

The Roles of Celebrities in Public Disputes: Climate Change and the Great Barrier Reef

Christopher Wright^a and Daniel Nyberg^b

^a*The University of Sydney*; ^b*The University of Newcastle*

ABSTRACT Celebrities are increasingly important actors in social disputes, with their high public profiles used to amplify political campaigns and business firms utilising celebrity endorsements to promote their brands and justify their actions. Engaging with the conceptual framework of Boltanski and Thévenot's 'orders of worth', we explore the public dispute over coral bleaching of the Great Barrier Reef, analysing the different roles that celebrities have played and how their claims are evaluated. We demonstrate how celebrities as powerful agents for industries and environmental campaigns perform three key roles – *popularizers*, *authorities*, and *visionaries*. Our article contributes to the management literature on public disputes by explaining the evaluative processes underlying sustainability controversies. We also contribute by providing a better understanding of the roles and capacity of celebrities in public debates over contentious issues. We discuss the policy implications of celebrity roles in addressing the climate crisis and mobilizing action to limit further disruption.

Keywords: celebrity, climate change, Great Barrier Reef, justification, orders of worth, tests

INTRODUCTION

Celebrities are a central tool in the promotion of companies, brands and causes (Richey and Ponte, 2011; Turner, 2013). Celebrities are often defined by the degree of media attention they receive which enables these individuals an elevated voice in public debate and, thus, an ability to shape public opinion (Abidin et al., 2020). The growing role of celebrities is particularly evident in media-saturated societies, where visibility and value are frequently interchanged (Flyverbom and Reinecke, 2017). Within the field of management and organization studies, the emphasis on celebrity has focused primarily on firms

Address for reprints: Christopher Wright, Discipline of Strategy, Innovation & Entrepreneurship, The University of Sydney Business School, Sydney, NSW, 2006, Australia (christopher.wright@sydney.edu.au).

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](#) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

(Kjærgaard et al., 2011; Rindova et al., 2006) and CEOs (Adamson and Kelan, 2019; Guthey and Jackson, 2005). However, the way in which celebrities endorse (Zavvalova et al., 2012) and influence (King, 2011) firms and their political context has received less attention, despite celebrities becoming increasingly important in political campaigns (Partzsch, 2015) and as spokespersons for social and environmental issues (Boykoff and Goodman, 2009; Chouliraki, 2013). This is particularly evident in the politics addressing climate change (Wright and Nyberg, 2015).

While celebrity involvement in politics is not new, there is a growing diversity of celebrities within the public debate over climate change – including actors, musicians, entertainers, politicians, businesspeople, and religious leaders (Abidin et al., 2020; Anderson, 2011). Celebrities are prominent within climate politics through endorsing green issues (e.g., pop-star, Madonna, writing a climate change song), educating citizens about pressing environmental concerns (e.g., actor, Leonardo DiCaprio, producing and starring in the climate change documentary *Before the Flood*), arguing for affective responses to the environment (e.g., climate activist, Greta Thunberg's, emotional address to the United Nations climate action summit), and promoting engagement with climate action (e.g., following celebrity statements and activities on social media) (Goodman, 2018). Much of the literature on celebrity environmentalism has focused on the outcomes of their involvement, questioning whether celebrities help or hinder public awareness (Anderson, 2011; McCubbin, 2020). However, this neglects the diverse roles that celebrities play in mobilizing participation with social and environmental concerns.

Indeed, as the above examples illustrate, celebrities are central actors in the political and often public contestation over environmental concerns. These 'sustainability controversies' have grown in visibility in recent decades as implicated businesses have been subject to increasing social critique and have responded by seeking to justify their actions and social benefits (Gond et al., 2016). While an emerging literature in management studies has explored how businesses are engaged in the politics of sustainability (Levy et al., 2016; Scherer and Palazzo, 2011; Wright and Nyberg, 2017), few studies have examined the role of celebrities in these disputes either as critics of business activities (e.g., the public face of environmental campaigns), or possibly allies (e.g., celebrity endorsers of corporate sustainability initiatives).

A particularly fruitful avenue in exploring the role of celebrities in public disputes is Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) pragmatic sociology. Boltanski and Thévenot's framework provides a diverse set of principles reflecting the multiple spheres from which celebrities enter public disputes and qualify their positions (Gond et al., 2016; Patriotta et al., 2011). Moreover, the framework highlights 'fame' as a defensible worth that people refer to in their everyday life. The world of fame provides a context of justification within which celebrities are qualified actors and evaluated according to their public recognition and popularity. Importantly, this moves the idea of celebrity beyond the individual that is famous, to the features that qualify actors to draw upon public opinion to influence others.

This separation between the actor and the worth is useful in distinguishing the roles of celebrities as qualified actors in public disputes as well as the possibility to criticize them when their fame is 'tested' in relation to other contexts. The concept of 'tests' here refers to the moment in conflicts when actors confirm or question established

rules or beliefs and provides a mechanism for changes in society (Boltanski, 2011; Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006). For instance, while celebrities are evaluated in accordance with their popularity, their role as ‘experts’ on particular issues can often be questioned. There is thus an interesting intersection between how celebrities mobilize public opinion and how their claims are evaluated or tested in promoting change. This leads to us to ask: *What are the different roles of celebrities in public disputes and how are their claims evaluated?*

In understanding the role of celebrities within environmental disputes, we investigate the political debate over the Great Barrier Reef (GBR) in the aftermath of unprecedented ‘back-to-back’ coral bleaching events during the summers of 2016 and 2017. These climate change-related impacts resulted in the death of an estimated 50 per cent of shallow-water coral on the Reef (Dietzel et al., 2020), and highlighted the tension between Australia’s growing contribution to climate change as one of the world’s largest exporters of coal and gas and its custodianship of natural wonders such as the GBR. One of the central strategies used by both environmentalists and implicated industries was the use of celebrities to promote their positions. Through an analysis of the public dispute over the wellbeing of the GBR, we show the work of celebrities in justifying actions as well as how their claims are tested.

This article contributes firstly to the organization and management studies literature on public disputes by explaining the evaluative processes underlying sustainability controversies (Gond et al., 2016; Nyberg et al., 2017; Patriotta et al., 2011) and further developing the concept of ‘test’ within the literature on the pragmatic sociology of critique (Boltanski, 2011; Ramirez, 2013). Secondly, our article provides a better understanding of the roles and capacity of celebrities in mobilizing actors in public debates over contentious issues (McKernan, 2011). This is important considering the celebrification of most aspects of society, including businesses (Kjærgaard et al., 2011), and debates around the qualification of opinions in public debates (Knight and Tsoukas, 2019). Finally, we outline the policy implications of our research more generally for sustainability controversies.

CELEBRITIES AS CHANGE AGENTS IN PUBLIC DISPUTES

In contemporary societies, celebrities have amplified voices and are prominent actors in public debates over social and environmental issues (Chouliaraki, 2013). Through representation in film, television, magazines, newspapers and advertising, public figures such as movie stars, musicians, models, businesspeople, intellectuals and politicians have become what Shickel (2000) terms ‘intimate strangers’. Celebrity prominence raises questions about the political effectiveness of appeals to celebrity in public debates, particularly in influencing audiences or mobilizing movements. Critics point to the danger of celebrity appeals encouraging individualised responses to complex challenges like climate change (Boykoff and Goodman, 2009). While capable of bringing attention to the cause of the social movement, celebrities may come with their own agendas and often lack expertise in the issue of concern (King, 2011; Tufekci, 2013).

With the emergence of social media, the role of celebrities in public disputes has increased (Driessens, 2013; Tufekci, 2013). Celebrities represent a growing connection between entertainment and politics in dramatizing and simplifying issues to be 'sellable' to a broader audience (McKernan, 2011). As such, celebrities are a useful resource to popularize an issue and gain media attention (Edwards et al., 2018). Beyond significant media attention, celebrities can provide benefits by, for example, guaranteeing 'the cool quotient' of campaigns (Richey and Ponte, 2011, p. 37). The potential impact of celebrities as change agents is supported by King's (2011) study of social movements' tactical disruption, which shows that celebrity endorsement increases the amount and length of media attention of corporate boycott initiatives.

Despite the diverse taxonomy of celebrities, the literature provides limited differentiation between the type of celebrity and the roles they play in campaigns or public disputes. Considering the background of the celebrity suggests that there are, at least, two different types of celebrity activists within the environmental movement: i) those that are already recognized in popular culture and employ their fame to promote environmental issues, and ii) those with a background in the natural environment that engage with popular culture to advance the cause (see also Street, 2004). This points to different roles within disputes, but also the possibility that celebrity claims are contested on different grounds. A useful analytical tool to unpack how different actors and claims are evaluated is Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) theoretical development of moral justifications underlying public disputes and how these are evaluated. Their framework separates the subject that is a celebrity from the field of their fame, which allows analysis of diverse types of celebrities on different grounds.

CELEBRITY AND PLURAL JUSTIFICATIONS

Studying situations of social dispute, Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) highlight various higher moral orders derived from the classic works of political philosophy to show how actors' justifications for actions are evaluated according to different principles of good or worth. In their book *On Justification* (2006), they outline six worlds of worth with different recognized principles that actors can mobilize in evaluating or critiquing claims in public debates: 'the inspired world', 'the domestic world', 'the civic world', 'the market world', 'the industrial world' and 'the world of fame'. Later empirical studies proposed additional orders of worth including the 'project' world and the 'green' world (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005; Thévenot et al., 2000).

Each of these different worlds invoke different modes of evaluation and tests as to whether a particular justification is applicable and will lead to a common good (see e.g., Gond et al., 2016; Patriotta et al., 2011). For instance, the 'market' world is evaluated in terms of price and cost and the relevant test is market competitiveness. In contrast, in the 'green' world, actions are evaluated regarding environmental wellbeing and tests revolve around ecological sustainability. Each of these worlds have different qualified human beings that are legitimate in that world. For example, consumers and sellers in the market world and environmentalists and ecologists in the green world. In practice, organizations and individuals engage with a range of different normative principles that are considered defensible in justifying actions or mounting critique (Nyberg and Wright, 2012; Nyberg et al., 2017; Patriotta et al., 2011).

