



JULY 2025

# Clean energy & narratives

Latam  
Lab



# A Hub test

*The Narratives Hub* is an open digital platform to transform the way the just transition is communicated in LATAM.

Designed **to create, test and amplify narratives** that challenge common sense.



## We aim to shift public opinion through 4 pillars:



### Research

We identify what is being said what worries people and what **resonates with audiences**.

Social listening, opinion studies, and archetype design.



### Narrativas Lab

We create and test transition narratives with **different approaches**.

We test what works with real audiences.



### Tools

We train activists and communicators with **practical tools**.

Counter narratives, best practices and audiovisual resources.



### Community

We activate networks of creators and influencers to amplify effective narratives and **respond quickly to climate denial**.

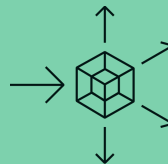
(\*) These pillars are modular and replicable. Together, they make it possible to shift common sense on social media and accelerate the just transition through storytelling.



## Narrativas Lab

Where we create and test the Hub's narratives through:

- Development of specific narrative frameworks by audience profile.
- Testing messages through A/B testing and control groups.
- Qualitative and quantitative evaluation of impact per narrative: reactions, reach, engagement, etc.

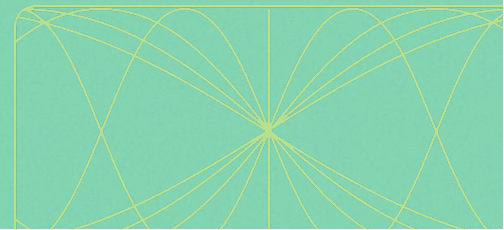




## What did we do?

**1.1 We tested seven different narratives about clean energy**, with approaches linked to sovereignty and economic, social, labor, and environmental benefits.

**1.2 These narratives were designed to appeal both to individual benefits** (such as personal savings or avoiding power outages) and collective benefits (such as reducing inflation or promoting social justice).



## Narratives tested

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¡Las **Malvinas son nuestras**,  
sus vientos también!

Las energías limpias son  
**soberanía nacional.**



### National Sovereignty



*The Malvinas are ours, their winds too!*  
Clean energy is national sovereignty.

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**Bajar la inflación** sin  
desempleo, es posible.

El precio de la energía está  
en todo lo que  
compramos.

Necesitamos más  
**energías limpias.**



### Collective Economic Benefits



*Reducing inflation without unemployment  
is possible.*  
The price of energy is in everything we  
buy. We need more clean energy.

Latam  
Lab

¿Te cansaste de que se  
corte la luz cada verano?

Sumar energías limpias al  
sistema lo hace más  
resistente.

**Con más energías limpias  
no te van a cortar la luz.**



### Individual Social Benefits

*Tired of blackouts every summer?* Adding  
clean energy to the system makes it more  
resilient. With more clean energy, your  
power won't get cut off.


# Narratives tested

Latam Lab

Más de medio millón de familias Argentinas no tienen acceso seguro a la energía.

**Las energías limpias son justicia social.**

Fuente: ReNaBaP, 2025




## Collective Social Benefits

More than half a million Argentine families lack secure access to energy. Clean energy is social justice.

Latam Lab

Las **energías limpias** son la llave a un planeta verde.

**Protejamos los bosques, ríos y glaciares.**



## Collective Environmental Benefits

Clean energy is the key to a green planet. Let's protect our forests, rivers, and glaciers

Latam Lab

**¿Y si pudieras no pagar más la luz?**

Con paneles solares en tu techo, escuela o edificio puedes producir tu propia electricidad.

Necesitamos más **energías limpias.**



## Individual Economic Benefits


What if you could stop paying for electricity? With solar panels on your roof, school, or building, you can produce your own power. We need more clean energy

Latam Lab

Los trabajos en energías limpias casi se duplicaron en la última década.

