

In Pursuit of Objectivity

*Energy transitions to mitigate the climate crisis
presented in Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021*

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Change*

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The challenge for journalists now, it seems, is not just to report on individual aspects of the climate crisis but to spot the patterns and join the dots – and hopefully hold those responsible to account.

– Matthew Taylor, *The Guardian*, 12.05.2022

Journalism is about choosing, and we see that a news story is actually a construction, and not a mirror image. It is a social construction, shaped by the journalist's choice and influenced by production conditions, by traditions and genre conventions, and by the media's business idea.

– Svein Brurås, 2020, 50 (my translation)

Everything is about making money. You do not invest in a wind-mill park unless you can become a billionaire. Everything stays the same. That is the only way we manage to think, which means that we end up with the same solution we criticize.

– Thorbjørn Ekelund, editor of *Harvest*, cited in Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022

We have to get out of the old, foolish debate about economics or ecology. Yes, thank you, I say to both. Win-win.

– Erik Solheim, *Aftenposten*, 25.03.2021 (my translation)

I like reading African newspapers. Why? Because the journalists *stand* for something, they *think* something. So, you know that this one has been arrested, that one speaks out against the authorities – they live dangerously. We don't do that *at all*. We live in a little sandbox where once in a while we manage to unseat a trade union federation leader or a minister.

– Ole Mathismoen, journalist in *Aftenposten* cited in Ytterstad, 2012, 221

Abstract

This thesis discusses potential measures to mitigate CO₂-emissions presented in two Norwegian newspapers, Aftenposten and Klassekampen, in 2021. Aftenposten is considered mainstream and conservative, and Klassekampen a radical left-wing newspaper. In 2021, floods and heatwaves dominated, COP26 was held in Glasgow and climate change was a major theme in the government election in Norway. The research method is qualitative content analysis of 483 texts (both news and opinion content) based on the research question: *How are potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis presented in two Norwegian newspapers and to what extent do they address technical solutions and/or structural and justice aspects?*

Previous studies indicate a clear connection between the use of news media and potential involvement with climate issues. Climate journalism is therefore essential for the public understanding of climate change as well as for debate and civic engagement; and impacts what solutions we believe to be achievable. One of the main purposes of this thesis is to explore if the selected newspapers present connections between the climate crisis and economic growth, when covering potential measures to mitigate CO₂ emissions; or, if they present technological measures as sufficient solutions. Moreover, the thesis explores if and if so, how, issues of justice in the energy transition – for whom, when and where – are present.

The research shows a surprising similarity between Aftenposten and Klassekampen. Climate mitigation measures connected to energy and technology is to a large degree present in the news content. Economic growth critique is almost solely present in the opinion content. This can be seen in connection to the journalistic norm of objectivity, which many scholars argue hampers the possibility for journalists to challenge – in news stories – the economic status quo. Furthermore, the research shows that while there are differences between the coverage in the two newspapers, both Aftenposten and Klassekampen tend to emphasize controversies connected to the energy transition, as well as having an extensive coverage of the petroleum industry. There is also a tendency to present repeating storylines which might reflect a slow progression on climate mitigation measures. Overall, politicians are the most frequently used cited sources. This can be connected to the journalistic norm of authority, but it impacts whose perspectives on climate mitigation measures which are presented in the newspapers. Issues of justice are to a great extent absent in the studied material, though Klassekampen covers such aspects to a larger degree than Aftenposten.

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I would also like to thank the research group Media, Environment and Society at the Department of Journalism and Media Studies, the Faculty of Social Sciences, OsloMet, led by Professor Andreas Ytterstad, for letting me participate in their meetings and giving me advice. It has been useful and informative to listen and learn from everyone in the group. I appreciate having been included.

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Kristin Charlotte Horn Talgø

Oslo, May 2023.

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Abbreviations

CJP – Climate Jobs Campaign

COP – Conference of the Parties (climate summits)

IPCC – Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

KPI – Key Performance Indicators

OECD – The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

QCA – Qualitative Content Analysis

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SKUP – Stiftelsen for en Kritisk og Undersøkende Presse (The Foundation for a Critical and Investigative Press)

UN – United Nations

UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme

UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNHCR – The United Nations Refugee Agency

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1 Introduction

“If there’s no action before 2012, that’s too late. What we do in the next two to three years will determine our future. This is the defining moment” (Rajendra Pachauri the leader of the IPCC in 2009 in Ytterstad, 2012, 4). It has been 14 years since this statement, yet how we are to mitigate the climate crisis is still a contested issue (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015; Hickel, 2020). However, the severity of the situation has not diminished. In 2019, four years ago, the House of Commons in the British Parliament declared that the world was in a state of climate crisis¹. Since then, other electives have followed the British example, among others, municipal councils in 33 Norwegian municipalities (though none of them decided on concrete climate actions as a result of this²). To refer to our time as a time of crisis does not only underscore the severity of the situation, but also emphasises that we are running out of time (Bjærke and Kverndokk, 2022, 14).

A transition from the petroleum industry is therefore needed to curb CO2 emissions and that necessitates a shift to renewable energy (Wang and Lo, 2021; Heffron and McCauley, 2018; Heffron et.al. 2020; Geels, 2011). This acknowledgement that Norway must find new ways to fuel both the Norwegian economy and fulfil the country’s energy needs with something other than oil has been central in Norwegian politics and community planning for decades. The debate concerning what Norway as a country is to make a living of after the oil is about economy, climate actions and transition, but it is also about deadlines, years and pace, and about planning for a sustainable future that exceeds the lifespan of those alive today (Bjærke and Kverndokk, 2022, 9-10). The energy transition necessitates the phasing out of fossil fuels with increasing renewable energy resources such as solar and wind, which previously accounted for only a small portion of the energy mix (Wang and Lo, 2021). If we understand climate change in terms of purely a technical problem, it is reasonable to assume that technical solutions will be presented as the realistic path forward in dealing with this issue, expressed in statements such as: “Climate change is an engineering problem and has engineering solutions” (Rex Tillerson, former CEO of ExxonMobil cited in Hickel, 2020, 126). However, as this energy shift necessitates complex social and technological changes it will have far-reaching social consequences. This becomes even more evident as climate change not only stems from fossil fuel induced CO2 emissions, but

¹ [UK Parliament declares climate change emergency - BBC News](#)

² [Kommuner og fylker vedtok klimakrise. Men så tok flere av dem ferie – NRK Norge – Oversikt over nyheter fra ulike deler av landet](#)

also production and distribution of material goods, and the lifestyles of affluent people in developed and developing countries alike (Hickel, 2020; Wilk, 2002; Dubois et.al, 2019).

Furthermore, research on climate change and its implications show that climate change will have and already does have a long range of consequences beyond the disruption of the ecosystem. Heat waves, droughts and floods will increase immigration across borders as well as increase the risk of famine, conflicts and wars (UNHCR³; IPCC – Migration and Climate Change, 2008). Due to this, climate change will have far reaching social ramifications for individuals and society as a whole. Some scholars argue that technological innovation will ensure mitigation of the climate crisis, as well as mitigate poverty and promote prosperity for both human and non-human nature (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015), while others argue that such an energy shift is at risk of reproducing the environmental and socioeconomic injustices and inequalities inherent in the current energy regime (Carley and Konisky, 2020).

The increasing climate catastrophes and ever more alarming warnings by the IPCC⁴ have spurred media coverage of climate change and what we can do to salvage the situation⁵. Studies have shown that media coverage spike during nature disasters, elections, and climate summits, yet that the term ‘the green shift’ has led to climate and environmental issues being more prevalent in the Norwegian media regardless of such larger events (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022). The ‘green shift’ is presented as the alternative to the climate crisis, and is the term coined to describe the transition from fossil-based energy to a low-emission society based on renewable energy (Bjærke and Kverndokk, 2022, 15). The term was apparently used for the first time in Norway by Anders Bjartnes⁶ in a tweet in 2012 (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022), and later in 2014, the then Prime Minister of Norway, Erna Solberg, used it to describe a major technological transition that is compatible with continued economic growth (Bjærke and Kverndokk, 2022, 17). Understood in this sense, the ‘green shift’ is primarily based on the understanding that the solution to the climate crisis can be left to the technological development, without this solution having any profound impact on the way that society is organized today (Kverndokk, 2017). According to the database Atekst, the green shift was used in a Norwegian newspaper for the

³ [UNHCR - Climate change and disaster displacement](#)

⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2021/aug/09/humans-have-caused-unprecedented-and-irreversible-change-to-climate-scientists-warn>

⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-60525591>

⁶ Bjartnes later wrote the book ”Det grønne skiftet. Stans Norges veddemål mot klimapolitikken” (The green shift. Stop Norway’s bet against the climate politics), which was later published in 2015.

first time in the autumn of 2013, and by the summer of 2020, the term had been used over 13,600 times in Norwegian newspapers alone (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020). Given that the green shift' is very much on the agenda of the Norwegian media; it is relevant to explore how they present potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis as media as the 'fourth estate' has responsibility for how they choose to frame these topics⁷.

A study by Robert Entman concluded that “the media make a significant contribution to what people think – to their political preferences and evaluations – precisely by affecting what they think about” (Entman, 1989a, 347). Other studies have shown how the mainstream media serves as the general public's primary source of information regarding climate change (Jacobsson, 2021; Boykoff, 2011, Carvalho, 2010). In order to comprehend how people view the current situation and the discussion around it, it is crucial to understand how the media produces and communicates about climate change issues. This in turn might have an impact on how people behave and move around in the political landscape (Ryghaug and Skjølsvold, 2009). Jacobsson points out that “the specific discourses that are amplified by journalism strongly affect the social construction of problems and previous studies point to the central role of media in transforming political ideas into common sense” (2021, 483). Therefore, how we understand the climate crisis (if one at all accepts the term crisis or finds it alarmists⁸) impacts how we understand the measures to mitigate it.

The climate crisis has led both scholars and activists to point out that in order to curb the CO₂ emissions the current dominating economic system might not be compatible with a sustainable planet (Hickel, 2020; Hickel and Kallis, 2020; Tilsted et.al, 2021; Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015, Foster et.al. 2010). Carvalho calls it a “conceptual struggle” with “material consequences, since the solutions are conditioned by what is understood to be the problem” (2010, 485). Different emphasis on what the problem of the climate crisis is understood to be (technical or structural) and how this is presented in the media is likely to affect what kind of climate change mitigating measures are being discussed between journalists, politicians and policy makers. Furthermore, if certain aspects are avoided, this might also create ‘blind spots’ in our understanding of the underlying problem. If the problem of climate change is seen in

⁷ See chapter 4 Norwegian media landscape, under Media as the 'fourth estate', for more on this role of the press.

⁸ “The real melting of the Arctic icecap, for example - down 40 percent since Apollo took the first pictures of the Earth from space (...) Is this potential tipping point of climate change to be seen as an “alarmist discourse” (...), or is it, as others argue (...), simply a truthful rendition of the scientific evidence?” (Ytterstad, 2012, 2)

connection to continued economic growth then that might condition different solutions than if the problem is understood in technical terms. It becomes a question of whether mitigating the climate crisis is primarily a question of improving the current system, through technical solutions (Pollin, 2018) or if there is a need for a more substantial transformation of our society, involving another economic system, reduced consumption, redistribution of resources and more solidarity (Hickel, 2020). However, it is important to keep in mind that the interpretation and translation of this information into decisions and potential behavioural change is “complex, dynamic, and contentious” (Boykoff and Roberts, 2007, 19). An article by Veimo and Ytterstad (2020) concluded there was very little discussion in the media challenging the normative growth paradigm prevalent when debating the green shift. This thesis will therefore explore if such discussions takes place in connection to possible climate change mitigation measures. To underline the importance and relevance of continuing to explore this topic, Carvalho points out that

Analysing the evolution of media representations of climate change will remain an important goal for research as it helps us to better comprehend the dynamics of mediation. That is, how – and why – certain definitions of climate change becomes hegemonic, however fleetingly, while others are suppressed or reduced to marginal positions in public debates (2010, 493).

It is therefore relevant to explore if the media presents connections between the climate crisis and the current dominating economic system when covering potential measures to mitigate CO₂ emissions or if they present technological measures as sufficient solutions. This exploration lies at the core of the motivation for this thesis: exploring to what extent two selected newspapers in Norway focus on technological energy transitions, and to what extent they present discussions on a need to address structural issues including economic growth. This is especially pertinent to consider as studies so far have shown a large focus on technical solutions and green growth in the media when covering climate change and sustainable solutions (Barkemeyer et.al. 2017; Haugseth, Blix-Huseby, & Skjølsvold, 2016; Ytterstad, 2012). While there are media studies into a variety of aspects connected to climate change there have not been, to my knowledge, studies that look specifically at how the Norwegian media cover potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis in an energy transition perspective, with an additional eye out for how the question of economic growth and the concept of just transition is presented in this.

Research questions, aims, objectives and justification for topic

The overall research question for this thesis is as follows:

How are potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis presented in two Norwegian newspapers and to what extent do they address technical solutions and/or structural and justice aspects?

Sub-questions:

- Which potential measures to mitigate CO₂-emissions are presented, how; by whom and in what journalistic genres?
- Which challenges and opportunities are presented in connections to the potential mitigation measures?
- To what extent and how do the presented measures address issues of justice?
- To what extent and how do the presented measures address issues of solidarity (e.g. between different groups today, generations, human-nature relationships)?

This is relevant and important to study for several reasons. The traditional news media is where most citizens get their information about the climate, and there is a significant correlation between the use of news media (radio, newspapers, and television) and potential engagement with climate issues (Willig et al., 2022). As a result, climate journalism is critical for public knowledge formation, public debate, and civic engagement (ibid). Furthermore, Boykoff underlines that “media interpretations of climate change are not simply a mirror of reality but rather shape these realities” (2011, 124, my emphasis). Hence, how we perceive the issue of climate change shapes which solutions we deem possible, desirable and realistic, and as an extension of this, what future we view as achievable. The empirical evidence to back up the sustainability of green growth, which is tied to the green shift, is strongly disputed (Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015; Tilsted et al., 2021, Hickel, 2020; Hickel and Kallis, 2020). I am curious if this is at all mentioned or alluded to in any way or form, or not at all. Therefore, I want to explore traces of critique of the current dominating economic system and the push for green growth. Considering that previous studies (Veimo, 2020; Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020; Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022) indicate that the anti-growth voices in Norwegian media never seem to catch hold, to ‘take off’, I wonder if they are present, and if so, in what journalistic genres; whether

they are present in editorial pieces; news articles or presented more through opinion pieces. Journalistic genres implicitly tell readers how they should interpret the content; a news article will be embedded in expectations regarding facts and so-called ‘objectivity, while opinion pieces are not perceived as ‘neutral’, nor supposed to be (Brurås, 2020). However, ‘objective’ news need not be objective at all⁹.