Surprisingly, scant research attention has been directed to the world of fame, despite the growing focus on celebrity as an integral component of our media-driven society (Marshall, 1997). As originally set out by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006, pp. 178–85), the world of fame relies upon the measurement of worth based on public esteem, celebrity and public opinion. Within this world the relevant people are ‘well-known personalities, stars, opinion leaders, journalists’ and their worth is defined by the degree to which they are ‘famous, recognized, successful, or convincing’ (Boltanski and Thévenot, 1999, p. 371). There is a value in being famous beyond the qualities or field within which one is famous, with recent research suggesting that fame is self-reinforcing (van de Rijt et al., 2013) and thus not ‘forgotten from one day to the next’ (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 178). Since the original publication of *On Justification* in 1991, there is also further prominence of key objects from this world, including brands, public performances, and social media coverage. The world of fame is thus increasingly employed to justify and evaluate a situation, with celebrities originating from a range of different worlds taking part in public disputes and seen as famous (e.g., Richard Branson from the market world, Greta Thunberg from the civic world, and Leonardo DiCaprio from the inspired world).

Boltanski (2011) links the normative framework of orders of worth with actors’ capacity to justify and critique a situation through two types of implicit or explicit tests: *reality tests* and *existential tests*.^[1] With the possibility of plural interpretations, it is through tests that the situation is interrogated and, potentially, resolved in confirming or changing the social order (Boltanski et al., 2014). First, *reality tests* refer to an examination of how claims are situationally justified and materially enacted. Reality tests evaluate the actors’ performance, discourses and objects against the different orders of worth (Dionne et al., 2019). For example, whether the public recognize the celebrity (fame), whether acting on climate change increases profitability (market), or whether an initiative really benefits the environment (green). The situation can then be either confirmed (e.g., the person is well-known; acting on climate change increases competitiveness; and, the environment is flourishing) or critiqued (e.g., the public does not recognize the actor; shifting to renewables increase costs; or, there is no environmental benefit). Reality tests function as a check in terms of whether, and how, appropriate principles are adhered to.

The second type of test, *existential tests*, are based on experiences that highlight the incompleteness of socially constructed reality (Boltanski, 2011). They are responses to experiences, such as injustices or humiliation, and challenge the validity of existing social orders. For instance, Islam and colleagues (2019), studying the United Nations climate change summits, show the emotive forms of expressions employed by country representatives to emphasize the threat of climate change to island nations’ survival. Existential tests question the dominant order and usually come from more marginal actors. Since a recognized order of worth is not applied, existential tests can be dismissed as a ‘subjective’ position. This makes it possible, ‘when the one who experiences them seeks to share them with others, to deny their reality, disqualify them, or ridicule them’ (Boltanski, 2011, p. 108). Individuals making claims based on existential tests may be dismissed as insane, weird, or paranoid. By exposing the arbitrary nature of reality, existential tests are thus experiential checks on how the social reality matches the individual’s experiences of this reality.

These tests are employed in the discursive processes of justifying and criticizing within a public dispute by confirming or challenging social reality. Dependent on the actor's position within the dispute, this can involve reality tests which suggest reforming the test of the convention or arguing for another order of worth to be applied, or potentially, the far more radical critique of an existential test which challenges the constructed reality of the dispute itself. Celebrities are seen as the most qualified human subjects within the world of fame and can, in this capacity engage in tests of reality (e.g., succeeding or failing to reach an audience) and be tested themselves (e.g., s/he is unknown). Their roles as celebrity activists within environmental disputes are then to gain attention to the issue (the world of fame) or/and provide an emotional or affective response from the public (the inspired world). Celebrities with diverse backgrounds spanning the orders of worth are thus important in understanding the role of actors within disputes over societal challenges. To explore this more fully we investigate the roles of celebrities in the public dispute over the Great Barrier Reef by addressing the above introduced research question: *What are the different roles of celebrities in public disputes and how are their claims evaluated?*

RESEARCH METHOD

Located in the Coral Sea off the coast of north Queensland, the GBR is the world's largest coral reef system, made up of over 2,900 individual reefs and 900 islands. It is the world's largest single structure made by living organisms and extends over 2,300 kilometres with an area of approximately 344,000 square kilometres (larger than Italy). The Reef's size and scale make it one of the most recognised ecosystems in the world, having been included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1981.

During the Australian summer of early 2016, the GBR suffered an unprecedented coral bleaching event that resulted from climate-induced warming ocean temperatures. Bleaching results from exposure of coral to unseasonal warm water temperatures. In these circumstances, corals become heat stressed and expel the algae (single celled zooxanthellae) that live within their tissues and provide them with food. In extreme bleaching events corals fail to recover and die. The 2016 bleaching event was the most severe ever encountered and had a major impact upon the northern third of the GBR, resulting in the death of two-thirds of corals along a 700km northern section of the reef – the single greatest loss of corals ever recorded (Hughes et al., 2017).

The following summer of 2017 resulted in a further coral bleaching event, affecting corals in the mid-section of the Reef where reef tourism is concentrated. This unprecedented 'back-to-back' bleaching meant that around two-thirds of the Reef had now been affected by coral bleaching (Dietzel et al., 2020) (see Figure 1). Extensive media reporting of the bleaching events resulted in political debate with the Australian Government sensitive to a potential UNESCO listing of the GBR's world heritage status as in danger and growing political activism on climate change.

Data Collection

In detailing the public dispute over coral bleaching on the GBR we collected a combination of document and interview data. We collected all media articles published on coral

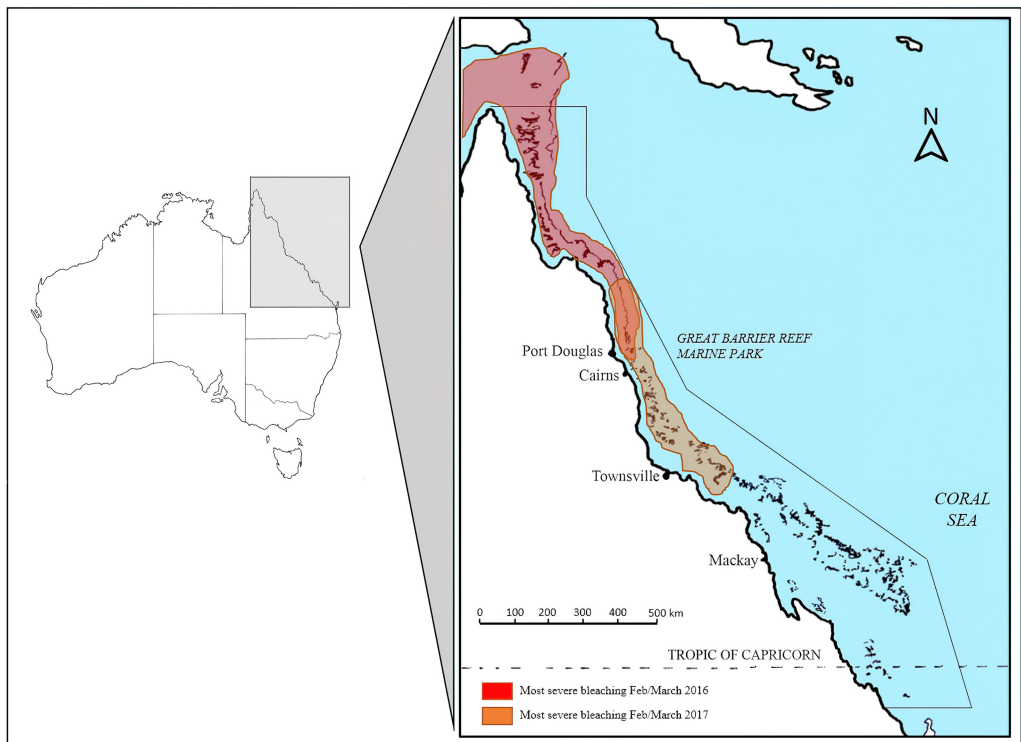


Figure 1. Areas of coral bleaching on the Great Barrier Reef, Feb–Mar 2016 & 2017. *Source:* ARC Centre for Excellence for Coral Reef Studies and (Hughes et al., 2017) [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]

bleaching over the four-year period between June 2014 and June 2018 from local (north Queensland), national and international media sources accessed through the *Factiva* news database. This time frame sought to capture the political debate over the declining health of the Reef prior to the first bleaching event, as well as the political aftermath of the second bleaching. Our starting point for the data collection in June 2014 included public announcements of concern over the health of the Reef which generated significant political and media attention (e.g., US President Barack Obama's November 2014 Australian visit). The end point for data collection in June 2018 included the political debate over the Australian Government's Reef rescue package more than a year after the second bleaching event. The media articles were supplemented with statements, videos and reports from NGOs, tourism and mining industry associations, local and national politicians, and chambers of commerce. In total over 1200 media reports and documents were collected across the three key periods of the dispute (see Table I).

To supplement the document data, we also conducted 34 semi-structured interviews during 2017 and 2018 with key stakeholders involved in the political debate over coral bleaching on the GBR. Our interview respondents included senior representatives from the marine tourism industry, airlines, state and local politicians, industry representatives, marine scientists, dive instructors, and environmental campaigners (see Table II). These

Table I. Summary of document source material

<i>Description</i>	<i>Documents period 1</i>	<i>Documents period 2</i>	<i>Documents period 3</i>	<i>Total documents</i>
Local Queensland news media	9	64	181	347
National media reports (TV, newspapers, magazines and news websites)	28	92	458	487
International news media	44	63	257	363
Corporate, environmental and regulatory documents	3	7	26	36
Total	84	226	922	1232

respondents not only reflected the diversity of stakeholders in the dispute but showed how rival justifications and criticisms were evaluated. That is, some were strongly critical of ‘market’ and ‘civic’ justifications for coal mining and tourism and endorsed the ‘green’ critiques of celebrities (e.g., environmental campaigners, dive instructors, marine scientists), while others were more sceptical of the ‘green’ critique and the world of fame from which celebrities hailed (e.g., conservative politicians, tourism industry representatives, and the heads of local business groups). All interviews were recorded and transcribed, resulting in further substantial texts reflecting on the bleaching events and stakeholder responses.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the combined document and interview data was undertaken through a four-stage coding process using the *QSR NVivo* software package. In the first stage of data analysis, we constructed a timeline of critical events using a ‘temporal bracketing’ approach (Langley, 1999). In reviewing the media coverage and associated document data we identified three key phases in the dispute: Period 1 (Jan 2014 – Jan 2016) prior to the first bleaching event; Period 2 (Feb 2016 – Jan 2017) the period between the first and second bleaching events; and Period 3 (Feb 2017 – May 2018) from the second mass bleaching to an Australian Government announcement of a multi-million dollar Reef rescue plan (see Figure 2 and Table III).

