contemporary morality is embedded in the market, Shamir (2008) used the concepts of economization, responsabilization, and moralization. *Economization* refers to how various political and welfare issues are imbued with an economic logic. *Responsibilization* is a technique of government that constructs moral agency among both individual and collective market actors, implying the *moralization* of eco-

conomic actions. This means that market actors can have critical potential, since there is a demand for corporations to take responsibility for the environmental damage that they are causing. However, the moralization of markets also leads to an “economization of morality”, meaning that anyone, not only nation states, can engage in the process of moralization, implying that governments are placed on the same level as private sources of authority (Shamir, 2008:3).

This development has been driven by a shift from mandatory regulations towards guidelines, principles, and standards. These softer forms of governance are promoted by various actors, such as the state, corporations, and nongovernmental organizations, in “a market of authorities” (Shamir, 2008:10). Furthermore, it entails the facilitation of “market entities to assume the caring and welfare moral duties that were once assigned to civil society and governmental entities” without threatening “the rationality of the market, as a hegemonic principle for organizing social relations in general” (Shamir, 2008:10). When the rationality of the market becomes the principle for organizing other spheres as well, the boundaries between the economy and society collapse. One important implication of these tendencies of economization, responsibilization, and moralization is a shift in how responsibility is understood and can be used as a resource in framing a certain issue (cf. Benford and Snow, 2000).

Studies of green governmentality or environmental responsibilization have primarily focused on how power and the government work and how responsibility to address current problems according to certain norms and standards is imposed on private actors (see, e.g. Maniates, 2001; Kent, 2009; Paterson and Stripple, 2012; Akenji, 2014). However, as mentioned in the introduction, the concept of governmentality not only captures how power works but also allows for the analysis of *resistance*. In addition to the concept of responsibilization, Thörn and Svenberg (2016) introduced the “politics of responsibility” concept to denote the duality of the Swedish environmental movement’s engagement. By politics of responsibility, they meant “a struggle over defining who bears responsibility in the field of environmental politics” (Thörn and Svenberg, 2016:594). Their study illustrates how ENGOs have participated in neoliberal responsibilization by emphasizing the moral responsibility of consumers, becoming involved in partnerships with “environmentally responsible” businesses, and participating in the economization of environmental governance. On the other hand, ENGOs have displayed resistance to responsibilization by engaging in a politics of responsibility, for example, by opening up the discussion of who is responsible for both causing and remedying current problems (Thörn and Svenberg, 2016).

Responsibility can relate to both future and past events, and may involve both culpability and remedy (Pellizzoni, 2004; Löfmarck et al., 2017). Actors’ inclusion of culpability in their issue framings can be seen as a form of resistance, a way to engage in a politics of responsibility (Thörn and Svenberg, 2016). This implies that in analyzing the allocation of responsibility, we must consider both who is supposed to have moral obligations to remedy current problems and who is supposed to have caused them.

### 3. MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Empirical material

In this study we analyze the energy reports of three major international ENGOs: Friends of the Earth (FoE), Greenpeace, and World Wildlife Fund (WWF). These ENGOs were chosen in order to revisit those examined in Anshelm and Hansson's (2011) study with the aim to explore both responsabilization *and* resistance in their issue framings of energy supply and climate change mitigation. These three organizations are major international ENGOs described as "among the most established, influential, and globally leading organizations of their type" (Anshelm and Hansson, 2011:3). Visiting the web pages specifically addressing climate change on their international websites reveals these organizations' emphasis of energy transition in dealing with climate change (FoE, 2016; Greenpeace, 2016; WWF, 2016). In this study, we limit the analysis to these groups' formal statements on the issue at an organizational level. All three organizations have published major reports on the transition to renewable energy systems. These reports were chosen in order to have empirical material that, for comparative purposes, includes the organizations' central public statements and yet is limited enough to enable qualitative analysis and comparison (cf. Ragin, 1994; Mason, 2002). Though these reports differ somewhat in their outline and scope, all three are important documents presenting the organizations' views of climate change mitigation and positioning relative to preferred energy futures. In 2015, Greenpeace published an updated version of *Energy [R]evolution* that largely corresponds to the 2012 report. Based on the similarity between these two versions, for comparative purposes, we chose to analyze the three reports of these ENGOs closest together in time, as follows:

- *The Energy Report: 100% Renewable Energy by 2050* (WWF, 2011)
- *Energy [R]evolution: A Sustainable World Energy Outlook*, 4th edition (Greenpeace, 2012)
- *Good Energy, Bad Energy? Transforming Our Energy System for People and the Planet* (FoE, 2013)

#### 3.2. Issue framing

In this paper we apply an interactional approach to framing, which differs from the cognitive approach treating frames as culturally stored representations (Dewulf and Bouwen, 2012). In studying social movement organizations, scholars interested in framing processes have increasingly concentrated on the struggle over ideas and meanings.

From this perspective, social movements are not viewed merely as carriers of extant ideas and meanings that grow automatically out of structural arrangements, unanticipated events, or existing ideologies. Rather, movement actors are viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers (Benford and Snow, 2000:613).

Framing concerns how certain information or aspects of an issue are made salient, which entails overlooking or downplaying other aspects (Entman, 1993). The concepts of framing and discourse are interrelated. The framing of an issue, i.e. the selection and arranging of issue elements, takes place in context (Dewulf and Bouwen, 2012). A phenomenon or object can be surrounded by various discourses, for example, the discourses of sustainability, ecological modernization, and green radicalism in environmental politics (cf. Dryzek, 1997; Hajer, 1997). Discourse refers to an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and beliefs that together construct a particular object or phenomenon (Burr, 1995:64.). Discourses may function as interpretative repertoires – or flexible resources – in an actor's framing of a certain issue. A specific framing can draw on several discourses; likewise, various discourses may intersect within a particular framing.

In studies of social movements, framing analysis has been used to identify how certain issues are constructed in the pursuit of a particular policy direction (Benford and Snow, 2000; see also Jacoby, 2000, on issue framing as an important political resource in pursuit of a certain course of action). According to Benford and Snow (2000), the framing process has three core tasks, i.e. diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. The framing process entails describing the current situation (i.e. diagnostic framing), describing what should be done (i.e. prognostic framing), and clarifying why the suggested measures are needed (i.e. motivational framing). The motivational aspect of framing may involve “vocabularies of severity, urgency, efficacy and propriety” in calling for action pursuing a certain outcome (Benford and Snow, 2000:617).

### 3.3. Analysis

In the present analysis, we considered the three core tasks of the framing process of a social movement: diagnostic (i.e. how a problem is defined, who / what caused the problem), prognostic (i.e. what should be done by whom), and motivational framing (i.e. why it is important to act). We also examined statements and other expressions elucidating the allocation of responsibility (i.e. both culpability and responsibility to act). In addition, the analysis was based on the analytical tools elaborated on by Uggla and Olausson (2013) based on concepts developed by Borah (2011), Entman (1993), and Lakoff (2010). These analytical tools help identify how information is made salient, and concern:

- *placement of information* – what information is emphasized and highlighted, for example, headings and captions
- *repetition of information* – central themes and frequent use of certain terms and expressions
- *use of culturally familiar symbols* – how certain pieces of information are anchored in a familiar interpretative framework
- *use of metaphors* and *distinctions* to make information salient
- *use of catchphrases* and *visual images* to capture attention

In the first step of the analysis, we read all three reports in their entirety to identify central themes corresponding to the three core tasks of the framing process of a social

movement – i.e. diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing – and the allocation of responsibility. During this reading, we took notes on terms that appeared central to the main message of and / or were frequently used in the reports, for example, decentralization, equality, extractivism, future, just / justice, innovation, lifestyle, modern / modernize / modernizing, neo-colonialism / postcolonial, power (excluding “electric power” and “nuclear power”), renewable, sustainable / sustainability, technology, transformation / transition, and unjust / unfair. Eventually, we had a list of 45 such terms. We then systematically searched for these terms in each report and summarized the results, enabling us to compare the three reports in terms of their vocabulary and repetition of information.