Furthermore, who the sources are indicates whose voices are being heard, whose perspectives get the most attention, and consequently also whose voices are not being heard. In the words of Boykoff (2011), “Who speaks for the climate”? It is important to consider whether there is a silence around certain types of measures to mitigate the climate crisis or certain sources, because climate change coverage in the media is more than just a collection of news articles and clips produced by journalists and producers, as “media coverage signifies key frames derived through complex and non-linear relationships between scientists, policy actors and the public, often by way of the news story” (Boykoff, 2011, 124). This is connected to the aims and objectives of this study as insight into such ‘key-frames’ can be of use to create greater awareness about which areas or issues that there is a need to focus more attention on. If there is a lack of attention directed at certain issues connected to climate change¹⁰, then this could indicate a knowledge gap among the media, politicians, policy makers and the general public. Furthermore, if one type of potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis is more dominant than others or if one way of presenting them is dominant, then this might indicate that the Norwegian media might benefit from broadening their perspectives on climate change journalism, possible solutions and challenges, whose viewpoints are presented, and how. This is particularly relevant when discussing socially just energy transitions as Wang and Lo points out the underlying risks of the needed energy transition, stating that “the low-carbon transition is certainly not a magic elixir for a more ‘just’ world despite its environmental and economic benefits” (2021, 2) as crises exacerbate already existing inequalities in society.

This thesis is conducted as part of the master programme at the Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo, and is associated with the research centre Include, which focuses on socially inclusive energy transitions¹¹. Exploring how energy transitions and

⁹ These are central points to this thesis and will be explicated on throughout.

¹⁰ Such as just transition; and if aspects connected justice is presented within issues related to energy transitions, then justice for whom, where and when?

¹¹ <https://www.sum.uio.no/english/include/>

potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis are presented in Norwegian media can therefore produce new knowledge and insights into aspects connected to socially just energy transitions.

Summary and structure of thesis

I will explore what aspects (challenges and opportunities) of potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are presented in connection to energy transitions in the two selected Norwegian newspapers, how (in what journalistic genres and by whom), and how issues of justice and solidarity is presented in this. Climate change journalism professor Andreas Ytterstad (OsloMet) expressed it like this in his PhD in 2012: “I want to contrast what goes on in the media to the real situation, which is very grim indeed after the Copenhagen Summit” (Ytterstad, 2012, 2). Similarly, I want to contrast how the Norwegian media present potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis to the reality of the current scientific evidence disputing green growth and the single focus on technological solutions. Especially as 11 years after the dissertation of Ytterstad, the reality of climate change is even grimmer than it was back then.

The thesis is structured as follows: The next chapter, chapter 2, presents how the ‘hegemony of growth’ became such a prevalent understanding of what constitutes the welfare of a country, as well as the two competing viewpoints of green growth and degrowth. Chapter 3 goes through previous studies on climate change and the green shift in the media in order to give an overview of what has been done in media studies of climate journalism up till now. The Norwegian media is particular in its own way and so Chapter 4 presents how the Norwegian press history impacts the Norwegian media of today, as well as aspects connected to media as the ‘fourth estate’, media and power, in addition to the implications of journalistic genres. In connection to journalistic genres, the norms of journalistic objectivity and balance is central, and these norms also impacts climate change journalism which is the topic for chapter 5. The chapter will be wrapped up by exploring Gramsci’s hegemony theory as posited by Ytterstad (2012); hegemony, good sense and the battle over common sense in the media, as this is tied into both journalistic objectivity and why some topics become more prevalent in the media than others. These chapters will be central to add the necessary context in order to discuss and interpret the findings beyond the descriptive analysis. Chapter 6 presents the methods applied in the data material collection and data material analysis, while chapter 7 presents the findings from the analysis. Chapter 8 will then discuss the findings in light of the contextual theories in chapter 2-5, while chapter 9 will conclude the thesis, as well as offer some suggestions for further research.

2 Energy transitions: green growth and degrowth

When discussing measures to mitigate CO₂ emissions and promote a green transition, there are those who advocate a transition encompassing economic growth, and those who dispute this. This chapter presents the competing viewpoints of green growth and degrowth which will be central to add the necessary context in order to discuss the findings. First, this chapter gives a brief outline of how the ‘hegemony of growth’ came to dominate. After presenting green growth and degrowth, the chapter takes a brief look at ecomodernism, before introducing the term just transition.

An enduring conflict: The economy vs the environment

In the transition to a low carbon society, scaling down the fossil industry becomes central, but Jason Hickel views it as “a mistake to see growth as *driven* by fossil fuels and technology. It has been facilitated by fossil fuels and technology, yes; but we have to ask ourselves: what is the deeper motivation, as it were, that propels capitalist growth?” (2020, 83) The conflict between economic growth and the environment is not a new one. The premise that “the physical size of the economy could not expand indefinitely in a finite planet” was present throughout the classic economic period, 1770-1870s (Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015, 386). At the turn of the 19th century, drastic industrial and technological changes led to economic analysis changing its focus from use values to exchange values. By the middle of the 20th century, economic concerns about physical scarcity¹² had for the most part disappeared. Politically, long-term economic growth, unconcerned with energy and material flows, became the norm (Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015, 386-387).

Ecological economist Herman Daly introduced the term ‘growth paradigm’ “to characterize (...) mainstream economists that justified their belief in unlimited growth” (Schmelzer, 2015, 264). Environmental ecologists contend that “finite resources and ecological sinks make continued growth of the economy unsustainable” as it is the expanding global economy which “consumes a growing throughput of material and energy resources that in turn leads to growing pollution and CO₂ emissions” (Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015, 386). The ‘growth paradigm’, also referred to as the ‘master narrative of growth’ (Brand, 2012), ‘the hegemony of growth’ and the ‘economic growth paradigm’, views “economic ideas not as

¹² Robert M. Solow’s theory on economic growth argued that as one resource became scarce, rising prices would spur consumers to switch to others, and so “(...) the world can, in effect, get along without natural resources” (Solow, 1974, 11 cited in Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015, 387).

detached from particular socio-economic, political or organizational contexts but as grounded and ingrained in statistical standards, international policy frameworks and widely accepted norms” (Schmelzer, 2015, 264). Using Gross Domestic Product¹³ (GDP) as the metric to measure a country’s wealth has become essential in the ‘growth paradigm’, and seen as representing the ‘welfare’ of a country, it has become “simply taken for granted¹⁴” (Schmelzer, 2015, 265).

Green growth – why proponents see the economy as growing infinitely

Decoupling, a prerequisite for green growth

And so, the economic growth paradigm has become the institutionalised norm on international level¹⁵, though it was not a given that it should be the case. The 1972 Club of Rome report *Limits to growth* challenged the pervasive assumptions in economic thinking that perpetual growth on a finite planet was achievable. It called for structural changes in industrial societies’ production processes and was supported by the declarations of Stockholm 1972 and Cocoyoc 1974. The UN report *Our common future*, which arrived in 1987, reframed that conclusion. Growth was no longer presented as an obstacle but as a requirement for long-term environmental sustainability. This approach was later ratified by the Rio declaration in 1992. The green economy promoted by the UNEP bolsters the belief that there are no trade-offs between growth and the environment. Presenting growth as central to the sustainability agenda has been further supported by the Rio+20 declaration (Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015; Cock, 2014; Hickel and Kallis, 2020).

This way of framing growth has led to the presumption “that economic growth and trade liberalization are, in some sense, good for the environment” (Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015, 392). Critical analyses of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have equally shown the development goals to be in line with perceiving economic growth as prerequisite for a sustainable world (Sachs, 2017; Weber and Weber, 2020). This assumption rests on the notion of

¹³ The basis for GDP, Gross National Product, was created by the economist Simon Kuznets to measure the monetary value of all created goods and services in the US following the Great Depression. But Kuznets warned that the metric system only measured monetised value, it did not measure whether an activity was useful or harmful, nor unpaid house - and care work (Hickel, 2020, 92-93).

¹⁴ ‘Taken for granted’ should be seen in light of how “(...) existing approaches and discussions were deliberately homogenised and streamlined by the international standardization of national income accounting (...)” (Schmelzer, 2015, 265).

¹⁵ In his book “The Hegemony of Growth”, Mathias Schmelzer (2016) goes into detailed analysis of how the OECD has been instrumental in cementing the ‘economic growth paradigm’, embedding it not only academically, but also politically and in the wider public.

green growth which “asserts that continued economic expansion (...) is or can be made to be compatible with our planet’s ecology” (Hickel and Kallis, 2020, 469). While this idea has been promoted through the sustainable development policy changes, it has been formally asserted through green growth theory (Hickel and Kallis, 2020).

The OECD, the UNEP and the World Bank are all promoting green growth theory, which is integrated in national and international policy. Green growth theory is based on the premise that absolute decoupling of GDP growth from resource use and carbon emissions is doable, and that it can be accomplished at a rate sufficient to prevent dangerous climate change and other aspects of ecological breakdown (Hickel and Kallis, 2020, 469). Leaning on green growth, Pollin argues for decoupling, contending that “Economies can continue to grow — and even grow rapidly, as in China and India — while still advancing a viable climate-stabilization project, as long as the growth process is absolutely decoupled from fossil-fuel consumption” (2018, 9). Similar to Pollin’s claims, Stoknes and Rockström operates from what they call a weak and strong definition of green growth where “Both build on resource - and carbon productivity measures, but whereas the weak definition requires absolute decoupling, the strong or ‘genuine green growth’ requires sufficient decoupling to achieve science-based targets for planetary boundaries” (2018, 41). Based on testing this approach in various Nordic countries since 2000, they assert that “Sweden, Finland and Denmark have achieved genuine green growth, while Norway has not” (ibid). These statistics, however, need to be looked at closer (see below).

[The possibility of decoupling](#)

Several studies indicate that very often increases in the total volume of goods and resources consumed cancel out efficiency gains¹⁶ in another sphere of consumption (Guillen-Royo et.al, 2017, 268). Proponents of economic growth, and particularly green growth, see energy efficiency gains as leading to lower consumption and negative environmental impact, though critics warn against rebound effects which could potentially backfire and cause higher consumption and increased production instead (Alcott, 2005, 9). D’Alisa points out that “becoming wealthier does not ease pressure on natural resources at all” (2019, 29) as “The material footprint of nations, an indicator that accounts for the impact associated with raw material extractions to the nation that

¹⁶ In connection to energy efficiency, the Jevons paradox is often referred to. William Stanley Jevons “maintained that technological efficiency gains—specifically the more “economical” use of coal in engines doing mechanical work—actually increased the overall consumption of coal, iron, and other resources, rather than “saving them”, as many claimed (Alcott, 2005, 9).

actually consume the end-chain products, shows that no absolute decoupling is near the horizon” (ibid). Tilsted et.al has looked closely at the claims made in the article on ‘genuine green growth’ by Stoknes and Rockström (2018), noting that the term ‘genuine’ should not be used lightly (2021, 4). By examining the statistics that Stoknes and Rockström’s view on genuine green growth is based on, they conclude that “the claim of genuine green growth in the Nordics relies on a number of disputed choices (...) In the light of this, the Nordic countries cannot be said to have demonstrated genuine green growth in this century” (Tilsted et. al. 2021, 7). Hickel and Kallis concede that it cannot be excluded that green growth is theoretically possible, even so, “empirical evidence on resource use and carbon emissions does not support green growth theory” (2020, 469). Tilsted et.al. argue that genuine green growth fails to capture “the needed transformative change” that the “current sociotechnical systems” require (2021, 7).

Equally critical of green growth, Brand (2012) has called the green economy an oxymoron, and that the belief in green economy indicates that no lessons have been learnt from the failure to implement sustainable development. Similar to Tilsted et.al. (2021, 7), Hickel and Kallis conclude that green growth can be misleading “and that policymakers need to look toward alternative strategies” (Hickel and Kallis, 2020, 483). Rather than “chasing the phantom of green growth”, “the objective could be to find ways to decouple prosperity and development from growth” (ibid). Research into connections between economic growth and happiness has found no connection between economic growth and people’s perceived well-being; “economic growth raises happiness ‘up to some point’, beyond which growth has no further effect” (Easterlin, 2015, 297). And so, contrary to popular belief, improving quality of life does not always necessitate societies being organized around the growth imperative that characterizes capitalist economies (Guillen-Royo, 2016; Guillen-Royo et.al, 2017).

[Eco-modernism – make the Anthropocene great again](#)

In connection to green growth it is worth mentioning ecomodernism which is where green growth finds its support, that technology will allow us to decouple the economy from emissions completely. To eco-modernists, “Meaningful climate mitigation is fundamentally a technological challenge” (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015, 21). Human activity should be constrained to dense cities and factory farms, to make room for wildlife and untouched nature (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015, 12). Furthermore, eco-modernism does not acknowledge that there are ‘limits to growth’; “Despite frequent assertions starting in the 1970s of fundamental ‘limits to growth’, there is still

remarkably little evidence that human population and economic expansion will outstrip the capacity to grow food or procure critical material resources in the foreseeable future” (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015, 9). Critiques of economic growth becomes a side-track, (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015, 28), and as such, ecomodernism builds a foundation for promoting green growth.

Degrowth

The origins of degrowth

When exploring a counter-perspective on eco-modernism, green growth and the ‘growth paradigm’, degrowth is particularly pertinent as it goes to the heart of challenging these perspectives. The French political ecologist André Gorz used the term *décroissance* in 1972, asking whether “the earth’s balance, for which no-growth – or even degrowth – of material production is a necessary condition, compatible with the survival of the capitalist system?” (Burkhart et.al. 2020, 148) In the early 2000’s, degrowth was put into use by French environmental movements as a provocative and “defiant political slogan with the objective of reminding people of the meaning of ‘limits’” (Demaria and Latouche, 2019, 149). However, it is not just eco-modernists who contest the idea of limits. Political ecology has a long history of uncovering how environmental limits have been used to blame local populations subsisting on their natural resources for environmental degradation, while omitting how the globalized economy and production contribute to pushing people off their land and creating scarcer resources, and as such increasing the pressure on the natural environment¹⁷ (Robbins, 2020a). Robbins (2020b) has therefore criticized the ‘less is more’ attitude of degrowth, arguing that emancipation must involve bringing “more to more people, not less” (2020b, 3). Gomez-Baggethun counters this argument by pointing out that the natural limits and planetary boundaries of Earth are real and tangible and so emancipation is about bringing “enough to everyone” (2020, 5), not necessarily more.

A planned reduction of the economy

Aiming for enough, and not more, degrowth emphasizes the need for values such as simplicity, sharing, solidarity, care, commons and conviviality (Hickel, 2020; D’Alisa et.al. 2015). Hickel has defined degrowth as “a planned reduction of excess energy and resource use to bring the

¹⁷ This perspective of disputing the ability of people to live subsistence lifestyles without degrading the surrounding environment is also embedded within ecomodernism: “Whether it’s a local indigenous community or a foreign corporation that benefits, it is the continued dependence of humans on natural environments that is the problem for the conservation of nature” (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015, 17).

economy back into balance with the living world in a safe, just and equitable way” (2020, 29). While the term could lead to automatic associations of ‘degrowing’ the economy, it has been pointed out that it is not about austerity or a recession, and so “should not be interpreted literally” (Damaria and Latouche, 2019, 149). Degrowth scholars emphasise that degrowth is not a recession but a planned reduction of consumption and production of unsustainable goods and lifestyles, leaving room to invest and grow in other areas, such as public education and health care, clean energy, regenerative agriculture and essential services (Hickel, 2020; 2021; Kallis and Hickel, 2020; Escobar, 2015). While the reduction of GDP in times of recession has catastrophic consequences, an economy from a degrowth perspective do not need growth in the first place (Hickel, 2020, 30).