In the second stage of the data analysis, we undertook ‘open coding’ of the combined interview and document data. The analysis combined segments of text reflecting similar wording or activities into first order categories. These nodes represented actors (e.g., ‘politicians’, ‘business leaders’, ‘scientists’, ‘tourism operators’), discourses (e.g., ‘loss’, ‘mortality’, ‘denial’, ‘resilience’), phenomena (e.g., ‘coral bleaching’, ‘ocean temperatures’, ‘fluorescence’, ‘currents’) and practices (e.g., ‘advocacy’, ‘alliances’, ‘research’, ‘protests’).

The third stage of analysis further developed the open coding by using an abductive approach that moved between the initial coding and theorizing. More specifically, an emergent empirical theme from the data was the way in which actors engaged in both justification of their own actions and policies, as well as critique of other actors in responding to the materiality of coral bleaching. This led us to engage with the conceptual framework of the orders of worth as outlined by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). It was in

Table II. Semi-structured interviews

<i>Interview #</i>	<i>Respondent description</i>
1	Federal politician (Cairns)
2	StopAdani activist (Cairns)
3	Sustainability consultant (Cairns)
4	GBR researcher (Townsville)
5	Director, environmental NGO (Sydney)
6	StopAdani activist (Cairns)
7	Organizer, environmental NGO (Cairns)
8	CEO, tourism organization (Cairns)
9	Editor, regional newspaper (Cairns)
10	CEO, tourism organization (Cairns)
11	StopAdani activist (Cairns)
12	Dive instructor (Cairns)
13	CEO, industry lobby group (Cairns)
14	Organizer, StopAdani (Cairns)
15	Marine scientist (Townsville)
16	Marine scientist (Sydney)
17	Organizer, environmental NGO (Whitsundays)
18	Marine scientist (Sydney)
19	CEO, environmental NGO (Sydney)
20	Organizer, environmental NGO (Cairns)
21	GM Sustainability, airline A (Sydney)
22	Sustainability leader, airline A (Sydney)
23	Director, environmental NGO (Sydney)
24	Environment manager, airline B (Sydney)
25	StopAdani activist (Cairns)
26	MD, tourism industry group (Cairns)
27	MD, GBR research organization (Cairns)
28	MD, Reef tour company (Cairns)
29	Organizer, GBR conservation group (Cairns)
30	CEO, local industry association (Cairns)
31	Organizer, environmental NGO (Cairns)
32	CEO, GBR conservation organization (Cairns)
33	Dive instructor (Port Douglas)
34	Marine researcher (Cairns)

this third stage of coding what we identified different forms of justification from the orders of worth across the timeline from the first stage of analysis. For instance, politicians or industry representatives often made claims about the environmental sustainability of

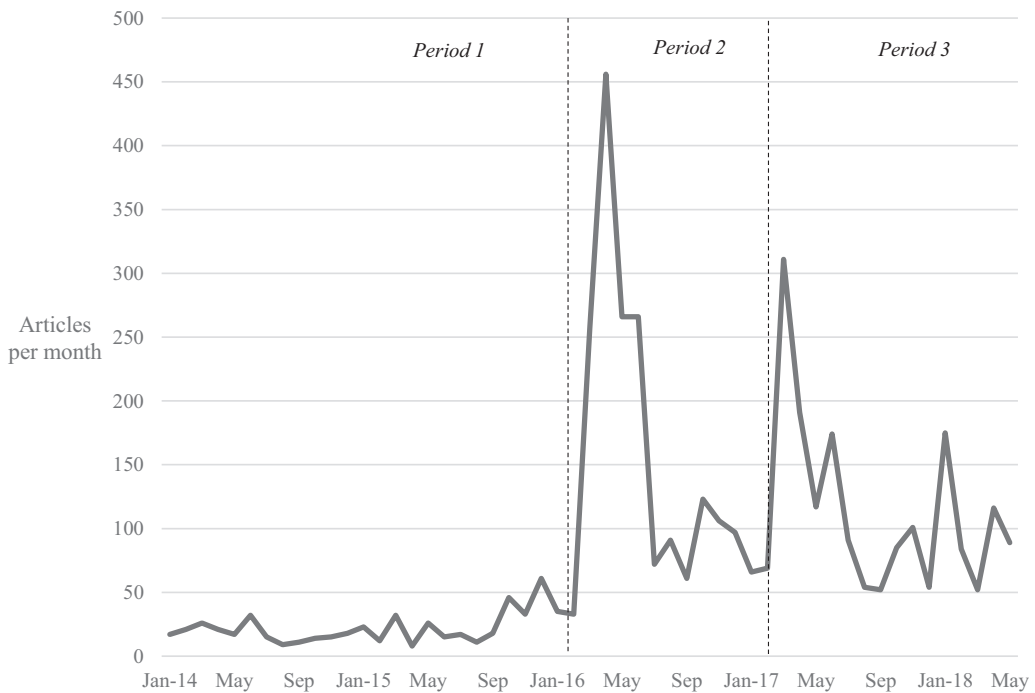


Figure 2. Frequency of Australian media reporting of coral bleaching, 2014–18. *Source:* Factiva search of Australian media sources for keyword ‘coral bleaching’

the Reef (employing the ‘green’ world), while also seeking to emphasize their concern for national and industry wellbeing employing ‘civic’ and ‘market’ justifications. [Table IV](#) outlines both the indicative terminology we used to code for the different orders of worth and the frequency of that coding across the three time periods of the dispute. While the ‘green’ and ‘fame’ orders predominated across all three periods, other worlds were also invoked by different actors as the dispute ensued.

In the fourth and final stage of the data analysis, we attended to the comparatively large frequency of fame as an order of worth in the dispute. This indicated the prominent role of celebrities in public statements about the coral bleaching events and the health of the Reef. Environmental campaigners and implicated industries enlisted celebrities as a means to shape public understanding of the issue. These included movie stars, musicians, media identities, politicians, business leaders, environmentalists, artists and sports stars who had a high public profile and articulated views on coral bleaching in the media (see [Table V](#)). The analysis linked our earlier coding in stage two around actors, discourses, phenomena and practices to this emergent concept of the world of fame. In this fourth stage, we identified how celebrities engaged in and were responded to within the dispute. The analysis focused more specifically on the claims the celebrities made and how these were evaluated by other actors. While the bulk of celebrity statements were sourced from the media coverage, the interview data provided insight into how celebrity statements were received and evaluated. From

Table III. Timeline of GBR coral bleaching and celebrity involvement, 2015–18

<i>Date</i>	<i>Developments</i>
<i>Period 1: Prior to first mass bleaching event</i>	
Nov 2014	US President, Barack Obama, declares the GBR threatened by climate change during Australian visit.
May 2015	Virgin CEO, Sir Richard Branson, publishes letter the climate change threat to GBR.
Dec 2015	Celebrity broadcaster, Sir David Attenborough, warns the GBR is in ‘imminent danger’ due to climate change.
<i>Period 2: First bleaching event and aftermath</i>	
Feb/March 2016	Worst bleaching event in Reef history resulting in death of 22% of GBR coral and up to 60% of coral in northern third of the GBR.
April 2016	56 Australian scientists sign letter highlighting coral bleaching crisis and the phasing out of coal if GBR is to be protected.
Sept 2016	Actor, Leonardo DiCaprio, highlights coral bleaching on the GBR at Our Ocean Conference in Washington DC.
Oct 2016	US magazine <i>Outside</i> publishes ‘obituary’ for the GBR – prompting international media attention.
Oct 2016	Conservative radio commentator, Alan Jones, rejects scientific concerns over coral bleaching and climate change.
Nov 2016	Conservative politician, Pauline Hanson, declares to media that GBR is healthy after diving at Great Keppel Island.
<i>Period 3: Second bleaching event and aftermath</i>	
Feb/March 2017	Second round of coral bleaching impacts coral in middle third of GBR.
March 2017	Queensland Premier and mayors travel to India to support the Adani Carmichael coalmine. Marine tourism industry request \$9 million in federal money to save tourist reefs.
May 2017	Australian Foreign Minister, Julie Bishop, takes 75 foreign ambassadors diving off Cairns to highlight the Government’s Reef 2050 Plan.
June 2017	‘Ocean Elders’ (including celebrities Dr Sylvia Earle, Jean-Michel Cousteau, Ted Turner and Richard Branson) send public letter to Australian Prime Minister to prevent further coral bleaching on the GBR and reject Adani coal mine.
July 2017	‘Godfather of Coral’ Dr Charlie Veron speaks at the World Heritage Committee in Krakow highlighting threat of coral bleaching on GBR. Documentary film <i>Chasing Coral</i> premieres internationally on Netflix.
Oct 2017	Rock band Midnight Oil play Reef benefit concert in Cairns and support national Stop Adani rallies.

(Continues)

Table III. (Continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Developments</i>
Nov 2017	Adani coal mine becomes major issue in the Queensland election. #StopAdani campaign results in the Queensland Premier reversing her support for Adani retaining government. 'Citizens of the Great Barrier Reef' launch website and social media campaign.
April 2018	Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull, announces \$400 million rescue package for the Reef.

these statements, it was possible to distinguish between instances where interviewees endorsed or critiqued celebrity claims.

We identified three key roles that celebrities performed in the dispute. First, the role of *popularizers* which was evident across all three periods of the dispute, in which celebrities promoted issues and events and are tested within the world of fame in terms of their public recognition. Second, *authorities*, a role that specific celebrities could play in which they exhibited a domain expertise that allowed them to be tested in other worlds (in our study this was a role that became more evident in the second and third periods of the dispute as well-known scientists and naturalists engaged in reality tests from within the green world). Third, *visionaries*, a role that became more evident in the third stage of the dispute as celebrities (particularly artists, musician and actors) publicly expressed deeper emotional and existential critiques of environmental destruction. In the findings that follow we outline examples of these roles and tests in relation to our data organized across the three periods of our case study. [Tables VI](#) and [VII](#) summarize these findings in terms of celebrity statements and the reactions of our interview respondents.

