

This is a pre print version of the following article:

A Netnographic Exploration of Anger and Hope about Climate Change on Reddit / Nicolleau, P., Bergianti, F.. - (2025). (2025 AMS Annual Conference Montréal, Canada 21-23 May 2025).

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14/08/2026 22:24

A Netnographic Exploration of Anger and Hope in Relation to Climate Change on Reddit

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ABSTRACT

Research on emotions among young adults highlights anger and hope as key drivers of pro-environmental actions. Righteous anger, emerging from perceived injustices, fuels the desire for change and pushes individuals to seek reparations, while hope provides meaning and a vision of an achievable goal. Together, these contrasting emotions form a “moral battery” supposed to stimulate motivation to act, although their specific impact on sustainable behaviors remains little studied. This study examines the association of anger and hope in online discussions through a netnographic approach, focusing on young adults, known for their ecological sensitivity. Through content analysis of 28 Reddit threads on climate change, we identified central themes linked to these emotions. The study reveals parallels in the way anger and hope are expressed and interconnected, thus providing a basis for future research. Hope appears as a determining force able to conduct anger into constructive action, while in turn, hope is activated, fueled by a feeling of self-efficacy. By recognizing the emotional complexity of consumers and introducing hope as a counterbalance to eco-anger, this research could help companies and institutions more effectively promote sustainable practices and build authentic relationships with environmentally conscious consumers.

Keywords: Moral emotions; Climate change; Sustainability; Netnography; Young adults.

INTRODUCTION

Existing research highlights the significant role emotions play in driving pro-environmental behaviors, particularly among young adults. Emotions such as anger, guilt, elevation, and hope have been identified as critical motivators in the context of climate engagement (Grappi et al. 2024; Li et al. 2022; Kleres and Wettergren 2017). Among these, anger and hope stand out as particularly influential.

Anger, while often viewed negatively, is increasingly recognized as an adaptive response to perceived injustices (Stanley et al. 2021; Rozin et al. 1999). Within climate activism, anger has been leveraged as a powerful tool for change, as seen in movements like the Sunrise Movement and through figures like Greta Thunberg (Jones and Davison 2020). Appraisal theories suggest that anger arises from a perception of the illegitimacy of the status quo and the gap between current realities and desired futures (Frijda 1987; Lazarus 1991). It is a more "active" emotion compared to others like fear or guilt, propelling individuals toward action (Carver and Harmon-Jones 2009). In the context of climate change, "eco-anger" is commonly experienced and has been shown to predict activism, policy support, and even sustainable consumer behaviors (Gregersen et al. 2023; Romani et al. 2013; Marczak et al. 2023; Landmann and Rohmann 2020). Yet, despite its prevalence, anger remains one of the least studied emotions in the climate context (Pihkala 2022; Brosch 2021).

Hope, on the other hand, is a forward-looking, positive emotion centered on the possibility of improvement (Ojala 2023). It provides a sense of agency, fostering motivation to act despite uncertainty or unfavorable odds (Lazarus 1991; Snyder 2000). Hope is essential for sustaining

action, particularly in the face of adversity, as it prevents disengagement (McGeer 2004). Scholars distinguish between constructive hope, which is linked to proactive engagement, and false hope, which fosters inaction due to misplaced optimism (Marlon et al. 2019). Hope is not merely a passive desire for better outcomes; it is inherently tied to agency and the belief in one's capacity to effect change. It directs attention toward future possibilities, motivating pro-environmental behaviors by framing them as meaningful and achievable (Lagomarsino and Lemarié 2022). Within environmental discourse, hope is increasingly called upon as a vital resource for addressing climate challenges (WWF 2022; UN 2022). Research shows that hope is positively associated with climate change engagement and pro-environmental behaviors (e.g., Finnegan 2023; Sangervo et al. 2022).

Anger and hope were selected as focal emotions in this study due to their complementary potential in driving meaningful and sustained climate engagement. Hope differs fundamentally from many other emotions because it is explicitly future-oriented: it blends a cognitive belief that things can and will improve with a positive, agentic emotional stance toward what lies ahead (Weber and Costantino 2023). This orientation is essential when confronting a threat like climate change, which unfolds gradually and demands a long-term focus. To maintain action over time, individuals must believe not only that the future exists—but that it's worth preserving—and that positive change remains possible despite mounting evidence of environmental decline (Weber and Costantino 2023). Empirical insights show that when people care deeply about an issue, hope grounded in the possibility (rather than probability) of success fosters greater commitment to climate action (Bury et al. 2020). Yet hope alone can backfire: certain passive forms, untied to concrete outcomes, may weaken rather than strengthen determination (Geiger et al. 2023). Still, unlike anger—which often fuels polarization—hope enhances perceived efficacy and can unite people across political groups (Feldman and Hart 2016; Webster et al. 2021).