**El trabajo verde es una gran oportunidad.**

Fuente: irena.org



## Labor Benefits

Jobs in clean energy have almost doubled in the past decade. Green jobs are a great opportunity.

## What did we do?

During July 2025 the narratives ran as part of a paid campaign on Facebook and Instagram without ideological or age segmentation.

The ads focused on the five main urban centers of Argentina with high demographic weight and sociopolitical diversity:

- Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires)
- Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA)
- Mendoza Capital (Mendoza)
- City of Córdoba (Córdoba)
- Rosario (Santa Fe)

**360K**

people reached

**76k**

Interactions

**440k**

Impressions

**400  
USD**

Invested

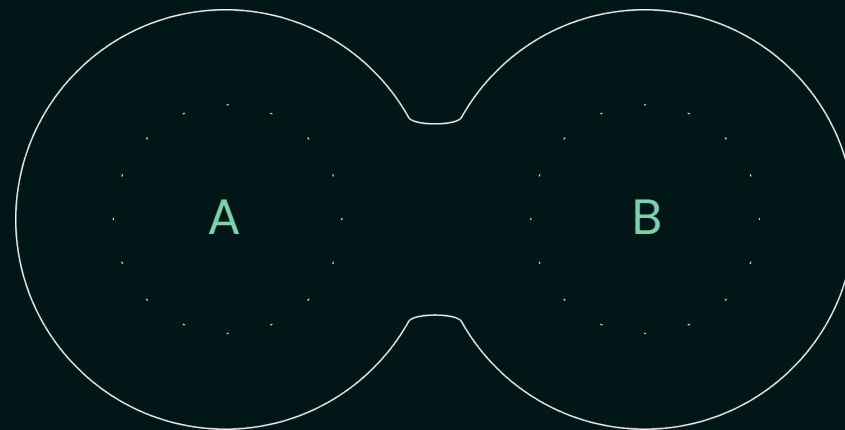


## How did we test?

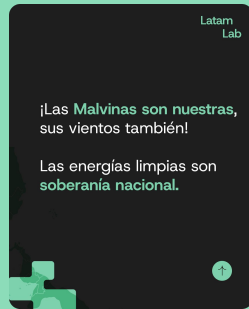
We applied an **A/B testing** methodology to evaluate the performance of different narratives under comparable conditions.

We published seven content pieces, each featuring a distinct narrative about the energy transition, and then conducted 21 direct A/B comparisons, testing each narrative against all others under identical settings.

**In each A/B test, a winning narrative emerged, defined by its performance in terms of the number of interactions achieved.**

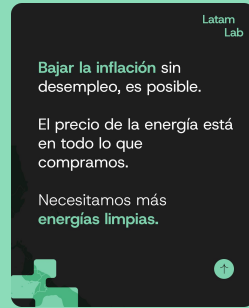


# How did we test?

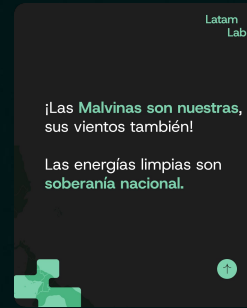


Comparative A

VS

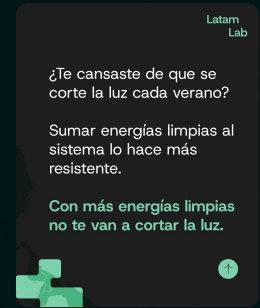


Comparative B



Comparative A

VS



Comparative B

## 2 complementary levels of analysis

### Quantitative performance analysis

We evaluated the overall performance of each narrative by cross referencing four key variables:

- Interactions (likes, shares, saves, comments, and replies)
- Reach
- Impressions
- Cost

To define the outcome of the “tournament” among narratives, we used interactions as the main criterion, since each interaction indicates that a person stopped, reacted, and was influenced by the message. It is the most concrete way to measure the relevance and mobilizing power of a narrative.