FINDINGS

Jan 2014 – Jan 2016: The Reef as Threatened Natural Wonder

The GBR's status as one of the natural wonders of the world has long been promoted by both the Australian government and tourism industry. However, over the last several decades the expansion of coal mining and gas export facilities have emerged as threats to the future of the Reef and a source of growing public dispute. A specific focus of protest has been the construction of a new 'mega' coal mine by Indian conglomerate Adani in the nearby Galilee Basin. Mired in controversy, the Adani mine became a focus for environmental protestors who drew a clear link between coal mining and worsening climate change threatening the Reef. In this dispute, two different realities of the environmental wellbeing of the Reef were publicly represented. On the one hand, governments and the resource and tourism industries argued the Reef was in good health and well managed for the future. On the other, environmentalists argued the Reef was endangered by

Table IV. Coding frequency of orders of worth

Orders of worth	Indicative terminology	Coding References			
		Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	All periods
Green	reef, coral bleaching, climate change, ocean, environment, earth, nature, pristine, protect, pollution, sustainability.	94 (45%)	66 (33.5%)	110 (25%)	270 (31.9%)
Fame	celebrity, campaign, brand, popularity, fans, fashion, followers, stars, reputation, renowned, actor, audience.	41 (19.6%)	50 (25.4%)	103 (23.4%)	194 (22.9%)
Market	business, profit, jobs, value, asset, money, economic, mining, growth, tourism, industry.	19 (9.1%)	36 (18.3%)	74 (16.8%)	129 (15.2%)
Civic	minister, Australia, development, government, national interest, policy, citizens, country, protect, laws.	28 (13.4%)	19 (9.6%)	32 (7.3%)	79 (9.3%)
Inspired	emotional, creative, solutions, spiritual, vision, innovation, fantasy, dream, idea, passion.	13 (6.2%)	12 (6.1%)	59 (13.4%)	84 (9.9%)
Industrial	technology, efficiency, analysis, operations, data, emissions, process, reliability, measure, project management.	8 (3.8%)	7 (3.6%)	47 (10.7%)	62 (7.3%)
Domestic	local, generations, community, proud, traditional, heritage, indigenous, spirit, custom, culture, family, home, respect.	6 (2.9%) 209	7 (3.6%) 197	15 (3.4%) 440	28 (3.3%) 846

Table V. Celebrity voices in the public dispute over coral bleaching on the GBR (2015-2018)

<i>Source of fame</i>	<i>Examples (number of data references)</i>
Film and movies (actors, directors)	Leonardo DiCaprio (45), Mark Ruffalo (10), Russell Crowe (1), Hugh Jackman (1), Ellen DeGeneres (11), Simon Baker (7), Teresa Palmer (10), James Cameron (6), Stephen Fry (1), Olivia Newton-John (4)
Music (musicians, bands, singers)	Midnight Oil (21), Missy Higgins (15), Jack Johnson (3), Flume (9), John Butler (7), Screaming Trees (5), Frenzal Rhomb (2)
Media (TV and radio personalities, social media commentators, celebrity bloggers)	Alan Jones (31), Bryant Gumbel (2), Anna Kooiman (5), James Delingpole (9)
Comedy (comedians, satirists)	Jim Jefferies (4), Tom Ballard (2), Charlie Pickering (2)
Politics (politicians, royalty)	Barack Obama (38), Al Gore (13), Prince Charles (7), Christina Figueres (2), Malcolm Turnbull (48), Pauline Hanson (17)
Business (CEOs, business leaders)	Richard Branson (38), Rupert Murdoch (7)
Science and nature (scientists, naturalists, environmental campaigners)	David Attenborough (67), Sylvia Earle (9), Philippe Cousteau (11), Charlie Veron (51), Terry Hughes (219), Justin Marshall (19), Tim Flannery (16), Bill McKibben (21), Naomi Klein (8)
Artists (painters, writers, poets)	Tim Winton (3), Sea Wall (2), James Bradley (2)
Sports (athletes, swimmers)	Australian Dolphin Swim Team (2), North Queensland Cowboys (4)

expanding industrialisation of the coastline and fossil fuel extraction which exacerbated climate change.

Given the high public profile of the Reef as a global tourist icon, much of the media coverage over threats to the Reef during this period engaged statements by well-known television personalities, film stars, politicians and business leaders. For instance, our coding of the media reporting during this period revealed that while the bulk of coverage (44 per cent) was devoted to statements by politicians making claims about the Reef's health, entertainers and media personalities (16 per cent) as well as business leaders (19 per cent) also featured prominently in the public debate over Reef's health. Indeed, a central strategy of environmental campaigners was to use celebrity statements to promote their cause to a global audience. As the CEO of one NGO leading protests about the threat to the Reef posed by coal mining argued: 'It was vital to have celebrities join the campaign as many have huge followings allowing us to reach many millions of people we wouldn't reach otherwise, particularly those outside of Australia' (Interview #19).

During this period, celebrities acted primarily as *popularisers* providing critiques or defences of the Reef's environmental health in the 'green' world. However, celebrities were tested in the world of fame, that is their public recognition. For instance, the Hollywood

Table VI. Examples of celebrity roles within GBR coral bleaching case

Popularisers: celebrities promote issues and events and are tested within the world of fame in terms of their public recognition

‘Coal & coral don’t mix. Join the movement to save the Great Barrier Reef’ (movie star, Mark Ruffalo, Period 1 – June 2015)

‘It’s critical that we protect this amazing place, and we’d like your help.’ (actress and comedian, Ellen DeGeneres, Period 2 – June 2016)

‘Let me be the first to assure you, the Great Barrier Reef is alive and well!’ (conservative politician, Pauline Hanson, Period 2 – Nov 2016)

‘Over the last two years half the corals have died. Our world is heating up.’ (movie star, Simon Baker, Period 3 – Dec 2017)

Authorities: celebrities exhibit a domain expertise (e.g., famous scientists) that allows them to be tested in other worlds (e.g., the green or industrial worlds)

‘We’re seeing huge levels of bleaching in the northern thousand-kilometre stretch of the Great Barrier Reef’ (coral scientist, Professor Terry Hughes, Period 2 – March 2016).

‘This event, I would say with 99 per cent certainty, is being driven by anthropogenic climate change’ (world renowned marine scientist, Professor Ove Hoegh-Guldberg, Period 2 – April 2016).

‘The reef is in strife, and to say otherwise is bullshit... Half the place is dead already. It won’t be here in 15 years’ (coral scientist, Charlie Veron, Period 2 – June 2016).

‘Our research showed this year’s bleaching event is 175 times more likely today than in a world where humans weren’t emitting greenhouse gases. We have loaded the odds against the survival of one of the world’s greatest natural wonders’ (climate scientist, Professor Andrew King, Period 2 – June 2016).

Visionaries: celebrities (particularly artists, musician and actors) express deeper emotional and existential critiques of environmental destruction

‘Let’s create a social spawning. If humanity united like the Reef, we can change the future’ (movie star, Teresa Palmer, Period 3 – Nov 2017).

‘The decisions we make about the Carmichael coal mine will have an impact upon the Reef, on our global atmosphere, on the state of our oceans... None of us can afford to get this wrong. Remember, we are creatures of the blue planet. If we cook ourselves here at home the only other option is a burning beach’ (writer, Tim Winton, Period 3 – April 2018).

‘We won’t protect what we don’t love, so that’s really the first step we want to take through our art. We like to say we are bringing the oceans into the streets around the world and building connections, no matter how far away you live from it’ (artist, Akira Biondo, Period 3 – May 2018).

‘The ocean is part of us, part of every living thing. We bear the memory of it in our cells, encoded into our DNA. It affects almost every aspect of life on Earth: influencing the weather, regulating the atmosphere and the temperature, shaping our history and culture... We need to recognise that by failing to act we are making a choice, the effects of which will soon be out of our hands (writer, James Bradley, Period 3 – August 2018).

movie star, Leonardo DiCaprio, attracted widespread media attention in an address to a global conference in June 2014 when he stated that:

‘Since my very first dive in the Great Barrier Reef in Australia 20 years ago to the dive I got to do in the very same location just two years ago, I’ve witnessed environmental devastation first-hand...What once had looked like an endless underwater utopia is now riddled with bleached coral reefs and massive dead zones’ (AAP, 2014).

Table VII. Interviewee reactions to celebrity statements

	<i>Coding frequency</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Popularizers		
Endorse celebrity claims	22	'You have people like David Attenborough coming out with those kinds of statements is beneficial, because he again pushes that we can save it, we just need to take action now'. (I26)
Critique celebrity claims	28	'... suddenly people get mixed up with the celebrity focus on the reef. It's a much more important issue than to have celebrities bloody bastardize the process'. (I30)
Authorities		
Endorse celebrity claims	7	'He went out and spent three days in a plane last year, flying over the – from Cooktown to Papua New Guinea and just saw absolute devastation. His [marine scientist] responses were very visceral, very emotional and of course the media just went wild with it'. (I5)
Critique celebrity claims	19	'I think the scientists have probably been way too quick to say "this is f*cking awful" and the biggest consequence was that whilst, in their mind, they may be giving a clear and detailed account of what's going on, again by the time that hits 140 characters, it's not what they said'. (I10)
Visionaries		
Endorse celebrity claims	3	'... you see a massive bleaching event like we had in 2017, 2016, that's got to be heartbreaking... I can imagine why he's [celebrity naturalist] emotive about it'. (I26)
Critique celebrity claims	1	'... we shouldn't be doing emotive stuff in the media'. (I13)

In a similar vein, celebrity business leader, Sir Richard Branson, in a letter to the World Heritage Committee urged them to list the Reef's health at risk. Branson argued that 'the Great Barrier Reef is being totally overwhelmed by climate change impacts through a destructive combination of heat-driven coral bleaching, ocean acidification and tropical storms' (Branson, 2015). This type of celebrity critique, engaging with the green order of worth, was notably reinforced by US President, Barack Obama, who while visiting Australia in 2014, declared that 'The incredible natural glory of the Great Barrier Reef is threatened' by climate change (Grattan, 2014).