On the other hand, anger stands out among negative emotions for its mobilizing strength, especially when compared to guilt or shame, which often depress action, or fear and anxiety, which can induce paralysis or denial (Grau 2025). Though less studied in climate contexts, anger shows strong potential to motivate collective, nonviolent action when held by communities committed to justice. Moreover, channeling political or eco-anger in constructive ways helps prevent it from morphing into resentment or “doomist” despair (Grau 2025). Although anger may not be conventionally admirable, it often sits alongside hope in public climate discourse—as a call to both hold systems accountable and to believe in a better future (e.g., Thunberg 2019).

Together, these two emotions offer a powerful, underexplored emotional tension: moral dissatisfaction with the status quo (anger) and a belief in, and desire for, a more just and sustainable future (hope). Investigating their interaction provides a compelling framework for understanding what drives sustainable consumption.

The interplay between a positive and a negative has been theorized as a “moral battery,” where the two emotions amplify each other to drive motivation and action (Jasper 2011). The combination of anger and hope has been observed in various political movements, such as Occupy in the United States and Nuit Debout in France (Pickard and Bessant 2018), suggesting its potential relevance to climate action. However, while anger and hope are acknowledged as critical drivers of collective activism (Aminzade and McAdam 2001), their role in fostering sustainable consumption behaviors—a more individualized form of engagement—remains underexplored. However, theoretical parallels can be drawn between collective activism and individual sustainable practices, both of which often stemming from shared group identities and moral imperatives (van Zomeren et al. 2004).

Despite the increasing recognition of emotions in climate-related behaviors, existing research has largely examined anger and hope in isolation. Studies have explored how anger predicts protest or policy support, and how hope fosters sustained engagement, particularly under conditions of uncertainty (e.g., Bury et al. 2020; Gregersen et al. 2023; Weber and Costantino 2023). However, few studies have systematically investigated the combined effects of these two emotions—especially in the domain of sustainable consumption, which represents a more individualized and less visible form of climate engagement. This is a notable omission, given that sustainable consumption also relies on emotional and moral engagement, and is increasingly framed as a site of political agency. A bibliographic search using Scopus confirms this gap: while a growing body of work addresses emotional antecedents to activism or climate concern, there is a lack of integrative research examining how anger and hope may interact to shape everyday pro-environmental behaviors. Understanding this dynamic is crucial for designing interventions and communication strategies that activate both urgency and optimism in ways that sustain climate engagement over time.

Our research project seeks to address this gap through three studies. The first one is a netnographic exploration of the emotions in climate-related discussions on Reddit. An initial exploratory study is needed to deepen the lack of knowledge about the phenomenon. This first step aims to understand the underlying narratives, triggers, and perceived barriers associated with these emotions in a community setting. Developing a grounded understanding of this dual emotional dynamic will allow us to identify the key dimensions to measure and operationalize in future steps of this research.

By examining the narratives of young adults who express anger and hope in the context of climate change, we aim to:

1. Identify the thematic triggers and expressions of anger and hope.
2. Explore how these emotions influence individuals' motivations and actions, with a specific focus on sustainable consumption.
3. Investigate the potential "moral battery" effect, examining whether and how anger and hope interact to sustain engagement.

METHODOLOGY

Research Context and Procedure

Social media offers a dynamic, real-time environment for studying emotional engagement with climate change. Its digital structure—rapid, borderless, and often anonymous—transforms communication by intensifying emotional responses and amplifying polarizing content through AI-driven recommender systems (Galaz et al. 2025). Social platforms like Reddit serve as public outlets where users candidly share experiences, frustrations, and hopes, offering large-scale, naturally occurring data on emotional discourse. These spaces also foster community feedback and coping strategies during climate events, which are difficult to capture through traditional methods (Shaeri et al. 2025). As such, social media provides a rich, evolving context to examine how emotions like anger and hope are triggered, spread, and acted upon.

The online forum Reddit is among the most visited websites, with over one billion monthly users in 2023. However, it has been studied less extensively than Twitter in climate change research (Pearce et al. 2019). Most Reddit users are young adults (44% are aged 18 to 29, Sidoti and Dawson 2024). Posts on Reddit have a high character limit, fostering longer and more nuanced discussions compared to Twitter. Conversations are moderated and organized by topics within channels known as "subreddits," enabling the collection of richer and more

precise data (Freelon 2015). Regarding climate change, the most studied subreddits include *r/climatechange*, *r/environment*, and *r/climate* (Parsa et al. 2022).

The goal of this initial study is to understand how anger and hope manifest in online discussions. A netnographic approach (Kozinets 2010) provides a flexible methodological framework that combines systematic observation of digital traces with researcher immersion, encompassing data collection and analysis. This approach leverages rich, contextualized digital data to interpret sociocultural phenomena.