In the second step of the analysis, the aforementioned analytical tools were systematically applied to each studied report. For example, headings, catchphrases, images, and other highlighted information were compiled and analyzed for each report. Also, for each report, metaphors, symbols, and distinctions were systematically taken account of in the analysis. To enhance the transparency of the study, in presenting results, selected quotations and descriptions of images, symbols, and information placement are cited as illustrative and representative examples.

#### 4. DIFFERENT FRAMINGS OF FUTURE ENERGY SUPPLY AND CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION

In general, FoE, Greenpeace, and WWF convey a similar message. The three organizations diagnose the current situation and justify change in a certain direction based on the following standpoints: i) there is an urgent need to abandon fossil fuels, mainly because of climate change; ii) nuclear power is not a viable option; and iii) the current situation of globally unequal access to energy must be remedied.

The organizations’ framings of current problems and how to pursue a sustainable future differ, however. Although they mainly draw on the same interpretative repertoires – in this case, the discourses of sustainable development, ecological modernization, and green radicalism – the organizations do so to varying extents, with Greenpeace being closest to the ecological modernization, FoE to the green radicalism, and WWF to the sustainable development discourse. This entails three overlapping but somewhat divergent framings of current problems and of how to pursue a sustainable energy supply (see Figure 1). The result is presented below under thematic headings corresponding to the frames identified in the analysis: *A market-based energy transition* is the main framing found in the Greenpeace report, although overlapping views are expressed in the WWF report. *A renewable energy future* is the framing most clearly expressed by WWF, although overlapping views are expressed in the Greenpeace and FoE reports. Finally, *a globally just energy distribution* is the main framing in the FoE report; although issues of justice and distribution are also raised in the Greenpeace and WWF reports, neither can be seen to be as strongly based on a justice frame as is the FoE report.