The focus on ‘disaccumulation’ and ‘decommodification’ has led to degrowth being critiqued as a movement for the elite, those who can afford to downscale their living standards without suffering (Hickel, 2020; Hickel and Kallis, 2020). In a world with rising inequalities (Oxfam, OECD, 2015), it is understandable how ‘degrowing’ can be seen as mocking those in the world who have far too little. However, the core premise of degrowth is that it is the North that needs to ‘undevelop’ (Ziai, 2019), meaning it is the rich countries which need to lower their consumption and production, while poorer countries need to be able to raise the living standards of their people (Hickel, 2020; 2021, Hickel and Kallis, 2020). As there is a growing middle class in the Global South, Escobar (2015) argues degrowth can equally be applied in these cases.

[‘A program without a slogan’](#)

While an economy that focuses on ‘human flourishing’ (Hickel, 2020, 31) undoubtedly sounds nice, degrowth has been critiqued for being a ‘slogan without a program’ by no one less than Herman Daley himself¹⁸, who has stated that though he is ‘favourably inclined’ towards degrowth, he is “still waiting for them to get beyond the slogan and develop something a little more concrete” (Pollin, 2018, 6). Even though degrowth emphasises that the emissions fuelled by capitalism are responsible for climate change; they concern themselves with a range of

¹⁸ Degrowth draws on the ideas of Herman Daley, as well as the philosopher Vandana Shiva, social scientist Maria Mies and Arturo Escobar, the economists Serge Latouche and Giorgios Kallis, and Indigenous writers and activists such as Ailton Krenak and Berta Cáceres (Hickel, 2020, 31).

topics¹⁹. Pollin views the breadth of interests and topics related to in degrowth as perhaps its biggest weakness, as he finds that degrowth “gives very little detailed attention to developing an effective climate-stabilization project” (Pollin, 2018, 6).

Degrowth scholars on their part would probably disagree with both criticisms, as the two critiques connects to the same theme; concrete plans for how to curb CO2 emissions. Regarding Pollin’s critique of too broad a perspective, the major point of contention for degrowth is the material flow and energy input that goes into boosting perpetual economic growth which in turn leads to climate change, environmental degradation, and social inequalities (Hickel, 2020). Understood in this way, climate change becomes a multifaceted problem that requires multifaceted solutions on all levels of society, thereby making it necessary to address a broad range of issues (D’Alisa et.al. 2015). This again, connects to the perceived lack of concrete plans, or ‘a program for the slogan’. Hickel might counter Daley’s critique by laying out his suggestions for how a degrowth society can ‘radically degrow’ sectors such as fossil fuels and parts of the economy that is purely about profit (2020, 30), as well as a shift from ownership to usership, ending food waste and scale down ecologically destructive industries (2020, 209-222).

Despite numerous ideas for and ways of trying out a degrowth society, Demaria and Latouche still concedes that “it is not possible to formulate ‘turnkey’ solutions for degrowth, but only to outline the fundamentals of a non-productivist sustainable society and to share concrete examples of transitional programs²⁰” (2019, 150). While Pollin sees it as more constructive to address climate change by focusing specifically on scaling down the fossil fuel industry, rather than “presenting broad generalities about the nature of economic growth, positive or negative” (2018, 8), Hickel however, argues that “Our insistence on perpetual growth is making our task much more difficult than it needs to be. It’s as though we’ve chosen to fight this life-or-death battle facing uphill, blindfolded, with our hands tied behind our backs” (2020, 140). A green transition seen from this perspective needs to explore climate change mitigation measures without being intertwined with the ‘growth paradigm’.

¹⁹ For example failed development, environmental justice, steady-state economics, feminist economics, political ecology, capitalism, commodities and commons, buen vivir, care and generosity (D’Alisa et.al. 2015).

²⁰ Such as back to the land movements (Calvário and Otero, 2015), ecovillages (Chaves, 2019), eco-communities (Cattaneo, 2015), cooperatives (Johanisova et.al. 2015), the Transition Movement (Hopkins, 2019) and Zapatista Autonomy (Leyva-Solano, 2019).

Challenges connected to technology in the green transition

While proponents of green growth and eco-modernism put their faith in technology, the issue of technology is contested in degrowth, with some advocating ‘high-tech’ and some ‘low-tech’ (Kerschner et.al, 2018). While a green transition necessitates renewable energy, there are problematic aspects connected to the proposed technology to facilitate the energy transition. Hickel problematizes BECCS; bioenergy with carbon capture storage. He argues that BECCS have yet to be proven to be scalable or if it will be doable in time, and contends that it would lead to further environmental degradation (Hickel, 2020, 134). Moreover, there are other issues connected to renewable energy technology: “When we hear the phrase ‘clean energy’ it normally calls to mind happy, innocent images of warm sunshine and fresh wind” (Hickel, 2020, 141). Though wind and sunshine are clean sources, the infrastructure to capture them is not. Renewable energy will require enormous amounts of metals and rare-earth minerals, which has both ecological and social costs (ibid). Dunlap therefore asks the question if renewable energy really can be said to exist: “The bad/good dichotomy of fossil fuels versus renewable energy (...) is misleading, if not entirely false” (2021, 84). Renewable energy is “becoming fossilized” (Raman, 2013, cited in Dunlap, 2021, 84), “reflecting the same geopolitical (ecology) patterns and problems as the hydrocarbon industry” (Dunlap, 2021, 84). Nuclear power is presented as a way to avoid these problems, but it takes a long time to get a power plant up and running which limits the role nuclear power can play in getting to net zero before 2050 (Hickel, 2020, 144).

Extractivism, minerals and resources needed for renewable energy therefore does not add up if the economy is to grow exponentially (Hickel, 2020; Dunlap, 2021; Gomez-Baggethun, 2020). As growing and accumulating is ‘the iron law of capital’ (Hickel, 2020, 84), many argue capitalism will not become more sustainable by labelling it green (Hickel and Kallis, 2020, Hickel, 2020; 2021; Dunlap, 2021; Gomez-Baggethun, 2020; Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo, 2015). Hickel emphasizes that a rapid transition to renewable energy is urgently needed, but that it is crucial “to disabuse ourselves of the fantasy that we can carry on growing aggregate energy demand at existing rates. We must take a different approach” (Hickel, 2020, 145). However, for this approach to be viable, justice becomes a central aspect in the green transition.

Just transition – an alley to fossil fuel capitalism or harboring potential for justice?

When discussing a just transition to a low-carbon society, there are various viewpoints on what is meant by justice, for whom and where, as well as how deep of a transformation of society this

transition should entail, which in turn loops back to the above discussions on green growth, eco-modernism and degrowth. The concept of a just transition has a long history, with activists, labor unions, and affiliated groups using it as early as the beginning of the 1970s, though scholarly debates on transition emerged more recently in the 2000s (Wang and Lo, 2021). Wang and Lo describes the needed global low-carbon transition as “such an extraordinarily tangled and complicated phenomenon that not only the sociotechnical matters — the profound structural change requires technology and innovations, while social justice aspects are also critically at stake in such transformations” (2021, 6). Justice is therefore a fundamental part of the transition, however, governments, companies, institutions and researchers often discuss ‘a transition to low carbon economy’ without any mention of ‘just’ (Heffron and McCauley, 2018, 74).

The global energy system is highly dependent on fossil fuels and despite the need to transition to renewable energy due to the climate crisis, this transition is turning out to be exceedingly difficult and slow (Figueres et al., 2017). Heffron and McCauley (2018) argue that this slow transition benefits the status quo and allows the continuation of society's ongoing inequality. White argues that the failure to find a resolution to the tug-of-war between environmental protection and maintaining fossil fuel-based jobs results in the concept of just transition turning into a “fancy name for a funeral” by joining forces with fossil fuel capitalism (2020, 24). A fair amount of just transition research does focus on “the labor–environment nexus”, though just transition discourse also covers a wide variety of issues²¹ (Wang and Lo, 2021, 8). Due to the ample amount of disputes regarding the green economy and just transition, Anna Rosemberg asks the question “what if the debate concerning transition is really about green growth versus no growth?” (2013, 22) Some of these tensions can be seen through Kenfack’s (2019) work within different Climate Jobs Plans (CJP²²) fractions in Portugal. He points to how the transition movements are divided by those who seek an ‘affirmative’ transition and those

²¹ Such as climate-, energy-, and environmental justice (Tokar, 2014; Harris, 2019; Castàn Broto et.al, 2018; Sovacool et.al, 2017; Williams and Doyon, 2019; Healy and Barry, 2017; Schlosberg and Collins, 2014), and a recent systematic literature review (Wang and Lo, 2021) found five themes in the current just transition literature: 1. just transition as a labor-oriented concept; 2. just transition as an integrated framework for justice; 3. just transition as a theory of socio-technical transition; 4. just transition as a governance strategy and 5. just transition as public perception.

²² As a response to just transitioning for the labor-movement, CJP originated in the UK between 2006-2009, becoming the later Climate Jobs Campaign, spreading to South Africa, Canada, Norway, Portugal and New York State (Ytterstad, 2021, 251). Through the Climate Jobs Campaign, Climate Jobs becomes a strategy to overcome the ‘jobs vs. The environment dilemma’ and is framed as a just transition away from fossil fuels; “jobs that directly contribute to preventing climate change and global warming” (One Million, cited in Ytterstad, 2021, 249).

who work for a ‘transformative’ one. The former sees the transition taking place within the current political-economic system, while the latter imagines a post-capitalist transition (Kenfack, 2019, 224). Ytterstad has similarly written about those within trade unions advocating for ‘green’ jobs aligned with a green economy perspective, and those who draw “quite sharp demarcation lines against the green economy” (2021, 259), in line with the ‘transformative’ approach. While some contend that there is no conflict between environmental protection and economic vitality because an environmentally friendly economy will create more jobs (Stavis and Felli, 2015), studies into renewable energy suggest that the so-called ‘green jobs sector’ might hardly benefit marginalized groups of people (Carley and Konisky, 2020).

Furthermore, “at the global level, low-carbon energy transitions are a spatially uneven process affected by geopolitics and could result in the uneven displacement of injustices onto poorer countries” (Wang and Lo, 2021, 8), which remains a risk when transitioning to renewable energy. As just transition is tied to how CO2 emissions should be mitigated, it is relevant to examine how such issues connected to this are presented in the media. To do so, it is necessary to look at previous research on climate change journalism and the green shift, which is the topic for the next chapter.

Summary

The ‘hegemony of growth’ has been successful in creating consensus around the concept of economic growth as a prerequisite for a sustainable world. The ‘growth paradigm’ has been further strengthened by green growth, which postulates that the economy can keep growing as long as countries decouple their economy from environmental impact. This is to happen through technological innovations, which is central to eco-modernism which green growth builds on. Degrowth counter these arguments by stating that there are no empirical scientific evidence currently backing up green growth or eco-modernism. Opponents of degrowth has criticised them for being ‘a slogan without a program’, though degrowth literature offers various suggestions for what a post-capitalist economy might look like. Just transition has become a key-phrase to trade unions when discussing phasing out the fossil industry. Some see the discussion on transition to be a matter of green growth vs no growth, though the importance of justice in the green transition is recognized as the energy transition risks exacerbating existing inequalities in society. However, for whom and where the just transition should encompass is a contested issue.

3 Climate change journalism and the ‘green shift’

This chapter presents previous studies and research on climate change journalism and how the green shift is understood and applied by the Norwegian media. The thesis builds on and contributes to the existing literature by having a specific focus on presentations of potential measures to mitigate CO₂ emissions in Norwegian newspapers, with a particular interest in how potential critique of economic growth is presented or not.

Media coverage of climate change – previous studies

The years of climate sceptic coverage

Studies that have looked at media coverage of climate change in the US and the UK (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004; Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007; Boykoff, 2011) have found that the media coverage from 1988 to the early 1990s put emphasis on the scientific consensus on anthropogenic climate change, while after this there was a significant shift. The so-called ‘climate sceptics’, those questioning whether climate change was caused by human activities, were given more and more prominent space, clouding over the rare scientific agreement on anthropogenic climate change (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007; Boykoff and Rajan, 2007). The shift in the media presentations on climate change from 1990 must be seen in context with how the issue of global warming became politicized and merged with a small group of influential spokespeople and scientists who refuted these claims. The conflict between climate scientists and climate sceptics were placed at the centre of the stage (Boykoff, 2011, 111 and 129-130).

Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) explain the skewed coverage of anthropogenic climate change in the US on ‘informational biases’ expressed through ‘balanced reporting’. Furthermore, Boykoff emphasizes that “Such focus on pitched battles and debates came at the expense of providing larger context of climate science” framing “anthropogenic climate change as one of mere political opinion” (2011, 115). Similarly, in a Norwegian context, Ryghaug (2006) observed through interviews with Norwegian journalists that journalists favoured polarization and disagreement when reporting on climate change. This was due to the journalistic standard of “balanced coverage”, which applied to all issues, spilling over into the coverage of climate change, rather than a lack of trust in the statements of scientists and scientific studies. This has led Ryghaug and Skjølsvold (2016) to call this time period (2002-2005) for *the drama of scientific disagreements*. In later years, the climate sceptic angle has been subdued, and in most countries anthropogenic climate change is accepted as a scientific fact (Jacobsson, 2021).

Muddy waters and the Norwegian climate change image

While the climate sceptic angle in the media has lessened, ‘agents of definition’, such as politicians and spokespeople, “battle for recognition and discursive traction” in the climate change debate which has implications for climate change mitigation measures (Boykoff, 2011, 139). Boykoff puts it like this: “All it takes is a little muddying of the water so there’s no clear answer... it takes a lot less money and effort to muddy the water than it does to clear it” (2011, 140). As an example of this, Eide and Ytterstad (2011) did a study looking at whose voices are heard in Norwegian climate change coverage. The study examined the coverage of the climate summit in Bali in 2007 in two major Norwegian newspapers. A definite finding was how Norwegian leaders presented Norway as an international champion in the fight against climate change. However, the ‘hero’ in the international climate battle clashed against the questionable actions at home, such as plans to open new offshore oil. This resulted in the image of the ‘tainted hero’.

Even so, studies looking at newspaper coverage of Norwegian climate policy and climate commentary indicate that the position of promoting climate change solutions and being a major oil and gas exporter is a reoccurring theme in the media without the debate moving much on from there (Eide and Ytterstad, 2011; Hornmoen 2014; Naper, 2014). And so, “Norwegian journalists, commentators and editors (...) seem to continue a tradition within Norwegian media where ‘the great Norwegian dilemma’ meaning our very visible efforts for climate change are juxtaposed with some of the most filthy things is simply registered or reproduced and not fundamentally challenged” (Ytterstad, Houeland and Jordhus-Lier, 2022, 331), even if Norway has been confronted with being part of the number one ‘climate hypocrites’ by CNN (Ytterstad, Houeland and Jordhus-Lier, 2022, 321).