To collect discourses on hope and anger on Reddit, three relevant subreddits were explored: *r/climatechange*, *r/environment*, and *r/climate*. These subreddits were selected for their active communities and in-depth discussions on climate-related topics (Parsa et al. 2022). Immersion in these forums was conducted over an eight-month period to become familiar with conversational dynamics and contextual nuances. Relevant posts and comments were identified using a keyword search strategy, employing terms such as "hope" and "hopeful" for discussions of hope, and "anger," "angry," and "mad" for anger-related discussions.

Selection criteria for posts included their relevance to climate issues, significant engagement (e.g., substantial comment threads or a high number of upvotes), and the presence of rich vocabulary revealing emotional expressions. Conversations were then categorized based on several parameters:

1. The vocabulary used to express emotions.
2. The intensity of discussions, reflected in the depth of arguments and recurring themes.
3. The length of threads, indicating the community's level of engagement.
4. The evolution of discourses, examining how conversations developed over time.

This structured approach provided a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of emotional expressions in climate-related discussions on Reddit. A total of nine threads discussing hope and nineteen threads discussing anger were analyzed. Observations were documented in immersion journals.

Data Analysis

A thematic content analysis (Corbin and Strauss 1990) was conducted, employing an interpretive approach to examine the data. This allowed for an iterative process through which ideas, questions, and propositions emerged organically (Kozinets 2010). This method facilitated going beyond preexisting assumptions and deeply exploring the data, uncovering nuanced themes and patterns in the discourses.

The analysis process involved coding textual data to identify recurring themes, emotional expressions, and contextual variations. Initial codes were established based on the research objective focusing on hope and anger, while additional codes emerged inductively during the analysis. These codes were then grouped into higher-level categories to identify broader themes such as *hope as a driver*, *joining forces*, and *constructive anger*.

The linguistic and rhetorical elements of posts were also examined, including metaphors (e.g., "Fighting climate change is a marathon, not a sprint"), adopted tones (e.g., sarcasm, profanity, optimism), and community-specific jargon. These elements provided insight into how users expressed their emotions and framed climate-related issues.

Through this iterative process, the analysis highlighted not only dominant themes but also the interactions between emotional expressions and broader narrative dynamics present in climate-related discourses on Reddit.

RESULTS

Members of the subreddits we explored do not seem to be climate activists but rather “normal people” with normal preoccupations about climate change. Messages about hope and climate change often reveal the lack of hope and its fragility. Hope-centered discussions are organized around:

1. The presence of hope: popular posts ask whether hope for climate progress is justified. To many users, the situation is critical: *“How screwed are we, and is there any hope for the future?”*. When and if hope is present, it is linked to the urgency to take action: *“Sure, there's hope, but only if we radically change the course we're on right now. We can't put it off too long, because climate feedback will kick in and the planet will start emitting massive amounts of greenhouse gases (...)”*. Regarding climate change, hope can never be truly positive.
2. Cultivating hope: users exchange hopeful news about biosphere regeneration, policies, or technology. Here, the challenge is maintaining hope while the situation worsens. Users mention the need to focus on small improvements (*“Every little thing helps.”*) or to take action to promote hope. Hope is indeed seen as the first stage of change: *“There's so much to be hopeful for. Sounds like you're giving up before the game has started.”*.
3. Barriers to hope: they vastly recognize the difficulty of cultivating hope today: *“Hope is really bad at the moment in the climate interested people. Many are now extremely negative at a point of resignation. But we need to continue.”*. Skeptics and deniers are seen as adversaries to hope, as they proliferate among friends, colleagues, politicians, and online, and propose a fake sense of hope based on the affirmation that there is no human-led climate change.
4. Posts about hope reveal anxiety and fear, with users working to balance others' emotions through metaphor and encouragement to convey a sense of meaning: *“Climate change is not binary, where it either happens or it doesn't. The more we emit, the worse it gets”*; *“It's like they tell pilots; when the plane is crashing, you gotta fly it all the way to the ground. You have a lot of people on board, you don't get to give up.”*.

Discussions on anger highlight that:

1. Anger is a normal response: users view anger about climate issues as justified and cross-generational: *“It's a righteous anger.”*, *“Everyone needs to be angry.”* However, they advise managing this emotion carefully as anger is a powerful emotion that can be destructive.
2. Anger's constructive side: channeled into constructive action, *“Anger can be power”* and bring social changes, but it is also seen as a remedy for anxiety and worry: *“I saw a poster that said “Climate anxiety? Try activism!” So I did and it helped a lot. I still get anxiety, but actively doing something with like-minded people helps.”*. Unlike other negative emotions, anger carries a purpose and can lead to positive changes, to go beyond *“feel good environmentalism”*. It is then seen as a necessary phase for acceptance in the cycle of denial and for political action.
3. Anger calls politics into question: *“Make sure to take that anger and turn it into political action”*. Users often associate anger with political issues, directing this

emotion at political representatives and expressing their disagreement with current policies. Furthermore, many comments encourage people to vote, but also condemn the States that voted for Republican candidates.