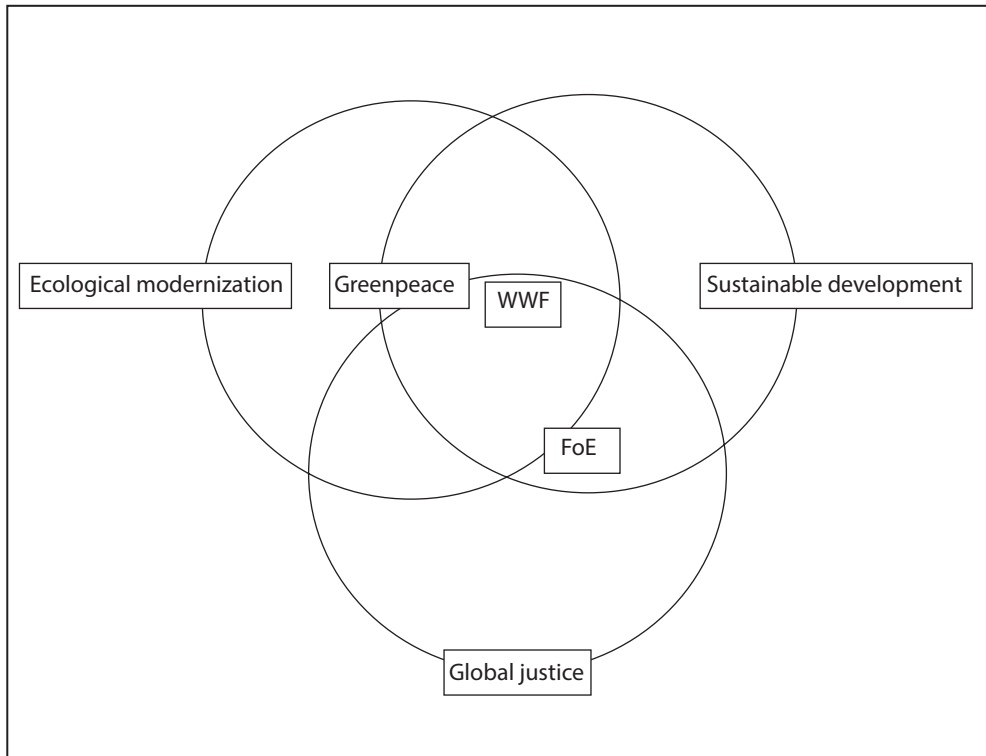


Figure 1. *Environmental discourses and issue framings in the reports of Friends of the Earth (FoE), Greenpeace, and WWF*

#### 4.1. *Greenpeace: A market-based energy transition*

In its diagnostic and motivational framing, Greenpeace emphasizes the urgency of taking action. For example, its report states: “In order to avoid the most catastrophic impacts of climate change, the global temperature increase must be kept as far below 2°C as possible. This is still possible, but time is running out” (Greenpeace, 2012:15).

In its report Greenpeace uses the metaphor of “Silent Revolution” to capture the ongoing uptake of renewable energy. The idea behind this metaphor is that the inevitable transition to renewable energy is already quietly under way. However, the report repeatedly stresses the need to speed up this “Silent Revolution” globally, which “requires greater levels of commitment and cooperation to develop enabling policy, combined with practical business solutions” (Greenpeace, 2012:5). This statement, quoted from the report’s foreword, captures two recurrent themes of the report. First, a revolution driven by market-based technological development is proposed as the main solution to remedy current problems and create a renew-



able energy system. Second, political action is needed to support this revolution, by creating a stable and predictable market for the development and introduction of renewable energy technologies as well as by leveling an uneven “playing field” in the energy market. For example, it is stated that:

At present there is a distortion in many energy markets, where renewable energy generators have to compete with old nuclear and fossil fuel power stations but not on a level playing field. This is because consumers and taxpayers have already paid the interest and depreciation on the original investments so the generators are running at a marginal cost. Political action is needed to overcome market distortions so renewable energy technologies can compete on their own merits (Greenpeace, 2012:20).

Other recurrent themes in the report are “decentralization” and the ideas of “modern” technology and “modern” energy sources and services with reference to renewable energy technologies and energy efficiency.

“Energy [r]evolution” – a term included in the title of the Greenpeace report – is a leading concept of the report. The square brackets around the letter “r” are indicative of Greenpeace’s framing of how to pursue a sustainable future. Although Greenpeace is calling for radical change, implying that the transition to renewable energy is a revolution, the idea is to base this change on existing institutions, particularly relying on the market as an organizing principle for governance, and to preserve the possibility of economic growth.

Also, in emphasizing equity, Greenpeace’s framing primarily concerns technological development rather than social and structural change, as illustrated in the following:

If we are to address climate change, one of the principles must be equity and fairness, so that the benefits of energy services – such as light, heat, power and transport – are available for all: north and south, rich and poor. Only in this way can we create true energy security, as well as the conditions for genuine human wellbeing. The Energy [R]evolution scenario has a target to achieve energy equity as soon as technically possible. By 2050 the average per capita emission should be between 0.5 and 1 tonne of CO<sub>2</sub> (Greenpeace, 2012:27).

The images used in the Greenpeace report have an obvious technical focus, showing various renewable energy installations and models of, for example, how different systems of wind turbines and solar cells could be linked in a decentralized energy future.