+600

Comments  
analysis

### Qualitative analysis of comments

We analyzed the emotional and argumentative content of the responses, identifying discursive profiles, ideological tensions, skepticism patterns, positive reactions and emerging narratives.

Spontaneous comments offer a direct window into how people process, interpret and react to our narratives.

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**This analysis helps detect common discourse patterns and refine future communication strategies to make upcoming campaigns more effective.**

Analysis I



# Quantitative analysis

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## Results

The **collective economy narrative** linked renewable energy to lowering inflation achieved more interactions at a lower cost.

The **sovereignty narrative** performed surprisingly well, indicating that this underexplored frame within the movement holds strong potential.

The **environmental narrative** reached one of the largest audiences but generated very few interactions, revealing the need to broaden the discussion and address the same issue through different lenses.

Narrative	Cost per interaction	Interactions	Reach*	Impressions*
Collective economy	0,017	16781	51941	60543
Sovereignty	0,021	15648	71781	93475
Social individual	0,029	10117	33639	40120
Individual economy	0,030	9352	65529	75982
Environmental	0,036	9038	65482	80921
Collective social	0,040	8797	46053	57962
Labor	0,042	6138	27087	33803

\* Reach refers to the number of people who saw the content, while impressions refer to the number of times the content was displayed. A single user may generate multiple impressions but only one reach.

## How many interactions did we get per dollar invested?

Improving the economy and strengthening sovereignty generated the highest levels of engagement.

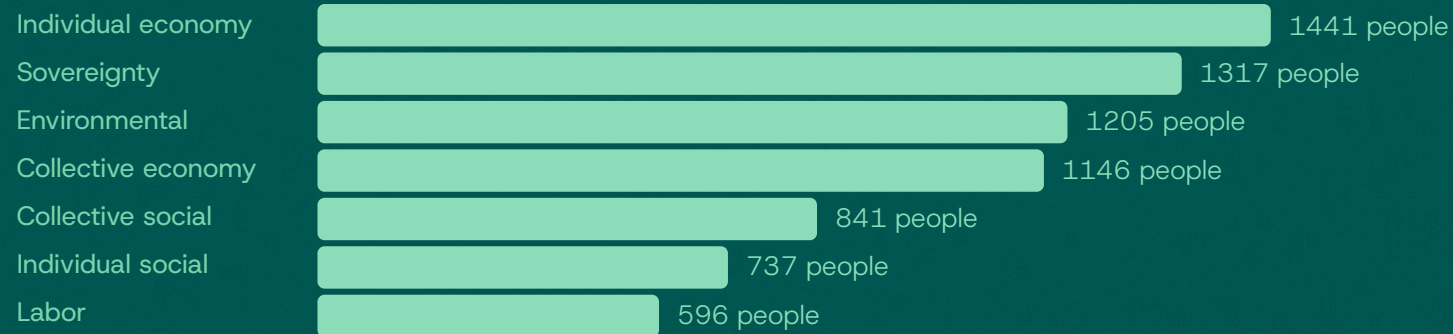
It cost twice as much to achieve an interaction when speaking about environmental, labor, or collective social benefits compared to collective economic benefits.



## How many people did we reach per dollar invested?

**Talking about individual economic benefits was what allowed us to reach the largest audience.**

The most effective way to reach more people was by using individual economic narratives and linking energy with national sovereignty. The labor narrative had the lowest reach per dollar invested.