Event-oriented coverage

Wilkins and Patterson discovered in one of the earliest studies on the media and the greenhouse effect that slow-onset environmental hazards were more likely to make the news if they ‘found an event’ (1990, 16). Later research into climate change shows that the issue is to a high degree event-oriented, with increased media coverage during climate summit meetings, climate related nature catastrophes and elections (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022; Weingart et.al. 2000). Other studies (Hulme, 2007; Ereaut and Segnit, 2006) have similarly found there to be a heavy emphasis on building on the fear connected to the climate crisis, a so-called ‘alarmist’ angle.

Ereaut and Segnit attributed this tendency for alarmist discourse to the media's inclination to hyperbole events and labelled an overemphasis on climate disaster as "climate porn" (Ereaut and Segnit 2006, 14). Similar to the findings cited above, *the nature drama*, depicting sensational, nearly apocalyptic events in nature, was also found in Norwegian and Swedish newspapers (Ryghaug and Skjølsvold, 2009). In more recent years, Ytterstad and Bødker (2022) found that climate summits have the tendency to trigger the largest spikes in journalistic coverage.

Dominant use of official sources

Also similar to the findings by Wilkins and Patterson (1990), climate change media coverage still seems to be dominated by heavy use of official-sources. In a comparative study by Midttun et.al. (2015), in Norway, the predominant use of sources was scientists and academics, followed by politicians and public officials. Another study looking at the media coverage of COP15 found a significant reliance upon voices of authority, with the majority of those quoted being authorities from the IPCC, UNFCCC, as well as larger international organizations (Painter, 2010). In a similar line, a study by Duarte (2010) indicates that the 'voices of climate change' in the Norwegian media is a rather homogenous group. They tend to be politicians, public spokespeople and scientists, while voices from grassroots organizations and civil society tend to be mostly absent. Boykoff points out that while using voices of authority is necessary for journalists to make sense of complex issues, it can come at the expense of presenting wider perspectives on the topics being discussed (2011, 108).

As an example of this, Bennet (1996) has written extensively on the implications of the heavy use of politicians in the media: "Indeed, the mark skill in the political trade is the ability to make the public version of a situation convincing, no matter how far removed from actuality it may be (...) to make their points 'clearer than truth'" (1996, 78). While outright lying is less common than tweaking a message to suit the purpose of the politicians, (1996, 79), "*The credibility of a political image lies not in some independent check on its accuracy but in its past success as a news formula*" (1996, 80, original emphasis). Though one might argue these reflections come from an American context decades ago, former Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg has consistently been able to promote the image of Norwegian oil as cleaner than foreign oil, presenting the fossil industry as part of the solution of the climate crisis as opposed to the problem (Ytterstad, 2012, 5). Even so, Ryghaug and Skjølsvold (2009) wonder if the heavy-use of political sources could be a case of journalists trying to hold politicians responsible for

taking action on climate change.

Findings from other studies looking into the portrayal of citizens in the media in other contexts tend to find that ordinary people are often not included in media stories regarding the climate crisis, or they are “portrayed in disadvantageous ways – as irrational, unreliable and inconsistent” (Jacobsson, 2021, 484). The study by Midttun et.al. (2015) also found little presence of ordinary people in the sources used by the newspapers in connection to stories on climate change. Therefore, “It has been claimed that news media and journalism have hindered rather than promoted political engagement by failing to recognize citizens as political agents with ideas and proposals for addressing the climate crisis” (Jacobsson, 2021, 484). In other studies, citizens are present, but they do not speak for themselves. While the number of articles on oil workers, being news, commentaries and letters to the editor, quadrupled in the media in 2019, a study found that “oil workers are rarely talked *to*, even when they are talked *about*” (Ytterstad, Houeland and Jordhus-Lier, 2022, 325). Agency was most often attributed to politicians seeking support from oil workers or to some degree oil workers who want politicians to protect their jobs (Ytterstad, Houeland and Jordhus-Lier, 2022, 326). Whose voices are present in climate change stories therefore impacts whose perspectives are given credence in media presentations on climate change issues.

[Lack of social, economic and political context in the news coverage](#)

Over the last decade, the focus of media representations has shifted to debating which aspects of human activity are the most problematic and how to best define long-term solutions to the current crisis (Jacobsson, 2021, 483). Barkemeyer et.al. (2017) did a study of 23 broadsheet newspapers from five countries between 2000 and 2016. The analysis revealed that when climate change and sustainable solutions are discussed in the media, the coverage most often focus on biodiversity, green growth and cleaner technologies, leaving challenges connected to socio-economic issues more at the periphery. The coverage of these issues also declined over time. Looking at research exploring media coverage of climate change in a country close to Norway, Sweden was one of the first countries where the debate in the media switched from one of rejecting anthropogenic climate change and to focus on solutions to climate change (Broadbent et.al. 2016). Climate change has been established as a scientific certainty by the media, using emotions to build a narrative around it, while focusing on the role of individuals in mitigating climate change (Jacobsson, 2021, 483). Jacobsson views the dominant frame of

Swedish news coverage to often emphasize individual responsibility, while “Political responsibility, regulation of big corporations, critical discussions about the role of an economic growth system, the importance of increased socio-economic equality, and so on, are often obscured, as is how the interests of these domains might collide” (2021, 483). This is in line with other studies that demonstrate “how perceived political economic costs – such as re-structuring of carbon-based economy and society – are resisted” (Boykoff and Roberts, 2007, 10). A consequence of this, is that “the media functions as a servant rather than challenge to these interests” (ibid), which could be seen to run counter to the media as the ‘fourth estate’; holding those in power accountable for their actions.

An angle in the news coverage of climate change issues which might be perceived as ‘serving’ the interests of the powerful rather than challenging it is the ‘optimist’ angle. In the study by Ereaut and Segnit (2006), comparing newspaper coverage in the UK, the ‘alarmist’ framing of the climate crisis, was countered by an ‘optimist’ framing. Similarly, in Norway, studying newspaper coverage between 2007 and 2012, Bjørnæs and Naper (2013) found what they called *the opportunity frame*, where the melting of the Arctic Sea ice was presented as possible better routes for Norwegian shipping or how the warming temperatures might mean longer growing seasons for Norwegian farmers. Carvalho (2010) notes that while the ‘optimist’ angle can come in many shapes and sizes, it is predominantly marked by ecological modernisation; the optimistic belief that technology will solve the climate crisis by enabling new investments and job opportunities, spurring continued economic growth, and requiring little change in the status quo. Governments are most often the most enthusiastic supporters of this version of the ‘green’ transition as it enables them to tie economic growth together with environmental protection; “a win-win scenario” (2010, 490). A study analysing arguments and critiques raised in the Norwegian climate debate between 2007-2013 found that at the end of the time period, various industrial and technological solutions and consumer products were getting decidedly more attention (Haugseth, Huseby and Skjølsvold, 2016), and as such can be argued to share similarities with the ‘optimistic’ and ‘opportunity’ frames identified by Ereaut and Segnit (2006) and Bjørnæs and Naper (2013).

While the ‘alarmist’ angle on the climate crisis can be critiqued for leading to apathy and ‘climate fatigue’ (Kerr, 2009), the problem with the ‘optimistic’ angle is that “it may lead us to believe that no transformations are required in our forms of consumption, mobility and

lifestyles” (Carvalho, 2010, 490), which Carvalho argues is not realistic. Even so, it is “a rhetorically powerful discourse” (Carvalho, 2010, 491). This way of framing a ‘green’ transition is exceedingly similar to how sustainable development has been explicitly tied to economic growth as a prerequisite for sustainability (Brundtland, 1987; UN, 2002; UNEP, 2011), as well as how the vagueness of the concept has been co-opted by the oil industry to re-brand them as part of the solution, not the problem (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020). The eco-modern prevalence in mainstream media has “to a large extent (...) rendered climate into something amenable to international management and technological solutions (...) instead of remaining as a crucial political matter, subject to ideological debate, scrutiny and contention” (Carvalho, 2010, 491), making the matters above relevant to examine in media studies. While climate change journalism has been around for decades, the green shift is a newer term affecting how the media cover the climate crisis and what should be done to mitigate it.

The green shift – where does it come from and how is it understood by the Norwegian media?

The origins of the green shift

Anders Bjartnes defines “det grønne skiftet” (the green shift) as “a continually ongoing, inescapable and unstoppable process, involving reduced climate emissions and improved resource productivity in all sectors of society, at the same time offering new opportunities for value creation” (2015, 9, my translation). It is eight years since Bjartnes wrote the book titled “Det grønne skiftet” (‘The Green Shift’) and offered the above definition for the term. It quickly took hold, and in 2015 it was declared the ‘new word of the year’ by the Language Council of Norway (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1291). Since then, the concept has seeped into the media discourse on climate change and the needed energy transition to curb CO₂ emissions. By 2022, the green shift was “a mainstream term in Norwegian media” (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1295). There are various scholars who have explored the green shift in the contexts of corporations and different countries, (Dale, 2008; Thakur and Gupta, 2012; Sergent, 2014; Mathews; 2017; Hofstad and Torfing, 2017; Nechifor et.al. 2020; Hofstad et.al. 2021). However, the focus in this chapter will be on how the green shift is understood and applied by the Norwegian media. There have not been many studies on the news coverage of specifically the green shift in a Norwegian context, though Veimo (2020), Veimo and Ytterstad (2020) and

Ytterstad and Bødker (2022) have done thorough work on this and give a good impression of the current status in the media on this topic.

The green shift – open to interpretation, yet rooted in an economic perspective

As for what the ‘green shift’ entails more specifically, it views the shift as a change in economics and the market; “the real climate struggle ... is not about business against the environment, but about business vs. business. New versus old. Clean versus dirty. Future versus past” (Bjartnes, 2015, cited in Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1297). Already from early on, the green shift was geared towards looking for solutions to avoid “a financial ragnarok” for a Norwegian economy dependent on oil and gas (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 128). Even so, Bjartnes viewed the concept as open to interpretations: “the term is so imprecise that you can put anything you want into it and use it in many contexts” (ibid). Terje Bjørsvik, editor of niche online media outlet *Naturpress*, similarly sees the term as something to be filled with what might suit anyone’s particular purpose (ibid). The economic and market focus of the green shift has however been further cemented in the following years (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1298).

The green growth perspective comes through in Bjartnes’ book in statements such as “with a windmill on the roof and Tesla batteries in the basement, the consumer enters the future” (Bjartnes, 2015, 31, my translation) and “to change the energy systems in a climate friendly direction does not hamper economic growth and gives in addition benefits as better health and new jobs” (Bjartnes, 2015, 65, my translation). This green growth perspective ties into ecological modernisation and not everyone agrees with these strong ecomodernist discourses. While Thorbjørn Ekelund, editor of the niche online media magazine *Harvest*, welcomed Bjartnes’ contribution to push for change in the needed transition, he “had reservations about a term associated with “economics, economic thinking, economic models and a growth economy” (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1298). For him, the green shift is much more a “mentality shift, than an investment shift” (ibid). Through their analysis, Ytterstad and Bødker (2022) find *Naturpress* to be wobbling a bit between the two viewpoints. On the one hand, the editor Bjørsvik wrote critically about the green shift, warning against the danger of the term being co-opted by throwing a green cloak over a business-as-usual way of doing things, and yet they found a large part of the editorial content of *Naturpress* to be precisely articles related to green investments and green ambitions for businesses (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1298-1299). Supported by other research, Ytterstad and Bødker find that this aspect of the green shift,

how the market is demanding that the shift need to accelerate, has become the dominant version that is portrayed in mainstream media.

Some, however, push against this version. Coming back to the editor of *Harvest*, his way of seeing the green shift runs counter to the market, investment and business focus, which he views as “part of the same mind-set, of economic growth” (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1301). *Harvest* does not address the elite but wants to reach the popular audience and by doing so, hope to trigger a mental shift in the popular mind-set, away from seeing and understanding the world in terms of growth economy. Ekelund calls this “Kind of the root of all evil, although we understand that you cannot turn this line of thinking in a day” (ibid). Due to this, *Harvest* aims to give room to “controversial thinking” (ibid), questioning the mainstream narrative that technology will save the planet and not be afraid of pulling in normative aspects, such as the moral responsibility of individuals to stop flying (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1301-1302).

Other discourses on the green shift

While many discuss the green shift, they are not in agreement on ‘how’ this shift should happen. Veimo (2020) has identified five discourses in the Norwegian media related to the green shift: 1. Oil discourse; 2. Means of action discourse; 3. My-case discourse; 4. “Everyone is talking about the green shift” discourse and 5. Bio-economy discourse. For the most part, the different discourses stay close to Bjartnes’ definition and understanding of the green shift (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 127) and are strongly marked by keeping a focus on solutions (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 129). Even so, the discourses have different approaches as to what they view the green solutions to be. Not surprisingly, given Norway’s historical and current context of being an oil economy, the oil discourse is a prevalent one in opinion pieces, both editorial and external content. These pieces divide into two camps; those who see continued development of the oil industry as the green shift and those who see the petroleum industry at the core of the problem. Most of the debaters here were politicians, representatives for the oil industry, and youth engaged in political and environmental matters (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 130).

The ‘means of action’ discourse focus more on how the green shift should come about, by whom and who is responsible, and contains a more open approach exploring what actions might take Norway through the transitions and what might work best. Economy is a prevalent theme running through this discourse, discussing whether the market or the state is best equipped to move the shift forward, or if they overlap something which is not uncommon in an ecomodernist

perspective (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 131-133). The ‘my case’ discourse is often promoted by someone representing an organization, a union or politicians, who tries to advance their causes by attaching it to the green shift. The causes promoted do not have to be green in themselves, but a green outcome is presented a happy side-effect. This way of utilizing the term to suit whoever benefit has led to critiques that the green shift has become as meaningless as sustainable development, which is the line of argumentation found in the fourth discourse; ‘everyone is talking about the green shift’ (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 133-135). The fifth discourse, the ‘bioeconomy’, sees the green shift as the forest industry playing the main role (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 136).

While there are traces of an anti-growth perspective in the five identified green shift discourses, it does not seem to take hold or take off (Veimo 2020; Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020). Veimo and Ytterstad highlight that “in the opinion journalism within the established, mainstream media, the main impression is clear: The green shift is seen and used in a growth perspective” (2020, 136). To exemplify, “Dagbladet’s political editor said that their editorial office was ‘very aware’ that a transformation to renewable energy is compatible with continued economic growth” (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 136), and as such echoes a clear green growth understanding of the issue. Though the green shift has not altered the basic understanding of how the green transition will occur, with economic growth still forming the foundation, it has enabled the media to cover issues connected to this transition to a larger degree, and not just in connection to climate summits and nature disasters (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022, 1303).