In the report, confidence in technological development, energy efficiency, a modern energy supply, and the capitalist market is a recurrent theme. This belief in

technological development and the market is conveyed in statements about how the energy [r]evolution will decouple economic growth from fossil fuel, without ruining the possibility of ongoing economic growth. One example is the stated expectation of a great number of new green and high-quality jobs due to the energy [r]evolution. The following quotation illustrates the intertwining of renewable energy and continuous economic growth in Greenpeace's framing: "Renewable energy will also contribute to sustainable economic growth, high quality jobs, technology development, global competitiveness and industrial and research leadership" (Greenpeace, 2012:20). This framing of how to pursue a sustainable future is largely attuned to the discourse of ecological modernization. Within Greenpeace's framing of current problems and how to pursue a future of renewable energy, allocating responsibility mainly concerns how to facilitate the, in principle, self-propelled process of technological development. This facilitation mainly concerns political action, which is needed to overcome market distortion. According to this framing, it is not the market or the capitalist economy that is hindering the transition to renewable energy and fair energy distribution. Instead, unequal conditions in the energy market are presented as the main obstacle to attaining a sustainable future. The Greenpeace framing clearly includes the responsabilization of market actors. This framing can be seen as also including the politics of responsibility by emphasizing the need for political action, though the call for political action is limited to the creation of economic incentives for technological development. Although the diagnostic and motivational framings stress the urgency of taking action, explanations of who or what caused the current problems remain implicit and vague.

#### 4.2. WWF: A renewable energy future

Despite the seriousness of its message, WWF's framing is optimistic. The organization's diagnostic and motivational framings depict a serious situation in which a transition to renewable energy is not only the best choice but also "our only option" to "secure energy for all and avoid environmental catastrophe" (WWF, 2011:13). Although the report emphasizes the many challenges ahead, the possibility of a renewable energy future is a recurrent theme in the report. In the WWF report, this message is made salient in headings, catchphrases, and other highlighted information. For example, the front page presents the title – *The Energy Report: 100% Renewable Energy by 2050* – in large capital letters against a photograph of waves crashing on rocks, an image symbolizing renewable energy.

In the WWF report, it is argued that various important choices and challenges (political, economic, environmental, and social) lie ahead. Despite these chal-

lenges, the viability of a 100% renewable energy future is repeated in the report. The framing is therefore both future oriented and optimistic. Other recurrent themes in the report are energy efficiency and energy conservation, including reuse and recycling, which are depicted as a major means of energy saving.

The allocation of responsibility concerns culpability, i.e. who or what is supposed to have caused current problems and who is supposed to take action to remedy them. The three organizations' framings differ in how they address these two aspects. Greenpeace glosses over the issue of responsibility in terms of culpability, while FoE emphasizes it. WWF is the organization that most clearly includes both aspects of responsibility in its framing. Whereas Greenpeace merely concludes that the use of fossil fuel is unsustainable and has a number of detrimental consequences, WWF concludes that: i) the global energy sector is "responsible for around two-thirds of global greenhouse gas emissions" (WWF, 2011:16); ii) government subsidies and private investments in fossil fuels and nuclear power ventures hinder the effective transition to renewables; and iii) "rich countries have built their economies on cheap, plentiful fossil fuels, and continue to consume the vast majority of global energy supplies" (WWF, 2011:56).

This view of culpability implies allocating responsibility to act to several sectors and / or actors. In the WWF report, the main responsibility is allocated to politics, governments, and developed countries, for example, by stating that "world governments must stop the scramble for land for biofuels" (WWF, 2011:62) and that countries with advanced technology ought to support developing countries by sharing knowledge and expertise. According to WWF, individuals, businesses, communities, and nations all need to consider, and try to reduce, their energy consumption, implying the responsabilization of a broad set of actors. The responsabilization in WWF's framing includes wealthy people and people in rich countries, who are urged to make wise lifestyle choices and to consume less meat. For example, it is stated that:

If people in the developed world ate half as much meat as they do today, we would need less land for growing animal feed and grazing. That would free-up enough land to grow enough biofuel crops without threatening food security, clearing forests, increasing irrigation or losing biodiversity (WWF, 2011:61).