The impact of these celebrity statements prompted a swift reaction from Australian political and business leaders who sought to defuse public concern about the Reef's

sustainability. For instance, in response to President Obama's comments, Australia's Foreign Minister declared the government was demonstrating 'world's best practice... to ensure that the Great Barrier Reef is preserved for generations to come' (Murphy, 2014), and in tweets to his global audience, media tycoon, Rupert Murdoch, declared that on his visit to the Reef in late 2015 it was 'never more beautiful than today teeming with multi-coloured fish ... To the naked eye reef looks fully as good as it did 50 years ago' (rupertmurdoch, 2015). Branson's intervention was a target of particular criticism from politicians and other business leaders. As a senior mining executive declared to the national media, 'Mr Branson is happy to make profits from the Queensland economy... Why then does he think it is OK to sabotage our economy with his irresponsible declarations?' (Milman, 2015).

Thus, in this first period of the dispute, contestation focused on differing interpretations of reality from within a single order of worth – whether the Reef was healthy or endangered as understood from within the green world. During this period, both sides employed celebrities to sway public opinion in establishing their justification for (in)action, with environmental campaigners, government and industry utilising the reputation and public standing of celebrities (television personalities as well as well-known business leaders and politicians) to win over public opinion to their cause. As demonstrated in Table IV, while the content of these critiques and justifications often referred to environmental concerns in the green world (45 per cent of coding), the evaluation of the claims rested more upon the relative fame of the advocate (20 per cent of coding). Celebrities in this period thus acted as *popularisers* or, to use the social media vernacular, 'influencers' in shaping public attitudes and allegiances (see Table VI for further examples). As interviewees pointed out (Table VII) these celebrity claims as popularisers could be both endorsed or critiqued for bringing greater public attention to the issue. As a result, the world of fame became an echo-chamber for justifications from the green order of worth.

Feb 2016 – Jan 2017: Celebrity Voices Contesting the 'Reality' of the Healthy Reef

During the Australian summer of 2016, the impact of climate change intervened to upset the claims of different actors as the GBR experienced the largest mass coral bleaching in its history. By February 2016, extensive and severe bleaching was recorded and in a period of weeks around 22 per cent of total GBR coral was estimated to have died as a result of this single bleaching event (Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, 2017). Coral bleaching rapidly became a focus of media coverage, with newspaper and TV reports featuring interviews with marine scientists juxtaposed against graphic images of bleached and dying coral (Innis, 2016).

This major coral bleaching event fundamentally challenged claims of the Reef's continued health and led to a renewed focus by environmental campaigners of the threat posed by climate change. As highlighted in Table IV, the presence of celebrity voices in media coverage of the dispute increased in the aftermath of this first bleaching event. For instance, Hollywood film star, Leonardo DiCaprio, speaking at the Our Oceans Conference in Washington DC declared that having suffered the largest

bleaching event ever recorded, '[O]ver 600 miles of reef previously teeming with life is devastated' (AAP, 2016). The broadcaster, Sir David Attenborough, in one of his high-rating documentaries on the Reef asked: 'Do we really care so little about the earth on which we live that we don't want to protect one of its greatest wonders from the consequences of our behaviour? ... The greatest concern now is that we might lose the Reef altogether' (Cooper, 2016). These celebrity statements re-emphasized a green critique that the Reef was fundamentally threatened by climate change delivered from within the world of fame.

However, these claims were again countered by an opposing view promulgated by the tourism industry and government that the Reef was healthy, and the impact of the bleaching was exaggerated. Alternative celebrities were enlisted by the tourism industry to gain media attention for this 'reality' of the Reef's health. For instance, in late-2016 a government funded website promoting the Reef was launched in Cairns by celebrity radio commentator, Alan Jones. Jones, a former national rugby coach and conservative political adviser, provided national profile in downplaying the severity of coral bleaching. Speaking on his syndicated radio show after a helicopter tour over local waters he asserted that the Reef was in good health and that environmentalists were promoting an alarmist agenda: 'Like much associated with the global warming hoax, truth was the casualty... The Barrier Reef's fine – there are any number of reputable entities who will be looking after it and making sure it continues to be fine and looked after' (Slezak, 2016). Echoing this line, conservative politicians and business interests dismissed the issue of coral bleaching as exaggeration while promoting alternative justifications from within the market and civic worlds (specifically claims of jobs and economic growth from coalmine expansion). As the head of the local industry chamber exclaimed of the proposed Adani coal mine, 'Anything that boosts the fortunes of regional Queensland is welcomed and should be embraced' (Nally, 2016).

Industry leaders and politicians also disputed the legitimacy of celebrity claims about the sustainability of the Reef, arguing that film stars or musicians were not valid authorities to engage in reality tests within the green world. For instance, in one widely publicised interaction, Hollywood comedian, Ellen DeGeneres, was roundly criticized by Australian politicians and conservative commentators for contributing to a video advocating for the protection of the GBR. Her critics argued she had little knowledge of the issue and that 'she has got involved in that around the whole notion of selling a movie' (Anon, 2016). Echoing this view that celebrities lacked expertise to judge the health of the Reef, the head of a marine tourism body complained:

'Well if they'll take the time to actually educate themselves before they shoot their mouths off, it would be a really different story. When you end up with Leonardo DiCaprio standing up and saying, "I dived on this reef 20 years ago and it's not how I remember it now"... that kind of stuff is just crazy!'. (Interview #26)

However, media coverage of the bleaching event focused increasingly on the observations of well-known scientists whose expertise proved particularly powerful in highlighting how climate change had damaged the Reef (76 per cent of our media data during this second period refers to quotes from marine and reef scientists). These

experts, like earlier celebrity voices, also mounted a critique of the bleaching events from within the green world but bridged their role as simple *popularizers* by also testing the critique from within the green world (i.e., their fame derived from their expertise). They thus enacted a second role as *authorities* in the dispute in providing evidence of the severity of the bleaching events to a global audience. For example, renowned reef scientist, Professor Terry Hughes, from James Cook University was widely quoted in the media for his role in undertaking aerial surveys quantifying the extent of coral bleaching. As he stated to global media: ‘We flew for 4000 kilometres in the most pristine parts of the Great Barrier Reef and saw only four reefs that had no bleaching’ (Eltham, 2016). In a similar manner, well-known reef scientist, Dr Charlie Veron (dubbed the ‘godfather of coral’ for his pathbreaking work in categorizing coral species), was widely reported in media accounts of the coral bleaching, ‘It’s completely bleached... It’s like when a bush fire rips through a forest. This part of the reef is simply unrecognisable’ (Smyth, 2016). In response, critics from the marine tourism industry fell back on personal observation arguing scientists were over-estimating the degree of bleaching and the threat it posed to the health of the Reef (see Table VII). However, such criticisms lacked the standing of scientific authority.

Thus, two different and polarized views of the health of the Reef were presented to the public in the aftermath of the first bleaching event. Those highlighting the threats of climate change and coal mining emphasized the harm caused by the bleaching, while implicated industries and government enlisted other celebrity voices to promote a message that the Reef was fine. Celebrities on both sides of the dispute continued to popularize diverging messages about the Reef, however this first bleaching event moved the dispute from a test in the world of fame to a test in the green world; the reality to be reckoned with now was no longer just public opinion but the materiality of climate change. The test situation thus moved to establishing whether in fact the Reef was healthy or endangered, which was tested in the green world. These evaluations, played out in media, resulting in a ‘celebrification’ of key marine scientists, who became famous as *authorities* within the green order of worth. These celebrities acted as compromising subjects between different worlds in being both publicly known (the order of fame) but also able to establish the health of the Reef (the green order of worth). Once again however, the physical world intervened to further shape the political dispute.

Feb 2017 – May 2018: A Second Wave of Bleaching and Conflict between Worlds

While the tourism industry had sought to maintain the public’s perception of the Reef’s health, a second wave of coral bleaching the following summer in February 2017 proved far harder to deny. Unlike the first bleaching event in 2016 which impacted the remote top third of the Reef, this second bleaching event was located further south on the very doorstep of Reef tourism (see Figure 1). As one insider outlined of a meeting of tourism operators in early 2017: ‘... the data looked horrific ... I think there was a sea change at that moment in that room where the key players went “oh f*ck, this is not a one-off!”’ (Interview #8). Subsequent scientific studies provided a reality test confirming the

industry's worst fears with marine scientist, Terry Hughes, explaining to US media that 'close to half of the corals on the Great Barrier Reef have died in a period of about 18 months. This is the new normal' (Schmitz, 2017).

The recurrence of coral bleaching re-energized the growing #StopAdani environmental campaign which had now developed into a nationwide protest with gatherings across the country and featuring celebrity endorsements from movie actors (Leonardo Di Caprio, Mark Ruffalo, Simon Baker), popular musicians (Midnight Oil, Missy Higgins), environmental commentators (Naomi Klein, Bill McKibben), green entrepreneurs, comedians and scientists, all of whom appealed to a green order of worth in decrying the impact of climate change on the Reef (see Table V). The prominent role of celebrity voices during this third period of the dispute was evident in media coverage, with entertainers and media personalities constituting 42 per cent of actor coding, closely followed by scientists and naturalists (35 per cent), with politicians (13 per cent) and business leaders (10 per cent) far less prominent.

In seeking to counter environmental critics in the aftermath of the second bleaching event, the tourism industry and government stressed how they were investing in measures to improve the Reef's health. Utilising celebrity voices, the tourism sector expanded its social media campaigns featuring Hollywood actors, sporting stars and super-models as advocates for more 'sustainable' consumption (Michael, 2017). Indeed, industry and government also emphasized the market worth of the Reef to defend their position, stressing how media attention on the Reef's demise scared away tourists and harmed local economies. Within the market order of worth, industry reports stressed the revenue and jobs that flowed from Reef tourism and the economic dollar value of a healthy tourism industry (Deloitte Access Economics, 2017).