Veimo and Ytterstad contend that “there is still power in ‘the green shift’” (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 137), though it “is much more prominent (...) among central politicians and economists, than the criticism of growth, which does not seem to succeed in creating a narrative that engages beyond one rather narrow academic circle” (ibid). To move the criticism of growth out of the ‘narrow academic’ circles, they call for a normative debate pushed forward by social forces (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 138) and “strong popular participation” (Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020, 127, my translation). How journalism can foster such ‘strong popular participation’ is an old debate and is not without controversy. This therefore has to be seen in connection with the journalistic ideal of objectivity, which will be explicated on in detail in chapter 5. First however, the Norwegian media and issues connected to media’s responsibility and power will be presented in the next chapter.

Summary

While the scientific consensus on anthropogenic climate change was significant from early on in the 1990's, the issue got a skewed presentation in the media, both globally and in Norway, with climate sceptics getting as much space as the scientists, thereby giving the public an impression that climate change was not an issue of consensus in the scientific community, but rather one of contestation. However, it was among the politicians and fossil fuel interest groups that there was contestation, though through the journalistic norm of balance, this contestation clouded over climate change as a scientific fact. Since then, the debate has shifted more towards what should be done about the climate crisis, though this is no less an area of controversy. Generally speaking, climate change journalism is marked by being centred on events, climate summits or nature catastrophes, and the use of public officials, such as politicians, as sources dominate. Some might argue this is an attempt to hold politicians responsible for climate actions, though the limited use of one type of sources restricts the presented perspectives. Furthermore, climate change journalism tends to avoid emphasising how economic growth is a significant driver behind the climate crisis, favouring technological solutions. The green shift, though still applied by the Norwegian media in a similar market- and technological oriented manner, has nonetheless opened up new possibilities for presenting climate change issues. While there are tendencies for anti-growth voices critical of the green shift being embedded in the economic growth paradigm, they struggle to take hold. This can be seen in connection to the journalistic norm of objectivity, but before dwelling into this, the Norwegian media landscape has its own singularities which will be explicated upon in the following chapter.

4 The Norwegian media landscape

This chapter presents a short history of the Norwegian press and how it impacts the Norwegian media of today, as well as what is distinct about the current media. Furthermore, it will explore media's contract with civil society (*samfunnskontrakt*), aspects connected to media as the 'fourth estate', its 'watchdog' function, in addition to media and power. Moreover, the chapter presents the implications of journalistic genres which have implications for both how journalists present topics in the media and how readers perceive them.

Norwegian media landscape – important aspects in the history up to present day

Politically positioned newspapers

In the 19th century, the last four decades (1860-1900) were extremely influential in shaping the Norwegian press and established a strong tradition for many regional and local newspapers. The greatest barrier to a proper professionalism of the Norwegian press, however, was the strong ties to the various political parties (*partipresse*). The strong *partipresse* meant that the journalists and editors were just as much politicians as press people (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 46-47). The first political parties Venstre (Liberal) and Høyre (Conservative) were established in 1884, and newspapers started to take a clear stand on political issues. However, the newspapers were private enterprises and therefore had a financial incentive to fit the political views of the different segments of society (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 50, 51 and 53). Even so, the most defining trait of Norwegian journalism is unquestionably the strong ties between the political parties and the newspapers. These connections lasted far longer here than in other countries, and this close relationship coloured the coverage of political matters (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 55 and 131-132).

It is not hard to spot the weaknesses of such a system; all matters concerning society and politics was filtered through a certain political point of view. Even so, the variation of political viewpoints, ranging from the Christians, the farmers, the conservatives, the labour movement to the radicals, represented through the various newspapers, gave political issues a variation in presentation, angles and arguments. The media as the 'fourth estate', the 'watchdog' function (see later on in this chapter), was still in place in the sense that on any matter there would usually be a political party taking a critical stand and so allowing newspapers to go for the critical angle. The biggest observed weaknesses of this system are that certain groups in society were left without a voice (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 133).

Dissolving of the *partipresse*

After the Second World War however, the ideal of objectivity²³ became hugely important to the Norwegian press. This might seem a bit contradictory as all through the 50's, 60's and well into the 70's, many of the newspapers were strictly governed by the political parties. The newspapers were open about it, reporting which political parties they were affiliated with in the annual *Aviskatalogen* (Newspaper catalogue). However, gradually and not without resistance and complaint, the newspapers detached themselves from the political parties. The ties to the parties weakened, partly due to the larger newspapers wanting to gain further ground with new readership, partly due to new newspapers popping up and being independent, but also due to a professionalization of the journalist profession. More journalists had a degree in journalism and others came into the profession through university degrees in political science or history. Norms and rules regarding the importance of being critical of sources and the ideal of objectivity came quickly in conflict with demands from the political press offices. It became the norm that newspapers could take a stand in editorials and other commentary sections, but not in news articles (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 122-123, 129-130 and 202).

The ties to the A-press²⁴ lasted longer than the ties between the newspapers and Venstre and Høyre which was due to the unions and local fractions of the labour party being owners of the newspapers. In 1990, the A-press converged into a formal group, A-pressen ASA, breaking all ties with the labour party, Arbeiderpartiet. The *partipresse* lasted about 100 years, but while newspapers are no longer a microphone for political parties, the newspapers have to a large degree maintained their basic political sympathies (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 205 and 207).

Relevant ties in Norwegian media today

When the political ties to the parties weakened new connections between the newspapers and other forces of powers in society arose. After the disconnection from the political parties there was a transition to large media groups, owning several newspapers. With the newfound independence, there came new ties. While the old owners had opinions on what in the local society should be covered and how, the new owners have an interest in the financial aspects of the newspapers, seeing the newspapers as a business opportunity. This means that editors now have to spend far more time prioritizing issues that will increase circulation instead of

²³ Objectivity entails that what is conveyed is at the centre and conveyed in manner that reflects as much as possible how it is and not how the conveyor views it (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 122).

²⁴ Arbeiderpressen (the labour press)

emphasising journalist concerns regarding editorial content. Other ties that have replaced the old ones, also connected to financial considerations, are ties between journalism and marketing (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 227-228).

The ethical guidelines of the press states that advertisement should be clearly labelled as such to not confuse it with editorial content²⁵. In later years there has been an increase in advertising and campaigns which draw on many of the same features and lay-out as journalistic content, which have triggered debates and subsequent criticism of these types of advertisements being hard to differentiate for the readers²⁶. Though these types of campaigns are labelled as advertisement it is still up for debate whether the way they are allowed to present themselves look a little too much like editorial content²⁷. Nonetheless, the media as a watchdog in society is a highly regarded function by journalists both in Norway (Brurås, 2020) and the world over (Willig et.al, 2022).

Media as the 'fourth estate' – the 'watchdog'; its mission, responsibility and power

Journalism – its mission and responsibility

Svein Brurås defines journalism as “up-to-date and truthful dissemination of facts and views, presented in an easy-to-understand manner by an independent editor or journalist” (2020, 17, my translation). He views this definition as signalling that news dissemination is a core element of journalism. But the news also needs to be explained, interpreted and put into context, by both journalists and various sources (ibid). A term that is used regarding the press and its mission is its contract with civil society (*samfunnskontrakt*). This term encompasses the rights, duties and tasks the press has in an open, democratic society. These rights, duties and tasks are only to a small degree written down and formalised (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 222). Norway has no law for the press but operates by ethical guidelines in *Vær Varsom-plakaten*²⁸ ('Be Careful' poster) decided by Norsk Presseforbund (Norwegian press association). The guidelines state the rights and duties of the press laying out the role of the press in society, aspects concerning the integrity and credibility of the press, journalistic behaviour and their relationship to the sources, and rules for publication (Brurås, 2020, 15). While *Vær Varsom-plakaten* is created to caution and to a certain

²⁵ Vær Varsom plakaten 2.8.

²⁶ [Undersøkelse: Lesere ser ikke forskjell på reklame og journalistikk – NRK Kultur og underholdning; Nei, dette skaper ikke noe tydeligere skille mellom reklame og journalistikk. Tvert i mot kan det bli enda mer utydelig. \(m24.no\)](#)

²⁷ [Det viktige skillet mellom journalistikk og reklame - Presse.no](#)

²⁸ <https://presse.no/pfu/etiske-regler/vaer-varsom-plakaten/>

degree, limit the press, Brurås highlights that the ethical guidelines are also there to ensure the freedom of the press and stimulate the press “to be bold” (“vær dristig”) and relentless in its pursuit to fulfil its mission in society. The ethical guidelines are first and foremost about what the press should do, and then what the pitfalls might be (ibid).

When talking of the civil contract of the press, media as the ‘fourth estate’ is often emphasized, meaning the press should scrutinise, criticise and correct the three formal estates; the legislative, executive and judicial (Stortinget, the government and the Supreme Court). This role of the ‘watchdog’ is an essential part of a democratic society, though it has not been formalised. The press in a liberal-democratic society has a set of rights and privileges, and a set of duties and tasks it is expected to perform. There can be a backlash if the other estates and rest of society claim the press is no longer performing their duties satisfactorily. The Norwegian press system is a combination of the liberal and socially responsible press ideology. The liberal gives rights and freedoms to the press, ‘information rights’, while the socially responsible part also identifies a set of duties for the press and other mass media (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 222).

As such, the media has a utility function in society as it preserves certain purposes that are necessary and valuable in a well-functioning democracy. The press has a democratic and cultural role, as an information provider and as an arena for societal debate. Based on this, many refer to *the social mission of the media* (“medienes samfunnsoppdrag”). A free press and a democratic society are inextricably linked, by providing the public with thorough information along a broad spectre of issues, in order to be informed voters and participate in society (Brurås, 2020, 38). While some see journalists to be ‘the tool of the people’, with a central mission to expose those in power, Ottosen et.al. point out that some forms of power are legitimate and not all forms of power are oppressive (2012, 239). It is also important to scrutinize the power held by the media.

Media and power

Lindholm (2022) writes that power is often divided into three parts: power through strength, structural power and symbolical power. The last two are particularly relevant to the media and this thesis. Lindholm reflects on how the press function within society's power structures, asking if journalists' self-perception accurately reflects the activities of the press, or if it prevents insight. Furthermore, what role does the press play in wielding power? (Lindholm, 2022, 9-10).

Structural power – reducing the opportunities for going against the grain

Fences and roads, as well as businesses and data centres, are examples of *structural power*, according to Lindholm. Structures solidify finished conflicts, and as such the structure is seen as a practical arrangement by those who benefit from it. For the powerless, the structures cement their subordinate position within such power relations (Lindholm, 2022, 23-25). An example of structural power in connection to the media in Norway is how Schibsted and Amedia have built their own databases based on user identities SpiD and aID. Only these media groups are large enough to monitor the data volumes, and so Lindholm argues that this leads to the local newspapers being submerged one by one. Amedia's product developers interpret the Key Performance Indicators (KPI), which all newspapers are required to use, and so the monitoring has an impact on the content as well. Amedia focuses on local newspapers and goes to great lengths to edit the content using digital analyses. Because local newspapers are particularly vulnerable during the transition to digital distribution, the rationale for using KPI is an economic one. While earnings become higher, the newspapers are also more market-oriented (Lindholm, 2022, 136-144). Ottosen et.al. point out that it becomes a democratic issue when editors are offered bonuses depending on the financial surplus the newspapers generate (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 227).

Furthermore, digitization allows for sharing material within the media group. As such, Norwegian news media appear to be more and more like locally adapted portals that obtain content from a group-wide server. If you read VG, you might end up in Aftenposten, or vice versa, via E24. The result is an increasing concentration of editorial power within the media groups, with the resulting standardization of the journalistic content. Lindholm therefore argues that going against the grain becomes difficult as the structural development erodes journalists' independence because they are increasingly entwined with powerful institutions (Lindholm, Klassekampen, 8.9.2022, 17).

Symbolic power – the power over thought

Then there is *symbolic power* and Lindholm contends that journalists wield significant power in this context. Symbolic power is also called the power over thought, and is the least tangible form of power. It is nevertheless extremely effective, since it impacts what people think and believe to be possible. It works strongest when we do not think about it, because it determines what we take for granted, and excludes alternative thoughts. Furthermore, the news is not a collection of case

studies. They are a genre that depicts and discusses norms by describing deviations from the norm (Lindholm, 2022, 25-29). Lindholm goes on by saying that the news do not need to set the norms. They are presented in an indirect way through example stories. Because everyone knows the basic pattern of the story, the news journalist can also be content with telling only a part of it; at its most basic it is about a conflict between good and evil. The moral can be extracted by the audience by filling in the blanks. All the same, most news articles include guidelines for which interpretive frameworks the news should be placed in. The news show examples of what led to misery, when old virtues are useful and on rare occasions when deviating from the norm is appropriate. Lindholm therefore argues that journalists, by delivering a steady stream of narratives about deviance, become the guardians of the normal and our primary symbolic exercisers of power. News can therefore be perceived as a normative genre (Lindholm, 2022, 57-62). Similar to this line of thinking, Michael Schudson (2003) argues that news is just as much about confirmation of what is deemed normal and appropriate.

The relationship between power and journalism – in need of discussion?

The relationship between power and journalism is far more complex than the simple power model that underpins the professional ideology of journalists; to be a watchdog keeping tabs on the people in power. Lindholm therefore argues that if we are to understand the role of the media, we must acknowledge that journalism is deeply ingrained in society's power structures and that journalism influences our perceptions in ways that are rarely discussed (Lindholm, 2022, 204-205). Ottosen et.al. point out that while journalists have a self-image where they like to see themselves as free and independent, the truth lies somewhere in between structural barriers and the individual creativity of the journalist. Given the history and current status today, Ottosen et.al. find it hard to argue that this freedom is anything but a myth. Journalists today often go back and forth between journalistic work and working for business corporations, organizations or public offices. And it is becoming more and more the norm that PR sections seek to influence political decisions by influencing how issues are presented in the media (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 229). Especially as the editorial departments have shrunk, it becomes easier for think-tanks and communication agencies to enter with ready-made material (Lindholm, 2022, 133).

This raises the question of how independent Norwegian journalism really is. Ottosen et.al. point out that while the political ties have faded, the financial ones have deepened as marketing seeks to infiltrate the media. In the bid for exclusivity, the press runs the risk of

blurring lines that should have been kept separated. Furthermore, Ottosen et.al. observe that today it might seem like journalists wave around with freedom of speech in one hand and the freedom of business interests in the other. This contrasts with the claimed efforts of the Norwegian press to strengthen their authority by holding onto their work ethics in order to reinforce their integrity (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 229-230). All the same, journalism is a widely used tool for understanding what is going on in the world, which is why a renewed discussion about the relationship between power and media might be warranted (Lindholm, 2022, 205). Especially considering that to be a journalist is to perform a mission on behalf of society, even if the mission has been defined by the press (Ottosen et.al. 2012, 239).