WWF is the only one of the three organizations analyzed here that clearly includes individual lifestyle choices in its framing of future energy supply and climate change mitigation, the main focus being on minimizing food waste and reducing consumption of meat in rich countries. Besides the call for political action to stabilize the energy market, responsibility to take action is also articulated

in vaguer, more general terms, for example, by stating that “the world” needs to consider what a transition “to a sustainable energy future” requires (WWF, 2011:11). This appeal to “the world” (or to humanity) – indicating that the problem is equally shared by all – has been identified in other critical studies of climate change governance as an indicator of a deeply depoliticized approach to climate change, since it disenables analysis of how responsibility for the damage caused by climate change is distributed unequally around the globe (Swyngedouw, 2011; Lövbrand et al., 2015).

#### 4.3. FoE: Globally just energy distribution

Similarly to Greenpeace and WWF, the diagnostic and motivational framings of FoE are unambiguous about the urgent need for change. In defining the problems with the current energy system, FoE states:

Climate change is already happening – wreaking devastation on communities and ecosystems around the world. Yet without urgent action to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions, we face a far worse situation of runaway climate change, with impacts which would dramatically overshadow anything that we are seeing today (FoE, 2013:13).

In contrast to Greenpeace and WWF, in its report FoE repeatedly calls for structural change. Although both Greenpeace and WWF express the need for equity and fair energy distribution, both these organizations have a consensus perspective on how to remedy current problems, relying on current structures and institutions. FoE’s framing of current problems and of how to pursue a sustainable future is more critical and confrontational. One main theme of this organization’s report is how the current unsustainable and unjust state of the world is a manifestation of power structures and vested interests.

Compared with WWF and Greenpeace, FoE uses a different vocabulary. Its diagnostic framing includes concepts such as neoliberalism, neocolonialism, and extractivism. While WWF’s framing is future oriented and basically optimistic, FoE harshly criticizes the current system. One important repeatedly emphasized aspect of FoE’s motivational framing is the unjust global distribution of energy. Instead of the responsabilization of market actors, FoE can be said to perform resistance to green governmentality by becoming involved in the politics of responsibility. It does this by opening up the discussion to address who or what has caused the current problems. In its report, FoE recurrently criticizes Western energy-consuming lifestyles that exploit both natural resources and other parts of the world, implying a need for structural changes. The following quotation expresses the essence of this framing:

This energy-intensive, energy-dependent lifestyle which characterises modern life in the industrialised world is deeply connected with the models and processes of extractivism, neoliberalism and neocolonialism explored earlier. The high levels of energy consumption of the industrialised world are predicated on the ready availability of energy and the environmental and social costs of the production of this energy being borne mostly by people and communities outside of their borders (FoE, 2013:41).

This message is emphasized by the use of various distinctions and contrasts, for example, in the title *Good Energy, Bad Energy* and the phrase “Who benefits, who pays”, which recurs in headings and other highlighted information. Likewise, “North” and “South”, and “industrial” and “developing” countries are recurrently contrasted with each other.

The theme of global injustice is also featured in the logotype of the report, which is based on a silhouette of the Earth. It alludes to global injustice by indicating an industrial North versus an agricultural and low-energy South, partly intersected by the report’s title *Good Energy, Bad Energy? Transforming Our Energy System for People and the Planet*. This silhouette of the Earth is a culturally familiar symbol. Since the first image of the Earth was captured from outer space in 1968, the image of the globe has become a metaphor for the Earth’s “unlimited finitude” and the common fate of humanity (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006). The silhouette reappears in different colors and shapes in the report, in some instances combined with headings such as “Who benefits the most!” and “Who pays the biggest price?”, emphasizing the message of an unjust global distribution of energy and other resources.

In FoE’s framing, the issue of responsibility mainly concerns culpability or blame. The theme of global injustice is based on the idea of a history of the unjust extraction of natural resources and the unjust distribution of resources, implying that the North, Western countries, and the developed countries are the main cause of current problems. Compared with the severe criticism of the current system and policy, the report is rather vague in discussing concrete measures and the allocation of responsibility to act.