4. Anger fuels hope: Action sparked by anger generates hope, positioning anger as a prerequisite for hope and change: “*We have a chance to win. The word hope might suddenly be back on the table.*”. If there is no action, there can be no hope. Being angry and actively fighting is then conceptually opposed to being hopeless.

DISCUSSION

This exploratory analysis highlights several elements supporting the concept of a moral battery (Jasper 2011). Anger and hope regarding climate change are often mentioned together, revealing conflicting but complementary emotional processes that foster action (Figure 1).

As an active moral emotion, anger acts as a catalyst for action. When directed toward just causes, it constitutes an adaptive response and can be constructive. Hope and knowledge about the possible solutions help conduct eco-anger into positive action. Engaging in action to achieve a goal fuels hope while reducing feelings of anxiety and fear. The reinforcement of hope through action and the possible positive outcomes create a feeling of self-efficacy that helps sustain action.

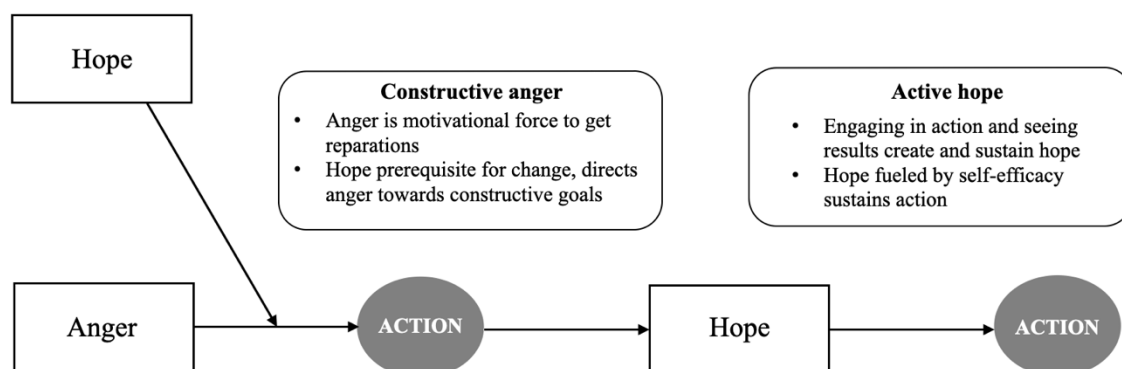


Figure 1. Observed synergies between anger and hope in discussions about climate change on Reddit

These two emotions can then be seen as useful antecedents towards continuous positive change, hope for a better future acting as a moderator allowing the constructive side of anger. This raises the necessity to give reasons to hope on a societal level: sharing positive news about the climate situation, educating about sustainable behaviors, and mobilize businesses, organizations, and governments in a meaningful ecological transition, in particular by leveraging legislative framework.

Finally, these emotions are linked to small improvements and everyday sustainable actions. Discussions about solutions place more emphasis on practical behaviors than on activism. Thus, anger and hope not only encourage sustainable behaviors in response to climate change but work better in synergy.

This study offers the following contributions to the literature. First, it supports the concept of a “moral battery” in climate action, illustrating the interaction between anger and hope to motivate sustainable everyday actions. Second, through an exploratory approach, it identifies

the underlying dimensions of this dual emotional dynamic and lays the groundwork for future empirical studies. Third, it broadens the understanding of emotional dynamics in online discussions, particularly on Reddit, a platform still little studied in climate communication research. Finally, it advances theoretical discussions on emotions in pro-environmental behaviors, linking collective action frameworks to individual practices and providing new perspectives on the emotional dynamics of responsible behaviors.

CONCLUSION

Reddit emerges as a platform that enables exchanges about climate-related emotions and solution-oriented discussions. Users recognize each other's emotional challenges and seek to provide mutual support. However, climate change discussions also occur in other subreddits, such as those focused on sustainable lifestyles or daily practices. For instance, exploring *r/sustainable* and *r/sustainability* and extending immersion on the platform might yield further insights. Engaging directly with users could also enhance understanding.

Moreover, the study could be broadened to include Reddit communities in French and Italian, offering a more comprehensive perspective.

This research contributes to the literature on emotions and sustainability by offering a unique perspective that integrates both positive and negative emotions. It aims to understand young adults' motivations to adopt sustainable consumption behaviors, providing insights for businesses and institutions to promote sustainable practices and forge meaningful connections with their audiences. Ultimately, this research carries broader societal implications, encouraging responsible consumption and contributing to reducing environmental harm.

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