Journalistic genres and their implications

Hard news and soft news

It is common for daily newspapers to contain more or less distinct text categories such as news, leading articles, obituaries, and so on. These types of categories are referred to as 'genres'. It is unclear exactly what a genre is, but there appears to be an intuitive definition to the effect that genres are groupings of texts that share some kind of similarity, whether linguistic, functional, or other. This similarity may be more or less pronounced, but it is required for the 'grouping' to be recognized as a genre (Ljung, 2000, 131-132). Sjøvaag defines news as “the daily reporting of the large or small events that either challenge or affirm our concepts of normality” (Sjøvaag, 2015, 101). The hard news/soft news distinction, or dichotomy, is essential in the professional boundary work of journalism (ibid). While the definitions are not always crystal clear, such as news reporters defining it as “hard news concerns important matters and soft news interesting matters” (Tuchman, 1978, 48), hard news are often viewed as consisting of news related to war reporting, political exposure or investigative journalism, while ‘soft news’ refers to types of journalism that are frequently viewed as counterpoints to hard news (Sjøvaag, 2015, 101). It is generally accepted that features (human interest stories) are the classic soft news (Ljung, 2000, 137).

From and Kristensen (2018) contend that because most scholars and practitioners regard hard news as the pinnacle of Western journalism ideology, soft news is frequently criticized for invading hard news as a result of the commercialization and tabloidization of journalism. According to some, the main challenge of the research in the field is scholars' imprecise demarcation and use of hard news/soft news terms. There are, however, some general

distinctions between topicality (for example, whether a story is primarily of public interest or primarily of personal interest), timeliness (for example, whether the story requires immediate publication or can be distributed at any time), style or genre (for example, whether the story is presented objectively or involves analytical reflection, or even subjectivity), and audience address (are audiences addressed as collective, meaning citizens, or as individuals) (From and Kristensen, 2018, 720). Ljung argues that the fact that the news category has received so much attention, while the other newspaper categories have largely been ignored, appears to indicate that news texts have a much stronger categorical status than the others (2000, 132). Journalists as well seem to tend to favor hard news (Schultz, 2017). Ljung concludes that newspaper categories “are firmly established by virtue of both their content and their location and are recognized as categories by readers” (2000, 139), and as such comes with distinct associations for how the topic within a genre should be perceived by readers and presented by journalists.

The news genre vs the opinion genre

“Comment is if free, but facts are sacred” (C.P. Scott, 1846-1932, British editor). Brurås refers to this quote, though he refers to it slightly different, as “News are sacred, comment is free” (2020, 44). Whether Scott said facts or news are sacred, and comment is free, the implication is nonetheless that the news genre carries with it heavy connotations and expectations, both for journalists and for their readers. The news genre is considered ‘facts’, to be reported ‘objectively’ and ‘neutrally’, while comments are opinions, and as the saying goes, everyone's got one. It does, however, not carry the same weight as the news, nor is the emphasis on facts as strongly accentuated, and certainly not the demand for so-called objectivity. A comment, an opinion, is by its very nature subjective and therefore not to be trusted in the same way. Brurås’ refers to *Vær Varsom-plakaten* point 4.2: “Make it clear what is factual information and what is commentary” (my translation). Brurås’ points out that this principle might seem simple. Editorial content can either be fact-based *news- and reportage content*: notices, reports, reportages where the personal opinions and judgements of the journalist is absent, or *commentary content*: leading articles, letters to the newspaper, journalistic commentaries, columns etc. All personal viewpoints and subjective interpretations of an event are to be relegated to the commentary columns (2020, 45).

On closer inspection this distinction might not be as simple. Modern journalism has developed new forms that require putting the many single news events into a context to explain

what is going on. There are genres that operate in the borderland between facts and comments: analytical articles, various types of background commentaries and other interpreting and explaining texts; readers are presented with participating journalism, and it is accepted to put a personal touch also on the news articles. As a result, there are now forms and genres that do not automatically fit into this two-ways model of journalism, with facts and comments clearly separated. Journalism is continually evolving, with old boundaries crossing and moving around (Brurås, 2000, 45). It is nonetheless a requirement to make it very clear what the public is presented with: Is it fact-based reporting where the personal position of the journalist matters less, or is it the journalist's own judgements, interpretations and viewpoints which is being expressed? Both have a legitimate place in journalism, but Brurås' argues that 'an uncritical mix' will negatively impact the credibility if the traditional boundary in journalism fades away (2000, 45). The media tries to maintain this boundary between facts and comments among other things by using vignettes or giving the news and opinion sections different graphic profiles. Many editorial offices also have as a principle that the same journalist should not cover an event as both a reporter and as a commentator (Brurås, 2000, 46). This is connected to aspects of objectivity, which will be covered in more detail in the next chapter.

Summary

While the days of the *partipresse* belong to the past, Norwegian newspapers are for the most part still sympathetic towards the political parties they once were affiliated with. When the old political ties faded, new financial ones emerged in the form of new owners, large media groups which are just as concerned about the profits and losses of the newspapers as the democratic mission of journalism. This sets up some structures that can be argued to limit the freedom of the press, through the emphasis on KPI for instance, which makes it hard for journalists to produce articles that deviates from the norm of what the indicators say is a 'good' article. At the same time, the Norwegian media wields significant power through impacting how the public perceive issues, often in ways we do not think about. Furthermore, journalistic genres carry with them their own set of expectation which in turn impacts how people perceive issues. A news article, 'hard' news, will often be embedded in a greater sense of authority through its emphasis on facts and 'objectivity', while 'soft' news and opinion genres carry less weight and one might argue, therefore less significance. However, 'objective' news need not be objective which has implications for climate change journalism, which will be covered in the following chapter.

5 A journalistic norm of objectivity

This chapter presents the implications of the journalistic norms of ‘objectivity’, balance and ‘truth-seeking’ all of which can have an impact on climate change journalism. Furthermore, the chapter looks at hegemony, good sense and the battle over common sense in the media as posited by Andreas Ytterstad (2012) in connection to objectivity and climate journalism.

Journalistic objectivity – a method, not a personal quality

The distinction between facts and comments points to a deeper underlying issue in journalism, namely the matter of objectivity (Brurås, 2020, 47). Objectivity has been referred to as “with no doubt the most sacred belief held among journalists worldwide” (Nordenstreng, 1995, 115). Objectivity or neutrality is the cornerstone of the professional integrity of journalists to ensure “an unbiased, socially diverse, and pluralistic public discourse” (Raeijmaekers and Maesele 2017, 648). Journalistic objectivity is based on the idea that journalism can depersonalize and rationalize its practices in order to report an unbiased truthful representation of society. The underlying assumption is that society is balanced and governed by consensus (Raeijmaekers & Maesele, 2017). However, while many journalists like to say that they are only presenting a mirror image of reality, a reporter can only present a particular piece of reality, and in doing so, they have already decided on an angle, a perspective which leaves some things within the frame and some things on the outside. Perhaps what is happening within the frame makes little sense without knowing what is going on outside of it. The journalist chooses words and terms, language and style, narrator perspective and framework for understanding, some information is included, other parts are not, then there is the choice of context, background, sources and quotes (Brurås, 2020, 50).

Neither are they neutral when they choose which cases to prioritise, they use their personal judgement and evaluate based on their own personal values and attitudes, it impacts what engages and upsets them, and ultimately this influences the journalistic product (Brurås, 2020, 53). These journalistic methods apply to the news genre. In other journalistic genres it does not make sense to speak of objectivity in the same way, such as in the case of commentaries. The commentary genre is a central and important part of journalism, where the role of the journalist is another, even if the commentary genre “contributes to the media's overall representation of reality becoming credible” (Brurås, 2020, 52). The public does not only need information about single events and facts out of context, but they also need a more analytical journalism that

interpret events and puts them in context. Society needs debate around the news, which is part of the job for journalism (Brurås, 2020, 52). Yet, journalism is per definition fact-based information, which implies that there does exist a reality out there which it is possible to report truthfully on. And the journalist as a truth-seeker then turns the ideal of objectivity into a question regarding the journalist's methods, not a personality trait in the journalist themselves (Brurås, 2020, 50).

The goal must be to explore what is correct, in the sense of what is a reasonable and fact-based understanding of the issue. Brurås therefore argues that it is a misunderstanding that so-called objective journalism should settle with neutrally reporting what the sources say. If the journalist simply reports 'that person said that, and this one says this', under the cover of objectivity and neutrality, the journalist is reduced to a 'microphone stand' (Brurås, 2020, 50). A truthful journalism then needs to always have *the requirement of truth* at the foundation. Even so, there exists a copious amount of truthful information that is unimportant and irrelevant. There might even be truthful information that gives a skewed representation of a case if they are left to stand by themselves. Therefore, the requirement of truth needs to be supplemented by *the requirement of significance*. All information that might be relevant for the public's impression of a case needs to be included. No significant parts of a case are to be left out (Brurås, 2020, 53). Laws and Chojnicka (2020) argue that it ought to be possible to find a middle ground between claiming that 'all truth is subjective' and 'all truth is objective'. And so a more truthful journalism might lie in a journalism whose positioning is clear, rather than crouched behind 'objectivity', particularly if we keep in mind how Brurås emphasizes how it is the journalistic *method* that needs to be objective, not the journalist themselves. This is especially relevant when we discuss climate change journalism and the possibilities of more progressive journalism that challenges the status quo, which is central to the discussion of this thesis.

Journalistic objectivity – a possible obstacle to reporting on climate solutions

Jacobsson is critical to the ideal of objectivity as she argues that it "can preserve a strong ideological bias and hamper the possibility to cover stories that challenge the social status quo" (2021, 482). She points to how the issue has been explored by numerous other scholars such as Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006; Dahlberg, 2005; Hall et.al. 1978; Hartley, 1982; Raeijmaekers and Maesele, 2017 and Taylor and Willis, 1999. While climate activists' movements focus more on "systemic and structural issues in relation to the climate crisis", "there is a growing body of

research pointing to how society, even when faced with global climate crisis, is largely guided by the question of what can be done within the capitalist system and without critically reflecting on its role” (Jacobsson, 2021, 482). In addition to this, the norm of objectivity makes it difficult to go from “what is going on” to “what we should do about what is going on” when reporting on climate change (Boykoff and Yulsman, 2013, 360).

Hence, Boykoff (2011) stresses how important it is to look at both how the issues connected to climate change interact with other contextual factors to understand what shapes representations of climate change in the media. Constructions of meaning are shaped by structural, institutional, cultural and political factors, which in turn interact with journalistic norms and values. Boykoff argues that while “Readers understand, and can factor in, government or special-interest spin (...) they can smell reportorial opinion and bias a mile away and that is guaranteed to distract from the power of the news” (2011, 99). However, it has been pointed out by many (Laws and Chojnicka, 2020; Ytterstad, 2012; Raeijmaekers and Maesele 2017; Jacobsson, 2021), that ‘reportorial opinion and bias’ can be cloaked in objectivity, and so a news article might still be infused with personal bias. There have been several studies over the years exploring how journalistic norms and values affect the narrative of news stories (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Wilkins, 1993). Studies that look closer at how these norms and values influence how the media present issues related to climate change have however been fewer (Boykoff, 2011, 99). Therefore, seeing the norm of objectivity in connection to the presentation of climate change mitigation measures in Norwegian newspapers builds on and contributes to the existing literature in this field.

Balanced reporting the benchmark for journalism

While most journalists have long since accepted that news will never be entirely objective or neutral, the norm of balance is most often applied as a measure to ensure reporting that looks at issues from various points of view and as a built-in validity check in a hectic workday (Boykoff, 2011, 108). ‘Balanced reporting’ has therefore become the most common way for journalists to live up to the ideal of objectivity. Entman has defined balanced reporting as how “journalists present the view of legitimate spokespersons of the conflicting sides in any significant dispute and provide both sides with roughly equal attention” (1989b, 30). Balanced reporting became the benchmark for how journalists “set up the sort of balances that journalists routinely equate with ‘good stories’” (Gitlin, 1980, 90). In a Norwegian context, it is important to keep in mind the

Norwegian press history, where the norm of balanced reporting grew out of the need for journalists to distance themselves from the previous political influence on the press (Ottosen et.al, 2012).

The norm of ‘balanced reporting’ can particularly lead to misleading information when it comes to science: “It seems to demand that journalists present competing points of view on a scientific question as though they had equal scientific weight, when actually they do not” (Gelbspan, 1998, 57-58 cited in Boykoff, 2011, 141). It is also worth keeping in mind that people will often get their impression on an issue from one striking media representation, as much as by accumulated media presentations over time. Therefore, what might be needed is to replace this ‘false balance’ with the norm of ‘balance-as-accuracy’, when it comes to presenting various perspectives on climate science and governance (Boykoff, 2011, 141). This might be especially important considering that if media coverage of climate change issues distorts rather than clarifies scientific understanding, then this can to a high degree influence “how policy actors perceive, approach and prioritize actions and remedies” (Boykoff, 2011, 142). This does not mean that journalists should censor views on climate science and governance, but what might be needed is “greater media accuracy by more carefully and fairly representing *all* credible perspectives, findings, views and sides, in context (...) are taken into account when making journalistic decisions regarding ‘who speaks for climate’” (Boykoff, 2011, 143).

Similarly, Raeijmaekers and Maesele argues that the ideal of objectivity “instead of enabling, in fact inhibits media pluralism” (2017, 647), and as such when exploring media presentations of possible measures to mitigate the climate crisis, it is worth examining if ‘*all* credible perspectives’ are in fact considered, or if it is more the case of *a single* perspective being considered from various viewpoints, while leaving the basic tenets of that single perspective unchallenged. To exemplify, when discussing renewable energy projects, the issue of windmills might ‘merely’ be presented by proponents and opponents, while leaving the economic and extractivist system the windmills are a part of unaddressed. Boykoff has done comprehensive work on how journalistic norms and values can affect how new stories are covered. He emphasises the five norms of personalization, dramatization, novelty, authority order bias and balance (2011, 100). Furthermore, these journalistic norms and values influence both *what* are deemed ‘climate stories’, the *content* of them and *who* ‘gets to speak for the climate’ and *how* (Boykoff, 2011, 100, my emphasis). Jacobsson (2021) finds, however, that this line of reasoning

does not paint the full picture as “despite the high level of scientific consensus and reports about climate crisis that identifies the growth logic of the capitalist system and society’s structural inequalities as issues that need to be addressed, *mainstream journalism seems incapable of seriously putting issues of capitalism and class on the news agenda* (Jacobsson, 2021, 494, my emphasis). In light of this, it is interesting to explore how Norwegian newspapers present potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions.

How climate journalists balance been engagement and objectivity

In a Norwegian context, through qualitative interviews with nine knowledgeable and influential climate change journalists, Ytterstad found that “those journalists who are most personally engaged with the climate crisis also seem to feel the greatest need for balance over time in the media where they are employed” (Ytterstad, 2012, 111). Some journalists take a clear stand on climate change, but not without dispute. Ole Mathismoen, climate change journalist in *Aftenposten*, is perhaps the most well known in Norway, but also the most controversial. When Mathismoen through *Aftenposten* took a vocal stand on the need to battle climate change, it did not sit well with everyone that “Aftenposten’s editorial team has decided to save the world” (Lars Mjøen, 2008, cited in Ytterstad, 2012, 205).