Table 1 summarizes the main aspects of allocating responsibility in the three framings identified here. In the concluding section, we discuss the implications of how the messages in the analyzed documents are framed. We concentrate on the distinction between culpability and responsibility for future action, and the implications of whether this is made clear or remains vague in these organizations’ problematizations of climate change and the advocacy of particular energy solutions.

Table 1. *Main framings and allocation of responsibility in the analyzed energy reports*

	<b>Greenpeace</b>	<b>WWF</b>	<b>FoE</b>
<b>Framing</b>	A market-based energy transition	A renewable energy future	Globally just energy distribution
<b>Culpability</b>	Implicit and vague	Implicit and vague	Industrial countries' exploitation of the South, based on colonialism and extractivism
<b>Responsibility for future action</b>	Governments should contribute to equal market conditions, and reduce barriers to renewable energy development	Individuals, business, communities, and nations all need to consider and try to reduce their energy consumption	Call for structural change, but vague about responsibility to act

## 5. CONCLUSION

The energy reports analyzed here constitute limited material and give only an indication of the roles of the selected ENGOs in the shift towards green governmentality. These organizations act in different arenas, apply different strategies, and disseminate somewhat different messages depending on the context and target group. As previous studies have demonstrated, individuals have been responsabilized by various actors, including ENGOs (e.g. Kent, 2009; Thörn and Svenberg, 2016). The documents analyzed here represent the studied organizations' public statements on future energy supply and climate change mitigation, and convey how the organizations want to present themselves and what policy courses they advocate in these matters. One conclusion that can be drawn from our analysis is that Greenpeace, FoE, and WWF are caught up in similar trends, as was demonstrated by Anshelm and Hansson (2011) based on these organizations' policy documents from around 2006-2007. Our study also finds differences between these organizations in terms of how responsibilities are allocated, a dimension not emphasized by Anshelm and Hansson (2011). Based on our analysis, we draw attention to the implications of, on one hand, the strong economization of environmental issues and, on the other, how responsibility is allocated.

First, processes of economization and moralization, in Shamir's (2008) terms, are seen as co-produced rather than as separate processes in neoliberal epistemology. Rather than seeing moralization as something external that can correct

the economic sphere, markets are assumed to take on moral obligations, which means that the economic sphere is expanded into other areas that used to belong to the state or the civil sphere. In the main framings of Greenpeace and WWF, market mechanisms are put forward as crucial for pursuing preferred energy futures. In the Greenpeace report, this tendency is even stronger, as a market logic for realizing preferred energy futures based on renewables is assumed throughout the report, depicted as an almost self-propelled process of technological development. The current energy market is argued to be biased because of state subventions to the fossil fuel market, but the rationality of the market in itself is never questioned by Greenpeace. WWF's framing is very similar in this respect, but includes a clearer distinction between the roles of policy makers and the market. Both Greenpeace and WWF largely rely on existing societal institutions to implement their suggested solutions. The FoE framing is the most critical of the current system and therefore implies more resistance to green governmentality. However, although the FoE report does not suggest improvements in how the market functions, it hardly suggests any other concrete solutions. Since FoE is very unclear about who is responsible for future action, and the means by which urgently needed changes will come about, it makes no forceful proposal as to how the boundaries between societal and democratic control and the economic market should be established and upheld.

Second, our analysis clarifies why the distinction between culpability and responsibility matters: it enables the analysis of who and what are assumed to have caused current problems, and, of what policy course to pursue (i.e. what should be done and who should do it). Drawing on this distinction, we conclude that all three organizations are unbalanced in terms of clarifying both the culpability and responsibility for future actions and, not least, the relationship between the two. We argue that this distinction is important in order to engage fully in a "politics of responsibility", since it opens up discussions to take account of all the interests involved. It is important that both policy makers, including ENGOs, and scholars studying issues of responsibility and responsabilization pay attention to this distinction.