Politicians also downplayed the link between the health of the Reef and coal mining, with the deputy Prime Minister publicly promoting the expansion of the Adani mine as a 'cash cow' that would employ tens of thousands (Barlow, 2017). For local communities keen to attract employment, the tension between the Reef and mining was explicitly rejected through appeals to other celebrity links. In the coastal town of Bowen, the success of the local football team in the national league was used as a parallel for future economic success:

'... coal is not dead, Adani is not the devil and the Great Barrier Reef won't die if we extract coal from the Galilee. The sporting world is getting the message and now so are the arrogant do-gooders trying to stand in the way of our region's growth: step aside, North Queensland is coming through!' (Tomlinson, 2017).

However, beyond competing reality tests, celebrity voices also galvanized public support by expressing emotional reactions to environmental wellbeing, adopting a further role as *visionaries*. By articulating existential critique, celebrity musicians, artists and writers framed their political engagement with a personal identification with the Reef, through references to their children, communities and spirituality. As popular musician Missy Higgins declared 'I want my son to grow up in a healthy world and know that we fought hard to protect his generation's future' (Green Music Australia, 2018). Similarly,

Indigenous artist Brian Robinson outlined how a sculpture of stingrays on the Cairns foreshore highlighted how the natural environment was bound to his people's culture and creation stories: 'Stingrays capture the spirit of the Citizens of the Great Barrier Reef as they glide over the Reef without touching the coral, just as humankind should not touch the Reef' (Anon, 2017). Musicians and artists thus conveyed a spiritual and intergenerational understanding of the Reef.

Moreover, the radical nature of these celebrity critiques was based upon an argument that humanity itself was interwoven with the survival of ecosystems like the Reef. As writer, Tim Winton, argued, the destruction of the Reef from coral bleaching represented a larger crisis in the relationship between humanity and nature:

'The reef is now fighting for its life. The world's largest living structure, the only one you can see from space, it looks so enormous and robust. But it needs help. Right now. Our seas are warming and growing more acid. And if a living structure as big as this is in trouble, then we're all in jeopardy' (Winton, 2018).

These views were echoed by well-known marine scientists and naturalists who increasingly evoked personal and emotional responses in the media reporting. For instance, as environmentalist, Bill McKibben (2018), described his experience of diving on the Reef 'It's hard to explain how grim it looked beneath the surface, in the same way that it's hard to explain precisely how you know instinctively that a dead body is dead. But everyone on board was trying, working out a kind of grief'. When celebrities engaged in existential criticisms appealing to emotions, they were not questioned based on their expertise. Rather, through their public recognition, their statements offered the visionary potential to bring together a broader collective understanding of the environment. In the rare instances where interviewees critiqued such statements, they argued that celebrities were invoking an emotional rather than 'fact-based' argument (see Table VII). However, this rejection failed to challenge the political implications of such widely communicated personal statements.

Thus, in this third period of the dispute, the second bleaching event confirmed the green reality test that the Reef was in danger. While the tourism and mining industry and conservative politicians continued to argue that the 'Reef was fine', the defence of existing business practice re-emphasised the expansion of fossil fuel use as contributing jobs and economic growth (the market order of worth). This demonstrates the process of justification in that the success of a test does not necessarily resolve a dispute but can simply trigger the emphasis of alternative justifications. This market order of worth was followed by the expansion of existential critique by celebrities. While the celebrities as authorities previously voiced some of this existential critique, a new crop of artists entered the debate with clear visions for the future that provided symbols of the Reef beyond the conventional orders of worth. Through their art, these celebrities provided new analogies and metaphors to expand the meaning of the Reef in visions from an inspired world. These *visionaries* thus called into question humanity's relationship to the natural world in imagining alternative experiences, emotions and passions to understand the Reef.

DISCUSSION

In this section, we return to our initial question ‘*What are the different roles of celebrities in public disputes and how are their claims evaluated?*’. Our analysis shows that in the public dispute over the GBR, celebrities had three overlapping but distinguishable roles in relation to reality and existential tests. First, as *popularizers*, celebrities added their popularity and public recognition as a worth to the environmental cause. As noted by several of our respondents, the involvement of celebrities significantly broadened public recognition of environmental issues, given their fame and the significant numbers of fans and supporters they could marshal. However, as popularizers they were tested only in the world of fame, i.e., whether they gained media attention and reached large audiences. Their justification did not require any proof but merely needed to be suitable for widespread public dissemination (e.g., a slogan, a soundbite, a tweet, or a Facebook post) and recognised in media coverage.

Second, celebrities acted as *authorities* in testing reality against the worth of a world in which they were qualified subjects. In the public dispute over the Reef, it was clear that celebrities with credentials in the relevant world were much harder to criticize for their involvement as this required critics to have standing as authorities themselves. Thus, the corporate CEO, Richard Branson, could monetize the reef, while reef scientist Terry Hughes could provide ecological proof. Rather, it was the celebrity actors and musicians that were criticized because they were seen as non-qualified spokespersons in the green world and their fame was not recognized as a qualification. This suggests that to reform the world, the actor needs to be qualified within the world. However, even though celebrities without environmental qualifications were seen as illegitimate to confirm a particular situation, they could still point out inconsistencies within the worlds. Thus, they could legitimately critique, but not justify.

The third role of celebrities in our case – *visionaries* – gained audiences in expressing the injustices of the situation. More importantly, as recognized public identities, they could share their experiences through their craft even where they lacked environmental legitimacy. They produced existential tests that were not dependent on coherent justifications or established conventions. This radical critique, when shared, could undermine the dominant social reality and it is through these tests that musicians, artists and writers played an important role. Given their extensive audience, celebrities were able to collectivize their personal experiences of the Reef’s plight which then created a platform for more radical political action. This was evident in the growing public opposition to new coal mines (e.g., #StopAdani) which became a potent issue in Australian politics. Existential tests thus appear particularly suited to celebrity actors given their extensive public renown, as they fail only if the subjective experience is not collectivised and shared among people.

Contributions and Limitations

In theorizing how celebrities inform the process of public disputes, our article makes two key theoretical contributions with broader practical implications for stakeholders involved in sustainability disputes. First, our analysis contributes to the emerging literature employing the orders of worth framework by showing how actors engage different worlds in qualifying and testing justifications in public disputes (Gond et al., 2016; Nyberg et al., 2017; Patriotta et al., 2011; Pfefferman et al., 2021; Richards et al., 2017).

This clarifies the roles of both actors and tests in engaging with fluctuating orders of worth. In our case, celebrities employed their recognition in the world of fame to popularize green or market qualifications in responding to the Reef's dire situation. In critiquing the assumed incompatibility of the orders of worth, Whelan and Gond (2017) show how environmental activists can *align* orders of worth in promoting change. Our findings contribute to this discussion by showing how celebrities, as environmental activists, *converted* their recognizability in the world of fame into the green world in promoting environmental wellbeing. This also worked in the other direction through celebrification, where a qualified subject in one world (e.g., Branson in the market world) converted their proof of worth (money) into fame (i.e., recognizability), which ensures that the actor can evaluate both tests (e.g., I am famous *and* I make lots of money!). The relative and fragile worth of fame thus makes it malleable for conversion, however, this unstable character can also mean swift inflation of converted worth (e.g., Elon Musk's fame leading to critique in the market). This confirms the danger of disregarding how celebrities acquired their fame.

In their role as authorities, celebrities can also clarify and edit the format of reality tests. Through qualified articulation of the reality of the (green or market) world, actors *strengthen* the reality test by specifying the format (Boltanski, 2011). In our case, the celebrated scientists defined the procedure of the test in evaluating the Reef. This suggests the importance of relying on qualified actors in a particular world to reform how reality is tested. While any actor, or celebrity for that matter, can critique a situation, it requires qualification in the world to test or evaluate justifications. Thus, it is through reality tests that the separation between fact and values occurs, with the reality (fact) justified and confirmed according to conventions and social goods (values). Social realities gain coherence through reality tests, with the format stabilizing the situation. It is therefore important to ensure that qualified experts are heard to establish the format for evaluating reality in public disputes.

However, in contrast to reality tests, existential tests are not dependent on coherent justifications or established conventions. It is within these tests that art and literature play a pivotal role (Boltanski et al., 2014), with actors drawing upon experiences outside dominant conventions, from subjective experiences (e.g., the inspired world) to critique social reality. The celebrities in our case gained audiences in expressing the injustices of the situation and, more importantly, as recognized public identities they could share their visions through their craft even where they lacked environmental qualifications. They mobilized public support by establishing links to other people. This highlights the importance of celebrities in *collectivizing* experiences in resisting dominant actors and assumptions, since the collectivization of experience makes it harder to dismiss injustice or humiliation in mobilizing for social change.

Our article's second contribution is to provide a better understanding of the roles and capacities of celebrities as rallying actors within high-profile sustainability controversies. Corporations, governments, NGOs and citizens are now active participants in both the production and consumption of media content representing opinion, identities, brands and interests. Engaging celebrity voices is a central strategy for these actors in the battle for public opinion and celebrity involvement can affect political debate via the recognition that comes from their extensive audiences.

While celebritization can result in the endorsement of simplistic and individualized responses that distract from more systemic and radical reforms (Chouliaraki, 2012), our study suggests that there is also the potential for more radical critique by drawing attention to offensive factors within prevailing social and economic orders (Boltanski, 2011). Moreover, unlike other actors, celebrities as visionaries can collectivize existential tests through sharing subjective and experience-based statements to a mass audience. Celebrity voices of grief, anger, loss and fear can provide a focus for broader citizenly activism. For instance, as was recently demonstrated by the #MeToo movement, while individual actors who had experienced sexual abuse were initially mistrusted or ridiculed, when the experiences were shared, the understanding of social reality shifted (Khomami, 2017). This change in language ensured the potential for the experienced abuse to be understood as 'fact', rather than 'fiction'; there was thus a new reality that the experiences could correspond to (Knight and Tsoukas, 2019). This has implications for political disputes over issues such as climate change, in that overcoming 'business as usual' requires a fundamental reframing of economic and social conventions (De Cock et al., 2021). Celebrity voices can thus provide a public space for the mobilization of more radical critiques of the world.