This reluctance to have the media playing the part as the saviour of the planet is evident in other countries as well, and perhaps this touches on what Boykoff (2011) referred to earlier as the public ‘smelling reportorial opinion and bias a mile off’, and what is more, resenting it. Though it is not only the public that dislike climate change journalists being outspoken on these issues; it is a contested issue among journalists and editors as well. There have been debates in the UK on what the media’s role in presenting climate change and environmental issues should be (Ward, 2009). While the *Guardian* has been very vocal in their stand on the need to act on climate change²⁹, Peter Barron, editor of the BBC’s *Newsnight* (2007) commented that “I don’t think it’s the BBC’s jobs to try and save the planet” (Ward, 2009, 64). This was countered by an article titled “Neutrality is cowardice” arguing that

If more of today’s media commentators can summon up the courage to help defend the planet, even against the powerful vested interests that continue to profit from its destruction, then maybe the coming holocaust of global warming can be averted without such a deep and bitter conflict (Lynas, 2007, *New Statesman*, cited in Ward, 2009, 64).

²⁹ [Why the Guardian is changing the language it uses about the environment | Environment | The Guardian](#)

This urging of courage in journalists when writing about climate change issues was echoed by Mathismoen as he declared on the 2008 SKUP³⁰ conference a need for “energetic campaigning journalism” on behalf of the global climate (Ytterstad, 2012, 221), but Mathismoen’s stance has not gained sufficient traction. A survey connected to the qualitative interviews, a questionnaire sent to 143 Norwegian journalists, showed that “(...) campaigning journalism on climate change issues has been contemplated, but then increasingly rejected by Norwegian journalists” (ibid). While Ytterstad does not take it as far as Lynas in calling neutrality cowardice, he does not see objectivity as neutrality as useful. He argues instead that “the defence of objectivity in the sense of faithfulness to truth” (Ytterstad, 2012, 224) is by far a more useful yardstick to measure facts and truths in climate change journalism than the journalistic norms of objectivity and balance.

Ytterstad claims that “an informed climate journalist with a sense for source criticism is capable of seeing the difference between ‘politically realistic’ climate targets and those which are imposed by the scientific precautionary principle” (Ytterstad, 2012, 224). Ward however, does not view it as simple as that as he struggles to see “what role media campaigns should play in the next stage of the debate. (...) Such a shift in emphasis is likely to be uncomfortable both for campaigners and journalists, who will need to tread wearily around issues for accuracy and impartiality in the media” (2009, 64). Ytterstad though, argues that truth seeking and advocacy can coexist (2012, 204) as “Reality has depth, and so journalists have to dig in order to bring out *the truth about structures and causes (...)*” (2012, 225-226, my emphasis). While some people do not accept journalists speaking about the climate crisis as a global existential threat in urgent need of addressing, Ytterstad points to Andrew Collier who argues that “From Socrates to Spinoza, philosophy’s true goal has been precisely to be objective about the things that we are and ought to be passionately concerned about” (2003, 140, cited in Ytterstad, 2012, 227), though this can be a challenge in the face of what is taken for granted – the hegemony – in society.

Hegemony, good sense and the battle over common sense

In connection to this, it is possible to view measures to mitigate CO2 emissions that leave questions regarding economic growth unaddressed as battling against degrowth voices over what is perceived as common sense in the media. Andreas Ytterstad (2012) has explored climate change in the Norwegian media through several studies, in light of *hegemony, good sense and the battle over common sense in the media* and the journalist as a ‘truth-seeker’. He builds on

³⁰ Stiftelsen for en Kritisk og Undersøkende Presse (The Foundation for a Critical and Investigative Press)

Anthony Gramsci's hegemony theory, which has a long history of being applied in media studies. Whether and how the media exercise hegemony has been explored extensively in critical media theory, with some arguing that the media can be seen as hegemonic institutions, while others are critical of the term hegemony in this context (Ytterstad, 2012, 22 and 7). Ytterstad argues that to avoid applying the term hegemony in media studies in a way that only sees the reproduction of power, "it is necessary to consider the theoretical possibility of seeing good sense being made alongside hegemony in the media" (2012, 57). Furthermore, he contends that "An accurate rendition of the concept of hegemony would be to say that it was Gramsci's term for leadership" (2012, 18), and building on this further, he sees "hegemony as a far ranging exercise of leadership *which aims to become commonsensical*" (2012, 36, original emphasis). Ytterstad emphasize that "hegemony cannot be analysed in isolation from economic factors" (2012, 19), as he views it to be "Unfortunate to see hegemony as 'free floating discourses without connection to economy'" (2012, 20), and as such connects well to the search for economic growth perspectives in this thesis.

Objectivity as "an 'organic ideology' of bourgeois hegemony"

Furthermore, hegemony and good sense also connects to the issues of journalistic objectivity and climate journalism. Ytterstad argues that the notion of journalistic objectivity, instead of ensuring an 'objective' journalism to the extent one can speak of such a thing, binds it to the dominant perceptions and institutions in society (2012, 34), as "(...)'balance', 'reflection of public opinion' and 'neutrality' represents bad versions of objectivity which are likely to limit resistance to hegemony" (2012, 106). Moreover, he views political realism as an expression of "an intermeshing between hegemony and bad objectivity", which only reflects "public opinion or powerful interests [which] only serve to reinforce conservative common sense in the media. It severely limits the potential for media resistance to hegemony" (2012, 106-107). However, Ytterstad does not assume that counter voices always give in to hegemony and underlines the importance of employing "concepts that allow for the possibility of future victories as well" (2012, 36).

The 'healthy nucleus' of good sense

Therefore, Ytterstad thinks "there are dimensions of good sense, what Gramsci called 'the healthy nucleus of common sense', which makes radical politics, and its encoding in the media, a real possibility" (2012, 30). Ytterstad finds "the 'creative popular spirit' he locates in climate

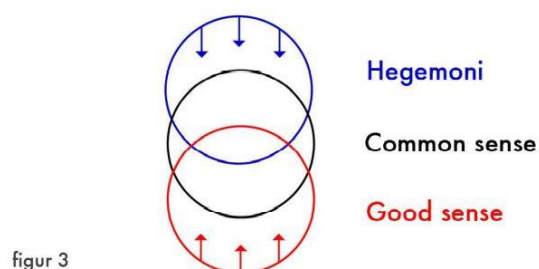
change demonstrations to be “another way of saying good sense” (2012, 38). Building on the good sense as ““the healthy nucleus that exists in ‘common sense’”, Ytterstad argues that “Beneath the conservative surface, radicalism resides as an interest in truth (...)” (2012, 40). As such, “Good sense cannot hide forever from the fears of common sense” (2012, 44). Ytterstad therefore suggests that “professional journalists, who synthesize climate change research for most of the general public, can be called media *makers* of good sense (...) [as] it matters very much for Gramsci how science is communicated” (ibid, original emphasis). Ytterstad goes on to argue that “It is not a question of believing or not in the ‘inconvenient truth’ of climate change. Good sense and science together will require a real understanding, not just of the singular truth of anthropogenic climate change, but of all truths, *including fundamentally those which links climate change to the broader structure of capitalism and provide a coherent alternative*” (2012, 44-45, my emphasis).

This lies at the core of how I am positioned as I examine how Norwegian newspapers present possible measures to mitigate CO2 emissions; to examine if they are presented as ‘the solutions’ or if they are tied into a critical perspective of how the current economic system can be said to be a main driver of the climate crisis. The aspect of providing a coherent alternative is also highly relevant here, especially taking into the account of how, based on the existing literature (chapter 3) degrowth has not seemed to be able to get beyond an academic circle, or take root in mainstream media. Even so, there might be makers of good sense in Norwegian newspapers. Based on the literature above and in the previous chapters, it is of relevance to examine what genre this is presented in and by whom. The media as makers of good sense can be seen in connection with the mission of the media as truth-seekers, and therefore the journalists’ “credibility to a large extent hinges on their capacity to interpret the world in a truthful way” (Ytterstad, 2012, 58). Furthermore, and perhaps as importantly, is “how their [the journalists’] perceptions of what is true or not in turn relates to their prescriptions for actions on climate change” (Ytterstad, 2012, 62). This is a relevant aspect in connection to this thesis; critical aspects connected to these measures can be seen as part of a truthful representation.

[The use of hegemony, common sense and good sense in this thesis](#)

The perspectives listed above is therefore seen as relevant for this thesis, particularly as hegemony and the battle over common sense also connect to the central aspect of journalistic objectivity, issues of consensus in the media and the power of the media which will be central to

the discussion of this thesis. Furthermore, as the thesis explores potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions presented in Norwegian newspapers, it can be viewed as a form of hegemony if one type of presentation is dominant. Furthermore, more opposing views or presentations can be seen as counter-voices or ‘makers of good-sense’ (Ytterstad, 2012):



figur 3

Ytterstad, 2012

Ytterstad “approach Norwegian climate policy and the media (...) with some fundamental data on oil production and exports rather than with frames and discourses in texts. But (...) with Gramsci this is only the first moment of analysis. The really difficult questions are where and how class leadership is exercised” (2012, 20). Building on this then, this thesis approach presentations of possible measures to mitigate CO2 emission in Norwegian newspapers from different theories on green growth and degrowth in light of journalistic objectivity, rather ‘than with frames and discourses in texts’. Concerning the ‘really difficult questions of where and how class leadership is exercised’, I view it as a matter of seeing where the overarching tendencies are in the findings based on the analysed data material. Meaning, are there some possibilities in mitigating CO2 emissions which are highlighted more than others, such as renewable energy for instance, and if so, in what genres, and if there are critiques of economic growth as a driver of CO2 emissions, in what genres are they presented in. Ytterstad prefer to see the media as contradictory institutions, rather than purely hegemonic institutions. As such, he does not view the primary definers of climate politics to be necessarily the media, but rather views hegemony as primarily exercised “through state leaders themselves, not by the media” (2012, 22). Therefore, who³¹ presents the climate mitigation measures becomes of central interest.

While Gramsci builds on Marx and therefore comes with a particular kind of ideological ‘baggage’, Ytterstad argues extensively that “good sense has an existence independent of

³¹ Cited sources in news content and authors of opinion content.

socialists, and can be made by different actors, including truth seeking journalists” (Ytterstad, 2012, 72). Furthermore, in defending the relevance and use of Gramsci, Ytterstad quotes Graeme Murdoch in defence of the classical understanding of critical theory: “They remain our contemporaries. We still confront the central questions they grappled with, and their search for answers still has much to teach us (...) To refuse their invitation to debate is to condemn ourselves to regularly reinventing the wheel” (2002, 57, in Ytterstad, 2012, 8). Moreover, Ytterstad also emphasises that “Hegemony and good sense have to be put to use in context” (2012, 10). In this thesis the context is given by the differing theories and literature on green growth vs degrowth, as well as the journalistic norm of objectivity.

Ytterstad does not examine good sense in media texts “in much fine grained detail” (2012, 72), and neither will this thesis. The intent is more to examine the findings in the light of the battle over common sense in the media as this theory examines how counter voices to capitalism try to gain ground, which is of particular interest in this thesis. Ytterstad views his use of Gramsci as “a means to grasp the battle over the meanings of climate change in Norwegian media” (2012, 80). This thesis in turn applies Ytterstad’s understanding of hegemony, common sense and good sense as a way to look at the battle over what is presented as common sense in Norwegian newspapers when it comes to mitigating the climate crisis.

Summary

While the journalistic norm of objectivity has been heavily debated, it is nonetheless seen as the benchmark of quality journalism. However, ‘objective’ new stories can just as much be an expression of biases based on the dominant power structures in society and therefore not neutral. Furthermore, it is the journalistic method that is to be objective, not the journalist themselves, though this often gets lost in the discussion on objectivity. This can in particular be the case when it comes to climate change journalism. While some climate change journalism, both in Norway and abroad, advocate ‘taking a stand’ on behalf of the planet, most journalists are uncomfortable being associated with campaign journalism. Therefore, it is possible to view measures to mitigate CO₂ emissions that leave questions regarding economic growth unaddressed as battling against degrowth voices over what is perceived as common sense in the media, in light of Ytterstad’s understanding of hegemony, good sense and the battle over common sense.

6 Methods

This chapter presents the methodological considerations and the methods applied in the data material collection and data material analysis.

Methods used – Qualitative Content Analysis

About Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA)

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is systematic, adaptable and makes it easier to analyse large volumes of data (Schreier, 2012, 5). With both climate change and the green shift being ‘hot’ topics (pardon the pun) in the media, I expected my search to generate a large number of articles to examine. I therefore found QCA to be the most useful and relevant method to apply for this study, relying on Margrit Schreier’s (2012) understanding and use of the method. QCA makes it possible to assess a larger number of texts to get an overview of which topics are presented in the selected newspapers, in what genres and who the sources or authors are (whose voices are being heard). The method is systematic in three ways, as: 1. all relevant material is considered; 2. with a set sequence of measures to be followed during the analysis; 3. the coding is checked for consistency (reliability) (Schreier, 2012, 9). Its flexibility means that the coding frame must be adapted to fit the material by limiting the analysis to relevant aspects of the material. By classifying distinct information as an instance of a category, that specific information is subsumed under a more general concept and condenses the data. At the same time, new information about how the cases compare is produced through the categorising (ibid). QCA is also suitable for material that necessitates some level of interpretation (Schreier, 2012, 8).

Alternative methods

Coding could have been an alternative method (Schreier, 2012, 40). While coding is a common term in research analysis, as a method of its own, it has a distinct set of steps to be followed (Schreier, 2012, 41). As coding and QCA is similar in many ways, even when it comes to terminology, it is worth briefly outlining the main similarities and differences between the two methods, and why QCA is best suited for this study. While both coding and QCA refers to ‘categories’ and the process of data analysis in both cases is called ‘coding’, these are superficial similarities and less important than the conceptual ones. Both QCA and coding involves to some degree abstraction as categories/codes are created. In the process of doing the coding and QCA, new links between the data are created when they are coded under the same category. Connected to this, both coding and QCA will usually have a hierarchical coding frame, containing both

categories and sub-categories. In both methods, codes/categories will be identified by a short name and have a code definition (Schreier, 2012, 40). Despite these similarities, the methods are quite different, with for instance Coding being more analytical examining how categories relate, while QCA is more descriptive, looking at how data relate (Schreier, 2012, 41).

Ultimately it is the research question and the material which decides whether coding or QCA is the better option. QCA is the better choice if the research question is descriptive and comparative in nature (Schreier, 2012, 42) which is the case for this study as my research question is both descriptive (*which* potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are presented and *how*) and comparative in nature (examining two different newspapers). Furthermore, I consider QCA more suitable in this instance rather than Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Machyn and Mayr, 2012). As the purpose of this study is to get an overview over how potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are presented in two newspapers, QCA is better as suited as CDA studies a smaller amount of texts. Adding to this, CDA should be supported by qualitative interviews with those who wrote the text to avoid analysing ‘why the house is red, if red paint was all the person painting had at that moment’ (Machyn and Mayr, 2012), e.g. putting undue meaning on something which might have been coincidental rather than a deliberate choice.