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## ZELENI GOVERNMENTALITET, RESPONSIBILIZACIJA I OTPOR: KAKO MEĐUNARODNI EKOLOŠKI NVO-I VIDE BUDUĆNOST ENERGETSKE OPSKRBE I UBLAŽAVANJA KLIMATSKIH PROMJENA

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### Sažetak

*Ovaj se rad bavi sve jačim zaokretom vlada Zapada prema zelenom governmentalitytu kao posebnom obliku upravljanja, pri čemu dolazi do pomaka od državne regulacije prema mehanizmima kojima upravlja tržište. U radu naglasak stavljamo na ulogu koju unutar takvih oblika upravljanja imaju ekološke nevladine organizacije (ekološki NVO-i). Ključno je pitanje priklanjaju li se međunarodni ekološki NVO-i zelenom governmentalitytu po pitanjima energetske opskrbe i ublažavanja klimatskih promjena. Kako bismo to istražili, analizirali smo ključne energetske izvještaje triju međunarodnih ekoloških NVO-a: Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace i WWF, pri čemu smo se usredotočili na način na koji shvaćaju budućnost energetske opskrbe i ublažavanja klimatskih promjena. Zaključujemo da je način na koji ovi ekološki NVO-i shvaćaju navedena pitanja u skladu sa zelenim governmentalitytom u nekoliko aspekata, među kojima su ekonomizacija ekoloških pitanja, responsabilizacija te moralizacija ekonomskog djelovanja. Međutim, ovi se ekološki NVO-i u određenoj mjeri i razlikuju od zelenog governmentalityta kao, primjerice, po pitanju preuzimanja različitih tipova odgovornosti poput popravljivanja štete i preuzimanja krivnje.*

**Ključne riječi:** zeleni governmentalityt, responsabilizacija, politika odgovornosti, ekološke nevladine organizacije, energetska opskrba, klimatske promjene

## GRÜNE GOVERNEMENTALITÄT, RESPONSIBILISIERUNG UND WIDERSTAND: WIE INTERNATIONALE ÖKOLOGISCHE NRO DIE ZUKUNFT DER ENERGIEVERSORGUNG UND DER LINDERUNG DES KLIMAWANDELS SEHEN

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### Zusammenfassung

*Diese Arbeit beruht auf einer zunehmend starken Umkehrung westlicher Regierungen in Richtung grüne Gouvernentalität als eine besondere Form der Verwaltung; dabei kommt es zu einer Verschiebung von der staatlichen Regulierung zu den Mechanismen, die vom Markt geregelt werden. In der Arbeit setzen wir den Akzent auf die Rolle, die innerhalb von solchen Verwaltungsformen ökologische Nichtregierungsorganisationen (ökologische NRO) haben. Die Schlüsselfrage ist, ob internationale ökologische NRO sich in puncto Energieversorgung und Linderung des Klimawandels der grünen Gouvernentalität anpassen. Um dies zu prüfen, haben wir die wichtigsten Energieberichte von drei internationalen ökologischen NRO analysiert, usw. von: Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace und WWF, wobei wir uns auf die Art und Weise konzentriert haben, wie sie die Zukunft der Energieversorgung und der Linderung des Klimawandels sehen. Wir kommen zum Schluss, dass die Art und Weise, wie diese ökologischen NRO die erwähnten Fragen verstehen, in einigen Aspekten mit der grünen Gouvernentalität übereinstimmt, darunter sind die Ökonomisierung ökologischer Fragen, die Responsibilisierung und die Moralisierung der ökonomischen Tätigkeit. Diese ökologischen NRO unterscheiden sich jedoch im bestimmten Ausmaß von der grünen Gouvernentalität, z.B. bei Fragen der Übernahme verschiedener Typen der Verantwortung, wie Schadenbehebung oder Schuldübernahme.*

**Schlüsselwörter:** Grüne Gouvernentalität, Responsibilisierung, Politik der Verantwortung, ökologische Nichtregierungsorganisationen, Energieversorgung, Klimawandel