Our study also offers several practical implications for stakeholders involved in sustainability disputes as well as suggest future pathways for more impactful management research of major environmental and social issues (Wickert et al., 2021). Through the celebritization of society, fame now dominates claims to expertise and knowledge. In this public battle for hearts and minds, organizations need to engage with celebrity voices if they are to attract public attention and perhaps endorsement for their public claims. Our research suggests that while celebrity endorsement can be a powerful medium in popularizing organizational initiatives, of far greater likely impact are celebrities which can either utilize a source of domain expertise as authorities from relevant worlds, or else express genuine, personal experiences as a form of more fundamental existential critique. For environmental and social NGOs seeking to challenge established forms of political and economic power, we suggest it is this existential and relatively rare form of celebrity insight which is likely to be amongst the most effective public interventions.

However, while we have identified the different roles that celebrities can play in these disputes, we do not claim to discern their effectiveness or relative power in shaping public attitudes. Their effectiveness is obviously dependent on the social dynamics contextualizing the dispute. Celebrities are generally dependent on different forms of media to enter and inform public disputes. However, social media platforms (e.g., Facebook) and news channels (e.g., Fox News) are not only arenas for public disputes, they are also engines in shaping the possibilities for different orders of worth and celebrities to have traction in the debate (Murray and Nyberg, 2021). Celebrity impacts in public disputes are dependent on algorithms, media uptake and editorial framing beyond their control. The boundary conditions for celebrities' role in public disputes are thus an important future avenue for research.

Further, the strength of Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) framework is based on social actors' critical capacity to draw upon multiple orders of worth in public disputes. However, there are motivations, such as fear, anger and anxiety, that do not neatly fit within their framework. These sentiments can even be employed against celebrities that

are seen to represent forms of cosmopolitanism. In these instances, celebrities are denounced for being 'out of touch' with the 'reality' facing people engaging in the dispute. Ironically, the nomination of celebrities as part of an 'elite' and against the 'people' has been used by celebrity politicians and entertainers in recent public debates (e.g., Boris Johnson during the Brexit debate and Trump in US politics). With the polarization of politics, identification and disidentification with celebrities, parties and causes are justifications in and by themselves, without necessary philosophical underpinnings.

Finally, irrespective of the outcomes of specific sustainability disputes, the physical reality of climate change continues and as global warming worsens, so management scholars will need to confront a broadening range of 'grand challenges' surrounding more urgent emissions mitigation and attempts to adapt to worsening climate impacts (Nyberg and Wright, 2020). Indeed, in the course of writing this article during the summer of 2020, the GBR suffered a third mass coral bleaching event, further extending the loss of coral (Readfearn, 2020). While it is tempting to view public disputes as having defined beginnings and ends, climate change illustrates how the underlying conflict between economics and the environment will continue to generate tests and compromises which are inherently unstable and bring with them further waves of critique and justification (Reinecke et al., 2017; Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006).

CONCLUSION

Climate change has become an ever-present reality within political and public discourse, evident not only in the growing intensity of extreme weather events around the globe, but also in the emergence of social movements demanding meaningful action to avert a worsening climate emergency. In responding to climate change a growing range of celebrity voices have entered the political debate. While it is easy to reject celebrities and fame as sources of meaningful expertise in situations of social dispute, we have argued that the ubiquity of celebrity in contemporary society requires that we take their interventions seriously. Beyond the theatre and spectacle of celebrity performance, we have argued that in responding to the disruptions that are now playing out over climate change, celebrities can play powerful roles in challenging fundamental assumptions of our social and economic organisation. By moving beyond a simple popularization of environmental concerns, celebrities can through existential tests provide more radical critiques that resonate to global audiences. While these interventions may offer hope in responding to a worsening climate crisis, it remains to be seen whether these interventions are sufficient to challenge the underlying assumption of continued human progress in a rapidly unravelling world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments that greatly contributed to the final version of this article. The authors also thank the editor for his supportive guidance during the review process. Funding for this research was generously provided by the Sydney Environment Institute and the University of Sydney Business School. Open access publishing facilitated by The University of Sydney, as part of the Wiley - The University of Sydney agreement via the Council of Australian University Librarians.

NOTE

- [1] Boltanski (2011) refers to a third type of test, ‘truth tests’, however, he recognizes that these are not tests in a vernacular sense, since they proclaim ‘what is’ by confirming the established order. Since carrying out truth tests requires ‘a strict control of the context’ (Boltanski, 2011, pp. 103–4), they are not relevant for our study.

REFERENCES

- AAP (2014). ‘Leonardo DiCaprio makes surprising critical comment about the Great Barrier Reef’. *News.com.au*, 18 June. <https://www.news.com.au/technology/environment/leonardo-dicaprio-makes-surprising-critical-comment-about-the-great-barrier-reef/news-story/362139ff8bdef0c29183a143de1bdba8>
- AAP (2016). ‘Great barrier reef ravaged: DiCaprio’. *SBS News*, 16 September. <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/great-barrier-reef-ravaged-dicaprio>
- Abidin, C., Brockington, D., Goodman, M. K., Mostafanezhad, M. and Richey, L. A. (2020). ‘The tropes of celebrity environmentalism’. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, **45**, 387–410.
- Adamson, M. and Kelan, E. K. (2019). “‘Female heroes’”: Celebrity executives as postfeminist role models’. *British Journal of Management*, **30**, 981–96.
- Anderson, A. (2011). ‘Sources, media, and modes of climate change communication: The role of celebrities’. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, **2**, 535–46.
- Anon. (2016). ‘Ellen DeGeneres surprised by backlash over her defence of the Great Barrier Reef’. *9News*, 11 June. <https://www.9news.com.au/world/ellen-degeneres-surprised-by-backlash-over-her-defence-of-the-great-barrier-reef/ccccf1a-d3f1-4781-a67d-77859702b86f>
- Anon. (2017). ‘Artistic tribute to Great Barrier Reef opens on Cairns Esplanade’. *Cairns Post*, 31 August. <https://www.cairnspost.com.au/news/cairns/artistic-tribute-to-great-barrier-reef-opens-on-cairns-esplanade/news-story/05949700e67995651e4cad2be8e6933>
- Barlow, K. (2017). ‘Climate Council decries massive Adani mine as the Great Barrier Reef perishes’. *Huffington Post Australia*, 12 April. https://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/2017/04/10/climate-council-decries-massive-adani-mine-as-the-great-barrier_a_22033625
- Boltanski, L. (2011). *On Critique: A Sociology of Emancipation*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boltanski, L. and Chiapello, E. (2005). *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Boltanski, L., Honneth, A. and Celikates, R. (2014). ‘Sociology of critique or critical theory? Luc Boltanski and Axel Honneth in conversation with Robin Celikates’. In Susen, S. and Turner, B. S. (Eds), *The Spirit of Luc Boltanski*. London: Anthem Press, 561–89.
- Boltanski, L. and Thévenot, L. (1999). ‘The sociology of critical capacity’. *European Journal of Social Theory*, **2**, 359–77.
- Boltanski, L. and Thévenot, L. (2006). *On Justification: Economies of Worth*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boykoff, M. T. and Goodman, M. K. (2009). ‘Conspicuous redemption? Reflections on the promises and perils of the “celebritization” of climate change’. *Geoforum*, **40**, 395–406.
- Branson, R. (2015). ‘Saying the Great Barrier Reef is “in danger” could be just what it needs’. *Virgin Magazine*, 7 May. <https://www.virgin.com/richard-branson/saying-great-barrier-reef-danger-could-be-just-what-it-needs>
- Chouliraki, L. (2012). ‘The theatricality of humanitarianism: A critique of celebrity advocacy’. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, **9**, 1–21.
- Chouliraki, L. (2013). *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cooper, N. (2016). ‘Sir David Attenborough makes heartfelt plea for the Reef’. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 April. <https://www.smh.com.au/environment/conservation/sir-david-attenborough-makes-heartfelt-plea-for-the-reef-20160423-godlzu.html>
- De Cock, C., Nyberg, D. and Wright, C. (2021). ‘Disrupting climate change futures: Conceptual tools for lost histories’. *Organization*, **28**, 468–82.
- Deloitte Access Economics (2017). *At What Price? The Economic, Social and Icon Value of the Great Barrier Reef*. Brisbane: Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu.
- Dietzel, A., Bode, M., Connolly, S. R. and Hughes, T. P. (2020). ‘Long-term shifts in the colony size structure of coral populations along the Great Barrier Reef’. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, **287**, 20201432.
- Dionne, K.-E., Mailhot, C. and Langley, A. (2019). ‘Modeling the evaluation process in a public controversy’. *Organization Studies*, **40**, 651–79.