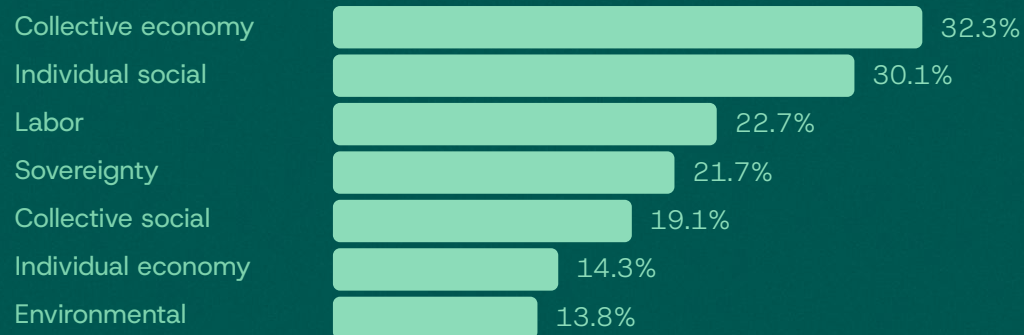




## Percentage of interactions over total reach

**Talking about environmental benefits generated the least interest.**

While 3 out of 10 people interacted with the content that promised to reduce inflation, only 1 out of 10 did so with messages focused on protecting the environment. On the other hand, both the labor and individual social narratives had limited reach but high engagement within their niche audiences





Analysis II

# Qualitative analysis

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## MAIN FINDINGS

# POLARIZED DIGITAL CLIMATE

Climate narratives are embedded in an environment where public discourse is shaped by distrust, political polarization and economic crisis.

**Claudio Tejidos**

**Laboratorio para la Transición** ustedes son los millonarios o ricachones que viajan en avión, tienen piscinas, gastan toneladas de combustible al año y nos dicen a los pobres que cerremos las canillas para ahorrar agua. Vayanse a la concha de su madre

Laboratory for Transition, you are the millionaires or rich people who travel by plane, have swimming pools, burn tons of fuel every year, and then tell us poor people to turn off the taps to save water.

Go f\*\*\* yourselves.

**Neno Lujan**

Para los trabajos de energía sucia están Carina y Javier. !

For the dirty energy jobs, there are Carina (Milei) and Javier (Milei)!

(\*)Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing social justice narrative.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# POLARIZED DIGITAL CLIMATE

Climate narratives are embedded in an environment where public discourse is shaped by distrust, political polarization and economic crisis.

Some distinctive traits of the observed discursive climate:

- **High emotionality:** Most comments express anger, sarcasm or moral outrage.
- **Topic deviation:** Posts about energy trigger debates on corruption, Peronism, taxes or poverty.
- **Overrepresentation of older adults:** Although the reach was broad, most comments came from people over 50.
- **High propensity for conflict:** Many comments do not engage with the content but aim to confront, mock or discredit.

Claudio Tejidos

**Laboratorio para la Transición** ustedes son los millonarios o ricachones que viajan en avión, tienen piscinas, gastan toneladas de combustible al año y nos dicen a los pobres que cerremos las canillas para ahorrar agua. Vayanse a la concha de su madre

Laboratory for Transition, you are the millionaires or rich people who travel by plane, have swimming pools, burn tons of fuel every year, and then tell us poor people to turn off the taps to save water.

Go f\*\*\* yourselves.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# DISINFORMATION

Although clean energy is a climate solution, false or distorted narratives circulate on social media that undermine its legitimacy:

(\*) Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing clean energy narrative linked to economic benefits.



**Gabriel Espindola**

¿Energía limpia? El Litio es altamente letal y en acumuladores solo tiene 5 años de vida útil. Y caro.

Clean energy? Lithium is highly lethal, and in batteries it only lasts 5 years. And it's expensive.

**Enzo Gigli**

Si, super ecológico esta porquería. Talan los arboles para poner toda esta basura que no se degrada, encima de plástico.

Yeah, super ecological, this sh\*t. They cut down trees to put up all this sh\*t that doesn't decompose, covered in plastic.

**Estela Martinez**

Pero dicen que provoca el recalentamiento global vi que hay un pais que comenzo a sacarlos x esta situacion QUE HAY DE CIERTO ?YO LO VI EN TELEVISION

But they say it causes global warming. I saw on TV that there's a country that started removing them because of this issue. IS THAT TRUE? I SAW IT ON TELEVISION.

**Enzo Gigli**

**Miriam Gil** Dejen de vender humo. Al igual que los coches eléctricos, otra estafa de la agenda 2030

Miriam Gil, stop selling lies. Same as electric cars, another scam from the 2030 agenda.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# DISINFORMATION

Although clean energy is a climate solution, false or distorted narratives circulate on social media that undermine its legitimacy:

- **Entrenched misinformation**  
Unfounded beliefs such as “solar panels heat the planet,” “lithium is lethal,” or “batteries pollute more than oil.”
- **Conspiratorial narratives**  
Some responses suggest that renewables are part of a “hidden agenda” promoted by elites, NGOs, or governments.
- **Widespread distrust**  
These ideas are combined with skepticism toward any institutional or technological proposal.

Estela Martinez

Pero dicen que provoca el recalentamiento global vi que hay un país que comenzó a sacarlos x esta situación QUE HAY DE CIERTO ?YO LO VI EN TELEVISION

But they say it causes global warming. I saw that there is a country that started to remove them because of this situation.

IS THAT TRUE? I SAW IT ON TELEVISION

(\*) Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing clean energy narratives as an environmental solution.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# THEY ARE NOT CLEAN

Far from generating consensus the concept of “clean energy” faces strong challenges on social media. The environmental angle no longer works as an unquestionable argument.

(\*) Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing clean energy narratives as an environmental solution.



**Nini Mireya Casaña Perez**

Cuando se estropeen los paneles solares donde los van a poner??? Siguen contaminando quizás!!

When the solar panels break down, where will you put them??? They'll still be polluting, maybe!!

**Selva Sidanez**

Y el litio? Destruimos las Salinas para tener "energía limpia"? El que queda, pues se lo están vendiendo a los ... 😬😬  
Cuando nos daremos cuenta de que ninguna energía es "limpia"?

And what about lithium? We destroy the salt flats to have "clean energy"? Whatever's left, they're selling it to the... 😬😬  
When will we realize that no energy is truly "clean"?

**Dante Segovia**

Y las baterías? también contaminan!!!

And the batteries? They pollute too!!!

**Ana Maria Rotman**

DENTRO DE ALGUNOS AÑOS DIRAN QUE MACANA QUE LOS DESECHOS DE LA SUPUESTAS ENEGIAS LIMPIAS SON UN GRAVE PROBLEMA PARA LA HUMANIDAD.

IN A FEW YEARS THEY'LL SAY WHAT A LIE IT WAS. THAT THE WASTE FROM SO-CALLED CLEAN ENERGY IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR HUMANITY.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# THEY ARE NOT CLEAN

- **Lithium = Extractivism**  
Lithium is associated with environmental pollution and seen as a new form of extractivism with hidden consequences.
- **Waste and technological garbage**  
Concerns arise about the disposal of broken panels and used batteries. There is a sense that a new environmental liability is being created.
- **Suspicion about the concept itself**  
Several comments directly deny the existence of anything like “clean” energy. They interpret it as marketing spin or a façade for hidden interests.

The cynicism that defines the current “everything is wrong” era can block people’s willingness to seek solutions.

Felix Quarín

Qué tan limpia es esta energía? Ahora, hoy x hoy lo es!!! Qué pasará en el futuro cuando caduquen las baterías? Dónde serán almacenadas? Se sabe que no pueden ser reciclables!!!! Dónde irán a contaminar? Destruirlas no es tan fácil!!!! Además se sabe que...  
**Ver más**

How clean is this energy? Now, as of today, it is!!! What will happen in the future when the batteries expire? Where will they be stored? It is known that they cannot be recycled!!! Where will they contaminate? Destroying them is not that easy!!!

(\*) Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing clean energy narratives as an environmental solution.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# ONLY FOR THE RICH

One of the clearest conclusions from the testing is that clean energy is strongly associated with high costs. This perception appears across all narratives, even in those that appeal to savings or individual benefits.

(\*) Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing clean energy narratives as an economic solution.