- Driessens, O. (2013). 'Celebrity capital: Redefining celebrity using field theory'. *Theory and Society*, **42**, 543–60.
- Edwards, B., McCarthy, J. D., Mataic, D. R. et al (2018). 'The resource context of social movements'. In Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A. and Kriesi, H. (Eds), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 2nd edition. Hoboken, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 79–97.
- Eltham, B. (2016). 'The Great Barrier Reef supports 69,000 jobs: To save them we must make a choice'. *New Matilda*, 29 March. <https://newmatilda.com/2016/03/29/the-great-barrier-reef-supports-69000-jobs-to-save-them-we-must-make-a-choice/>
- Flyverbom, M. and Reinecke, J. (2017). 'The spectacle and organization studies'. *Organization Studies*, **38**, 1625–43.
- Gond, J.-P., Barin Cruz, L., Raufflet, E. and Charron, M. (2016). 'To frack or not to frack? The interaction of justification and power in a sustainability controversy'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **53**, 330–63.
- Goodman, M. (2018). 'Environmental celebrity'. In Castree, N., Hulme, M. and Proctor, J. D. (Eds), *Companion to Environmental Studies*. London: Routledge, 616–19.
- Grattan, M. (2014). 'Obama: Protect Barrier Reef from climate change'. *The Conversation*, 15 November. <https://theconversation.com/obama-protect-barrier-reef-from-climate-change-34278>
- Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority (2017). *Final Report: 2016 Coral Bleaching Event on the Great Barrier Reef*. Townsville: GBRMPA.
- Green Music Australia (2018). *Stop Adani, No New Coal*. <http://www.greenmusic.org.au/campaign/stop-adani-no-new-coal/>
- Guthey, E. and Jackson, B. (2005). 'CEO portraits and the authenticity paradox'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **42**, 1057–82.
- Hughes, T. P., Kerry, J. T., Álvarez-Noriega, M., Álvarez-Romero, J. G., Anderson, K. D., Baird, A. H., Babcock, R. C., Beger, M., Bellwood, D. R., Berkelmans, R., Bridge, T. C., Butler, I. R., Byrne, M., Cantin, N. E., Comeau, S., Connolly, S. R., Cumming, G. S., Dalton, S. J., Diaz-Pulido, G., Eakin, C. M., Figueira, W. F., Gilmour, J. P., Harrison, H. B., Heron, S. F., Hoey, A. S., Hobbs, J.-P., Hoogenboom, M. O., Kennedy, E. V., Kuo, C.-Y., Lough, J. M., Lowe, R. J., Liu, G., McCulloch, M. T., Malcolm, H. A., McWilliam, M. J., Pandolfi, J. M., Pears, R. J., Pratchett, M. S., Schoepf, V., Simpson, T., Skirving, W. J., Sommer, B., Torda, G., Wachenfeld, D. R., Willis, B. L. and Wilson, S. K. (2017). 'Global warming and recurrent mass bleaching of corals'. *Nature*, **543**, 373–77.
- Innis, M. (2016). 'Great Barrier Reef hit by worst coral die-off on record, scientists say'. *New York times*, 29 November. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/29/world/australia/great-barrier-reef-coral-bleaching.html>
- Islam, G., Rüling, C.-C. and Schüßler, E. (2019). 'Rituals of critique and institutional maintenance at the United Nations climate change summits'. In Haack, P., Sieweke, J. and Wessel, L. (Eds), *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, Vol. 65B. Bingley: Emerald Publishing, 23–40.
- Khomami, N. (2017). '#MeToo: How a hashtag became a rallying cry against sexual harassment'. *The Guardian*, 21 October. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/20/women-worldwide-use-hashtag-metoo-against-sexual-harassment>
- King, B. G. (2011). 'The tactical disruptiveness of social movements: Sources of market and mediated disruption in corporate boycotts'. *Social Problems*, **58**, 491–517.
- Kjærgaard, A., Morsing, M. and Ravasi, D. (2011). 'Mediating identity: A Study of media influence on organizational identity construction in a celebrity firm'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **48**, 514–43.
- Knight, E. and Tsoukas, H. (2019). 'When fiction trumps truth: What “post-truth” and “alternative facts” mean for management studies'. *Organization Studies*, **40**, 183–97.
- Langley, A. (1999). 'Strategies for theorizing from process data.' *Academy of Management Review*, **24**, 691–710.
- Levy, D., Reinecke, J. and Manning, S. (2016). 'The political dynamics of sustainable coffee: Contested value regimes and the transformation of sustainability'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **53**, 364–401.
- Marshall, P. D. (1997). *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- McCubbin, S. G. (2020). 'The Cecil moment: Celebrity environmentalism, Nature 2.0, and the cultural politics of lion trophy hunting'. *Geoforum*, **108**, 194–203.
- McKernan, B. (2011). 'Politics and celebrity: A sociological understanding'. *Sociology Compass*, **5**, 190–202.
- McKibben, B. (2018). 'How Justin Trudeau and Jerry Brown can help save the Great Barrier Reef'. *The New Yorker*, 30 May. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/how-justin-trudeau-and-jerry-brown-can-help-save-the-great-barrier-reef>
- Michael, P. (2017). 'Teresa Palmer is face of Citizens of the Great Barrier Reef'. *The Courier-Mail*, 29 November. <http://www.cairnspost.com.au/news/queensland/teresa-palmer-is-face-of-citizens-of-the-great-barrier-reef/news-story/3a93ea407b6eb599e54530224915e54f>

- Milman, O. (2015). 'Australia lobbies Unesco to stop it from listing Great Barrier Reef as "in danger"'. *The Guardian*, 15 May. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/may/14/australia-lobbies-unesco-stop-listing-great-barrier-reef-as-in-danger>
- Murphy, K. (2014). 'Julie Bishop rebukes Barack Obama over Great Barrier Reef'. *The Guardian*, 21 November. <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2014/nov/20/julie-bishop-barack-obama-great-barrier-reef>
- Murray, J. and Nyberg, D. (2021). 'Industry vs. government: Leveraging media coverage in corporate political activity'. *Organization Studies*, **42**, 1629–50.
- Nally, A. (2016). 'Cairns businesses told to prepare for Adani coal mine opportunities'. *Cairns Post*, 7 December. <http://www.cairnspost.com.au/news/cairns/cairns-businesses-told-to-prepare-for-adani-coal-mine-opportunities/news-story/cca3826330043bca06d84ff664839>
- Nyberg, D. and Wright, C. (2012). 'Justifying business responses to climate change: Discursive strategies of similarity and difference'. *Environment and Planning A*, **44**, 1819–35.
- Nyberg, D. and Wright, C. (2020). 'Climate-proofing management research'. *Academy of Management Perspectives*. In press. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amp.2018.0183>
- Nyberg, D., Wright, C. and Kirk, J. (2017). 'Re-producing a neoliberal political regime: Competing justifications and dominance in disputing fracking'. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, **52**, 143–71.
- Partzsch, L. (2015). 'The power of celebrities in global politics'. *Celebrity Studies*, **6**, 178–91.
- Patriotta, G., Gond, J.-P. and Schultz, F. (2011). 'Maintaining legitimacy: Controversies, orders of worth, and public justifications'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **48**, 1804–36.
- Pfefferman, T., Frenkel, M. and Gilad, S. (2021). 'On gendered justification: A framework for understanding men's and women's entrepreneurial resource-acquisition'. *Journal of Management Studies*. In press. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12691>
- Ramirez, C. (2013). "'We are being pilloried for something, we did not even know we had done wrong!": Quality control and orders of worth in the British audit profession'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **50**, 845–69.
- Readfearn, G. (2020). 'Great Barrier Reef's third mass bleaching in five years the most widespread yet'. *The Guardian*, 7 April. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/apr/07/great-barrier-reefs-third-mass-bleaching-in-five-years-the-most-widespread-ever>
- Reinecke, J., Bommel, K. V. and Spicer, A. (2017). 'When orders of worth clash: Negotiating legitimacy in situations of moral multiplexity'. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, **52**, 33–72.
- Richards, M., Zellweger, T. and Gond, J.-P. (2017). 'Maintaining moral legitimacy through worlds and words: An explanation of firms' investment in sustainability certification'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **54**, 676–710.
- Richey, L. A. and Ponte, S. (2011). *Brand Aid: Shopping Well to Save the World*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rindova, V. P., Pollock, T. G. and Hayward, M. L. A. (2006). 'Celebrity firms: The social construction of market popularity'. *Academy of Management Review*, **31**, 50–71.
- rupertmurdoch. (2015). *To the Naked Eye Reef Looks Fully as Good as it did 50 Years Ago* [Tweet]. 25 August. <https://twitter.com/rupeurtmurdoch/status/636075308567891968>
- Scherer, A. G. and Palazzo, G. (2011). 'The new political role of business in a globalized world: A review of a new perspective on CSR and its implications for the firm, governance, and democracy'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **48**, 899–931.
- Schmitz, R. (2017). 'While corals die along the Great Barrier Reef, humans struggle to adjust'. *MPR News*, 10 July. <https://www.mprnews.org/story/2017/07/10/npr-while-corals-die-along-great-barrier-reef-humans-struggle-to-adjust>
- Shickel, R. (2000). *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity in America*. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee.
- Slezak, M. (2016). 'Alan Jones launches Great Barrier Reef site after criticising "global warming hoax"'. *The Guardian*, 25 October. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/oct/25/alan-jones-launches-great-barrier-reef-site-after-criticising-global-warming-hoax>
- Smyth, J. (2016). 'Paradise lost: The crisis on the Great Barrier Reef'. *Financial Times*, 16 December. <https://www.ft.com/content/7954caaa-c184-11e6-9bca-2b93a6856354>
- Street, J. (2004). 'Celebrity politicians: Popular culture and political representation'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, **6**, 435–52.
- Thévenot, L., Moody, M. and Lafaye, C. (2000). 'Forms of valuing nature: Arguments and modes of justification in French and American environmental disputes'. In Lamont, M. and Thévenot, L. (Eds), *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229–72.

- Tomlinson, D. (2017). 'Don't dictate to North Queensland'. *Townsville Bulletin*, 20 September. <http://www.townsvillebulletin.com.au/news/opinion/dont-dictate-to-north-queensland/news-story/958b1fc67e4ba3a9710f8ac7a5b4419f>
- Tufekci, Z. (2013). "'Not this one": Social movements, the attention economy, and microcelebrity networked activism'. *American Behavioral Scientist*, **57**, 848–70.
- Turner, G. (2013). *Understanding Celebrity*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- van de Rijt, A., Shor, E., Ward, C. and Skiena, S. (2013). 'Only 15 minutes? The social stratification of fame in printed media'. *American Sociological Review*, **78**, 266–89.
- Whelan, G. and Gond, J.-P. (2017). 'Meat your enemy: Animal rights, alignment, and radical change'. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, **26**, 123–38.
- Wickert, C., Post, C., Doh, J. P., Prescott, J. E. and Prencipe, A. (2021). 'Management research that makes a difference: Broadening the meaning of impact'. *Journal of Management Studies*, **58**, 297–320.
- Winton, T. (2018). 'The burning beach'. *Australian Environmental Grantmakers Network*, 4 April. <https://aegn.org.au/2018/04/the-burning-beach-subtitle-by-tim-winton/>
- Wright, C. and Nyberg, D. (2015). *Climate Change, Capitalism and Corporations: Processes of Creative Self-Destruction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, C. and Nyberg, D. (2017). 'An inconvenient truth: How organizations translate climate change into business as usual'. *Academy of Management Journal*, **60**, 1633–61.
- Zavyalova, A., Pfarrer, M. D., Reger, R. K. and Shapiro, D. L. (2012). 'Managing the message: The effects of firm actions and industry spillovers on media coverage following wrongdoing'. *Academy of Management Journal*, **55**, 1079–101.