**Hernan Zimmermann**

Solo para ricos la posibilidad de comprar paneles solares e instalacion ; no es para clase media y gente pobre.

Only the rich can afford to buy and install solar panels; it's not for the middle class or poor people.

**Maria Alicia Gonzalez**

Si pero sin carísimos imposible pagar

Yes, but they're so expensive — impossible to pay for.

**Maria Jose Rey Astrada**

me encantaria hacerlo, pero jubilada imposible el costo...

I'd love to do it, but as a retiree it's impossible to afford the cost...

**Stella Mary Antúnez**

No me alcanza el bolsillo para comprar paneles solares

I can't afford to buy solar panels.

**Berta Ester Diaz**

Ojalá los jubilados pudiéramos comprar los paneles p no pagar más luz

I wish retirees could buy panels so we wouldn't have to pay for electricity anymore.



## MAIN FINDINGS

# ONLY FOR THE RICH

- **Aspirational frustration:** Many comments express the desire to adopt solutions like solar panels but immediately dismiss them as something “for the rich.” *I’d love to, but I can’t afford it.*
- **Negative cost-benefit perception:** The initial investment is seen as unattainable and the savings return as distant or uncertain. *With that I pay five years of electricity.*
- **Repeated language:** Expressions like “too expensive,” “luxury,” “only for the rich,” “not for us” are repeated dozens of times, reinforcing a framework of inaccessibility.

**Clean energy is perceived as expensive energy meant for others, not seen as a possibility for the middle or lower classes..**

\*This happens in a country like Argentina, where due to economic instability, access to credit is limited.

Hernan Zimmermann

Solo para ricos la posibilidad de comprar paneles solares e instalacion ; no es para clase media y gente pobre.

Maria Jose Rey Astrada

me encantaria hacerlo, pero jubilada imposible el costo...

Only for the rich is the possibility of buying solar panels and installation; it's not for the middle class and poor people.

I would love to do it, but as a retiree the cost is impossible...

## MAIN FINDINGS

# SOCIAL JUSTICE

The narrative of collective social benefits framed around the concept of social justice generated the most comments but also triggered the most visceral, ideological and negative reactions.

(\*) Argentina Facebook, 2025. Testing clean energy narratives as promoters of social justice.

**Norma Gal**

LA JUSTICIA SOCIAL ES UNA MENTIRA NUNCA EXISTIÓ, LO GRATIS LO PAGAMOS TODOS

SOCIAL JUSTICE IS A LIE, IT NEVER EXISTED. NOTHING IS FREE, WE ALL PAY FOR IT.

**Mercedes Suarez**

Claro y los q pagamos seguimos manteniendo vagos justicia social q esos salgan a laburar

Of course, and those of us who pay keep supporting lazy people — social justice means those people should go get a job.

**Cristian Ariel Falcón**

JUSTICIA SOCIAL ES QUE LOS QUE VOTÁS NO TE ROBEN Y HAMBREEN X 20 AÑOS

SOCIAL JUSTICE MEANS THAT THE PEOPLE YOU VOTE FOR DON'T STEAL FROM YOU AND STARVE YOU FOR 20 YEARS.

**Javier Quete**

Justicia social? Eso que predicaban los peronistas pero nunca aplicaron. Ahora piden lo que nunca dieron

Social justice? That's what the Peronists preached but never practiced. Now they're asking for what they never gave.

## MAIN FINDINGS

# SOCIAL JUSTICE

- **Immediate rejection of the term “social justice”**  
Most comments do not address the concrete proposal (access to clean energy) but rather attack the concept itself, associating it with Peronism, clientelism or corruption.
- **Activation of political divides**  
The post becomes a space of confrontation between Kirchnerists and anti-Kirchnerists, where clean energy takes a back seat.
- **Merit vs. right**  
A meritocratic narrative emerges rejecting the idea of universal access and demanding that everything be paid for. *You want electricity, pay for it.*

While content appealing to values of justice and social inclusion generates more interaction, it risks derailing the discussion and triggering defensive responses that make persuasion more difficult.

Maca Forestier

Que pelotudeces más grande. ¿Querés luz ? trabaja y págala fin

What a bunch of nonsense. You want electricity? Work and pay for it, that's it.

## Analysis III

# Results of the narrative tournament

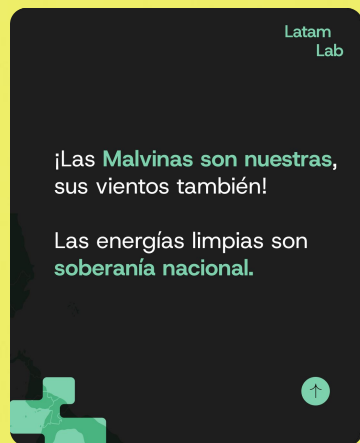
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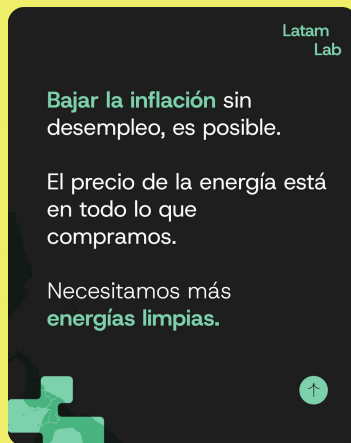
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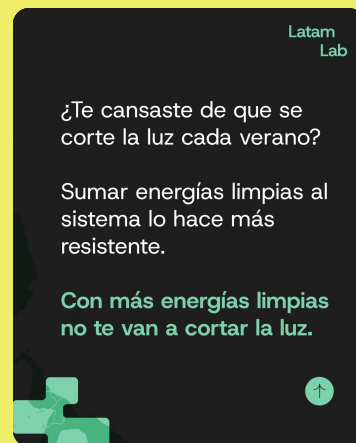
# Winners



National Sovereignty



Collective Environmental Benefits



Individual Social Benefits

# Narratives ranking\*

#1 National sovereignty (collective): Won 5 head-to-head matches

#2 Collective economic: Won 5 head-to-head matches

#3 Individual social: Won 3 matches and tied 1

#4 Collective social: Won 3 matches

#5 Environmental: Won 2 matches and tied 2

#6 Individual economic: Won 2 matches

#7 Labor: Did not win any

*\*The methodology used the cost per interaction as the criterion for determining the winner of each match-up.*



# Conclusions & recommendations

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## Conclusions

The collective economy narrative was the most cost efficient, showing excellent engagement performance and moderate reach. Its message around reducing inflation consistently mobilized audiences, confirming that frames linking the energy transition with people's everyday concerns are the most effective.

The sovereignty narrative performed strongly and maintained a balanced profile, with an excellent cost-effectiveness ratio. It reached more people per dollar spent (even surpassing the collective economy narrative) while ranking second in cost per interaction. This shows that linking sovereignty and renewable energy not only reaches people but also mobilizes them. In a context of distrust toward global agendas, this narrative reframes the energy transition as a project of national autonomy, reclaiming a discursive space often occupied by anti-globalist or conspiratorial approaches.

The individual social and collective social narratives achieved similar reach, with a slight advantage for the collective version in total audience reached. However, the individual social narrative generated **10% more interactions**, making it the **second most engaging narrative** overall.



## Conclusions

Both the individual economic and environmental narratives reached a large number of people. However, that visibility did not translate into active engagement, both generated few interactions. They reach but they don't mobilize.

*The low engagement of the individual economic narrative can be explained by energy subsidies, which distort the perception of the real cost of energy, thereby reducing the appeal of economic benefits. The environmental narrative, meanwhile, seems to have a mobilized and passionate core, but outside that niche the topic generates less involvement, limiting its ability to activate broader audiences.*

The labor narrative resonated strongly with those who saw it, achieving one of the highest interaction rates but with limited reach. In other words, it's a narrative that sparks interest but is expensive to distribute, which explains its lower performance in interactions per dollar invested. Like the individual social narrative, it mobilizes but doesn't reach.

This marks a contrast with the European context, where the promise of "green jobs" generates high interest. In Latin America, however, it faces a narrative challenge: in economies with high informality (such as Argentina) the decline in formal employment does not directly translate into a central social concern.

## Recommendations

### 1. **Talk about what people are already talking about**

The most effective narratives were those that connected the energy transition with everyday concerns, particularly inflation and power outages. The key is to tap into existing frames of meaning rather than trying to create new ones. Framing the energy transition as a set of immediate, concrete, and broadly desired solutions is the best way to reach and resonate with society.

### 2. **Reposition energy as an economic opportunity**

The dominant perception is that clean energy is expensive, distant, and reserved for others. This aspirational gap (“I’d love to, but I can’t afford it”) prevents people from identifying with the narrative. Communication should continue to highlight tangible, accessible benefits, local success stories and visible short-term savings to make the transition feel both attainable and desirable.



## Recommendations

### 3. Avoid frames that can be perceived as partisan

Content that uses concepts associated with a specific political party, such as “*social justice*” with Peronism, can trigger defensive reactions and increase polarization, pushing the energy issue away from the center of the conversation.

### 4. Sovereignty beats conspiracy

In a context of growing distrust toward global agendas, the sovereignty narrative proved to be one of the most effective. Presenting the energy transition as a project of independence and national pride, rather than as an international imposition, helps neutralize conspiratorial discourses (such as those linked to the “2030 Agenda”).

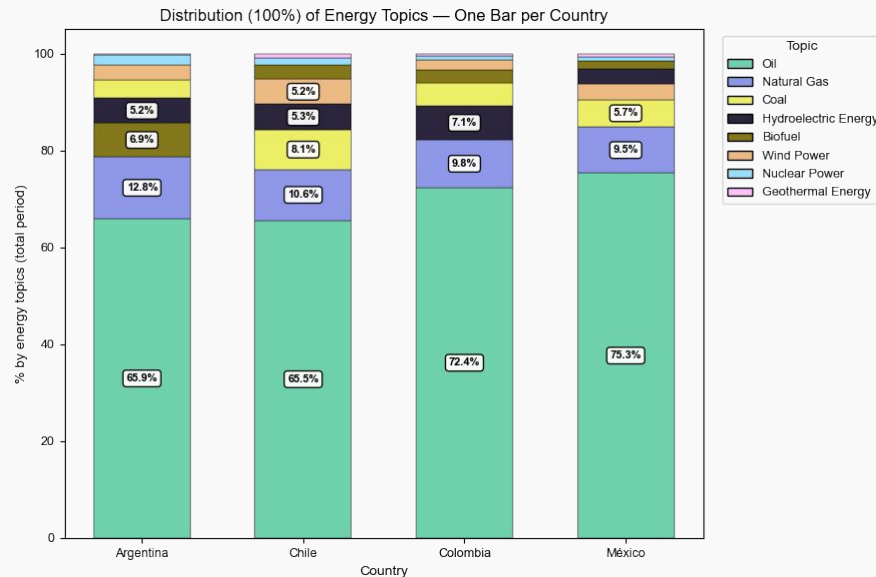


# Conclusions

## Clean energy does not appear as a tangible solution.

Complementing the results of this testing with the analysis developed in the Hub's research pillar we understand that in a country where more than 70% of the news about energy refers to gas or oil clean energy seems to play a secondary role in public opinion.

A hypothesis to continue testing in future research is that in Argentina's common sense clean energy is understood as supplementary to fossil fuels.



(Latam Lab, 2025)

Without *smart*  
communication,  
there is no *just*  
transition.

A collaboration between



+





# Change the narrative to change the climate

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Lab