Quantitative versus qualitative content analysis

While there is no clear-cut line dividing quantitative and qualitative content analysis, the most crucial difference was offered by Kracauer in the early 1950’s: “the focus of QCA [qualitative content analysis] is on *latent* meaning, meaning what is not immediately obvious, whereas quantitative content analysis focuses on manifest, literal meaning” (Schreier, 2012, 15). George (1959) had a similar way of distinguishing the two methods as he was equally, if not more, concerned with the ‘non-frequency-indicators’ of a text: “the absence of a certain content characteristic” (Schreier, 2012, 14). In order to detect latent meaning, most often the context of the text must be considered (Schreier, 2012, 15). “This can be the entire text from which a passage is taken – or even the publication venue or additional background information” (ibid). In this study, the following steps for contextualisation will be followed in order to get a deeper understanding of the chosen texts: I will look at ‘entire texts’ (including which genre and who the author or cited sources are), publication venue (information concerning the selected newspapers) and additional background information (aspects connected to present day Norwegian media, previous studies on climate change coverage in the media internationally and

in Norway, the implication of different journalistic genres, the journalistic norm of objectivity, the ‘hegemony of growth’ and debates connected to green growth and degrowth, as well as hegemony theory).

Moreover, QCA has another aspect which makes it suited for this thesis. In addition to using QCA to analyse *what* is being said, it can also be used to analyse *how* something is being said or expressed in the material: “(...) QCA is suitable for looking at any formal features of your material that you may be interested in: *type of argument used, literary genre*, the angle from which a picture is taken, typographic features, and much more” (Schreier, 2012, 19, my emphasis). As I want to not only look at *which* potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are present in the selected newspapers and *who* the actors are, but also *how* the potential measures are presented, QCA appears as a suitable method to answer the research question.

Qualitative aspects of QCA

There are some key features of qualitative research that applies to QCA (Schreier, 2012, 15). It is interpretive, naturalistic, situational, reflexive, inductive, case-oriented, has emergent flexibility and puts emphasis on validity (Schreier, 2012, 21). To start with, similarly to qualitative research in general, QCA shares the interpretative orientation as it is used on material that necessitates some level of interpretation, as well as being concerned with the social or personal meaning of the text. QCA however, is different from other qualitative research in that it requires the researcher to decide on one out of a potential multitude of meanings. QCA is therefore context-specific, meaning that context must be explicitly considered in order to interpret the material (Schreier, 2012, 30 and 31). Grønmo also puts particular importance on context when doing QCA. Without the proper understanding of the socio-historical context, the findings will not make much sense, and worse can be interpreted wrongly (2016, 178). Ytterstad as well argues for the importance of context, and underlines that “Context is, together with interpretation, *the most important bridge between theory and observation*” (2012, 84, my emphasis), and might be better suited than a traditional frame analysis, especially when the journalist’s interest in truth is of particular interest to the researcher (2012, 111). Context for this thesis revolves around the ‘growth paradigm’, green growth, and degrowth literature and debates, the journalistic norm of objectivity, the Norwegian media landscape, in addition to the theory of hegemony, good sense and common sense outlined by Ytterstad.

As for the naturalistic aspects of qualitative research, QCA can be viewed as a ‘non-

reactive’ or ‘unobtrusive’ method, especially when QCA is applied to material from existing sources such as newspapers as these materials are not changed in any way by applying QCA (Schreier, 2012, 30), which is the case for this particular study. Just like other qualitative research methods, QCA has emergent flexibility: the research process is cyclic, and it is possible to adapt all aspects of the study in the process. The distinct order of steps to be followed makes QCA linear; however, as it is common to go through some stages of the process more than once, the method combines the linear with cyclic elements. Furthermore, QCA shares the inductive feature, key concepts and categories emerging from the data, of qualitative research to a great extent (Schreier, 2012, 32). While in QCA most often the categories will be partially data-driven, the method is rarely used exclusively in a data-driven way, as there are most often predetermined concepts in mind that will drive part of the QCA (Schreier, 2012, 33). QCA will often result in an extensive coding frame which makes it possible to get an overview over a fairly extensive data material, yet keep the uniqueness of each category to look at the findings in more depth, which Schreier views as a significant strength of the method (2012, 33).

Quantitative aspects of QCA

However, QCA also shares some of the same features as quantitative research as it aims to find the general that is comparable across sources: By coding the material as part of a category within the coding frame it is for example possible to compare the categories across sources. At the same time, QCA is about striking the balance between the general and the specific, as QCA also needs to preserve the unique (Schreier, 2021, 31). This is especially relevant as I am comparing two different newspapers and look at not only whether they present the same potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, but also if the way they present them differ; what is unique about that particular newspapers’ way of presenting these potential measures and if one newspaper ‘favour’ one type of measures over another.

How QCA was applied in this study

Schreier (2012) outlines eight steps in how to conduct a QCA that is systematically true to the method: 1. Deciding on the research question; 2. Selecting the material; 3. Building a coding frame; 4. Dividing the material into units of coding; 5. Trying out the coding frame; 6. Evaluating and modifying the coding frame; 7. Main analysis; 8. Presenting the findings (the findings will be presented in chapter 7, while the discussion of the findings is presented in chapter 8).

Developing research questions

As presented in the Introduction chapter, the main research question is:

How are potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis presented in two Norwegian newspapers and to what extent do they address technical solutions and/or structural and justice aspects?

Previous studies (chapter 3) suggests that technical solutions tend to be favoured by the media, and structural issue more relegate to the side-lines, but as the climate crisis deepens, it is interesting to examine if these observations still hold, or if they are changing in some ways. Furthermore, to examine how mitigation measures are presented, what challenges and opportunities are seen in connection with the measures. The sub-questions presented in the introduction chapter were developed based on both previous studies and literature. Solidarity and justice are key-concepts within degrowth and just transition literature, and viewed as prerequisites to ensure a just green transition. It is therefore relevant to look at how this is presented in media representations on transition topics. Journalistic genres carry expectations and associations for how readers should interpret a text, and norms for how journalists write about an issue (chapter 4), and as such becomes relevant to study; to examine if some mitigation measures are presented more in one type of journalistic genre than others. Previous studies indicate that politicians tend to be used to a great extent within climate change journalism (chapter 3), while ordinary people gets less attention. ‘Who gets to speak for the climate’ (Boykoff, 2011) has implications for which topics get presented in connection to climate mitigation measures. Therefore, who presents such measures either through being used as cited sources in a news story and who is the writer of opinion pieces is of relevance to examine.

Selecting the material

Based on this, it becomes a question of selecting which newspapers and which time period to study.

Selection newspapers: Aftenposten and Klassekampen – The conservative and the radical

The two selected Norwegian newspapers *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* are relevant to examine in connection to climate change as they both have a strong focus on climate change journalism and dedicated climate change journalists (Ytterstad, 2012). *Aftenposten* is the second largest in

Norway (second after VG) and while Klassekampen is smaller (the ninth largest³²), it is perhaps the largest ‘counter-voice’ in the Norwegian media landscape (Ytterstad, 2012). They are also two different newspapers as Klassekampen is a left-wing oriented newspaper, while Aftenposten is a more mainstream and conservative newspaper. These two newspapers are therefore likely to write about potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions to a significant extent, though perhaps in different ways, which should ensure a range of perspectives to examine, compare and juxtapose against each other in this study.

Aftenposten

Aftenposten is a daily newspaper based in Oslo, founded in 1860. In terms of paper circulation, Aftenposten is Norway's largest newspaper. It is owned by Schibsted ASA, and Trine Eilertsen has been the editor-in-chief and managing director since 2019. The newspaper also publishes Aftenposten Junior, a children's newspaper, and the popular science magazine Innsikt. The editorial team produces several podcasts, the most important being Aftenpodden and Forklart. The newspaper was founded in 1860 by printer Christian Schibsted under the name Christiania Adresseblad, which was the current name from 1861. Aftenposten began as a non-political news and classifieds publication, but by the end of 1880 had acquired a conservative tone that it has since maintained; it is often regarded as an independent conservative newspaper. In 1966, Aftenposten's owners took over the daily newspaper Verdens Gang (VG). This primarily involved a technical printing collaboration. They published a Sunday edition from 1990, and their online edition (www.aftenposten.no) was launched in 1995. In 2021, they had a printed circulation of 254 208 newspapers (snl.no/Aftenposten).

Klassekampen

Klassekampen is also a daily newspaper based in Oslo, founded in 1969, but has a different history and profile than Aftenposten. It is published Monday to Saturday and can be characterised as an independent radical. The current editor-in-chief is Mari Skurdal. Klassekampen has a broad ownership with the Rødt party (former Communist party, now a radical left-wing party), and large union organizations such as Fagforbundet and Industri og energi as major owners. The newspaper was established as a platform for the Marxist-Leninists in the Socialist Youth Association (SUF) and later for Arbeidernes Kommunistparti

³² <https://medienorge.uib.no/statistikk/353>

(AKP – Workers Communist party). Due to vast voluntary efforts, Klassekampen became a daily newspaper, but it only made significant progress when the newspaper freed itself from the brand of the political party and became ‘the newspaper of the entire left side’ (snl.no/Klassekampen).

In the 1970s, the newspaper did not print government advertisements and the political party leadership's material was to be submitted unedited. A contentious issue was the long-term support for Democratic Kampuchea (former name of Cambodia, 1975 to 1979). Although it became more and more disputed internally, the AKP (m-l) supported Pol Pot's regime of terror well into the 1980s, and there was never any settlement with this line, neither in the party nor in the newspaper. In the 1980s, the newspaper was journalistically professionalised, and in 1991 the newspaper became formally independent of the majority shareholder AKP. AKP was closed down in March 2007, and the shares (approx. 20 per cent) were transferred to the party Rødt. The trade union Fagforbundet came in as owner with 13 per cent, and later, other trade unions such as Industri Energi and Fellesforbundet also bought shares. The rest is distributed among a number of small shareholders, and the association Klassekampens Venner (Friends of Klassekampen). With Bjørnulf Braanen as editor, Klassekampen achieved great success and for a period had the largest increase in print of all Norwegian newspapers. The material mix has gradually expanded, and Klassekampen is today a leading cultural newspaper, but also has extensive coverage of religion and the military (ibid).

Selection of time period

I started planning this thesis in August 2022. To limit the amount of data, I decided to search for articles published in 2021. This was also a year with several important incidents connected to the climate crisis. Commenting on the 2021 United in science report³³, the secretary general of the United Nations, António Guterres, declared that “the world is headed into ‘unchartered territory’ of destruction”³⁴. Summer of 2021 was marked by a long succession of heatwaves in Europe with subsequent wildfires³⁵, and the UK declared a national state of emergency³⁶. The west coast of the USA also suffered record-breaking temperatures the same year³⁷. Even the tundra in

³³ <https://www.unep.org/resources/report/united-science-2021-multi-organization-high-level-compilation-latest-climate>

³⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2022/sep/13/world-heading-into-uncharted-territory-of-destruction-says-climate-report>

³⁵ <https://www.nrk.no/urix/flere-hundre-har-dodd-av-hetebolgen-i-europa-1.16040563>

³⁶ <https://www.nrk.no/urix/hetebolge-i-europa-storbritannia-erklarer-nasjonal-krisetilstand-1.16038997>

³⁷ <https://www.climate.gov/news-features/event-tracker/record-breaking-june-2021-heatwave-impacts-us-west>

Siberia could not escape³⁸. 2021 was later announced as one of the hottest years on record³⁹. At the same time, Germany and Belgium was drenched in a vast flooding in July 2021, and France, Luxembourg and Netherlands had tremendous amounts of downpour⁴⁰. Climate scientists stated this is “but a taste of what is to come” if the global temperature keeps increasing⁴¹. Furthermore, the climate summit, COP26, was held in Glasgow during the fall of 2021⁴². The climate crisis was also a significant topic during the news coverage of the government election in Norway, fall of 2021⁴³. All of this makes 2021 a particularly pertinent year to examine how Norwegian newspapers present potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions.

Building the coding frame

Apart from selecting which newspapers and time period to study, in building the coding frame, it is important to focus on what is relevant to the research question. A strategy for starting is to break down the data according to source (Schreier, 2012, 80). As the research question is comparative, exploring two different newspaper, I started by focusing on one source, e.g. one newspaper at the time. This strategy makes it possible to create a coding frame that fits this one source, adding to it so as to make it fit other sources, at a later stage (Schreier, 2012, 81). Therefore, I used a partially concept-driven coding frame and then built on this with a data-driven coding frame going through the material from *Aftenposten*, trying it out, revising, and building on this, and then applying this to *Klassekampen* afterwards. As my coding frame starts out simple, with the main focus on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, I would go through the articles that my search words generated and when I had collected those that looked at potential measures to mitigate climate change, I would then start sorting according to my coding frame. An alternative strategy is to break down the data according topic (Schreier, 2012, 80),

³⁸ <https://www.nrk.no/urix/store-skogbranner-i-sibir-1.15579260>

³⁹ <https://www.nrk.no/norge/2021-er-det-femte-varmeste-aret-noensinne-malt-1.15797485>

⁴⁰ <https://www.abcnyheter.no/nyheter/verden/2021/07/16/195773065/enorme-odeleggelse-etter-flommen-i-tyskland-og-belgia-dodstallet-fortsatt-uavklart>

⁴¹ <https://www.nrk.no/urix/ekstremvaer-forer-til-krav-om-klimatilpasning-1.15581190>. This way of phrasing it, “only a taste of what is to come”, has been used repeatedly in the media when referring to nature disasters in connection to climate change, ranging from the hurricanes Katarina in New Orleans in 2005, Sandy hitting the east coast of New York in 2012, Harvey in 2017 in Texas and Irma the same year striking several Caribbean islands (Bjærke and Kverndokk, 2022, 109-110).

⁴² [HOME - UN Climate Change Conference \(COP26\) at the SEC – Glasgow 2021 \(ukcop26.org\)](https://www.un.org/press/en/2021/11/21210001.htm)

⁴³ <https://journalisten.no/altinget-anja-naper-elisabeth-bergskaug/klimadekningen-under-fjorarets-valgkamp-var-rekordstor-men-fa-artikler-ble-forsideoppslag/529534>

though as categorizing of topics came later in the process of this study, it was not considered as relevant a starting point as breaking down the data according to source.

Data collection

Once I had selected a source (newspaper) to start with, it is also became a matter of selecting segmentation criteria, the formal criterion (Schreier, 2012, 134) to find texts that focus on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions. This can be done by dividing the material into articles, chapters, paragraphs, sentences, and so on, provided that the units make a good fit with the categories. For instance, a newspaper headline will ordinarily capture the main topic of the article (Schreier, 2012, 134). Though this can often be the case, I chose as my segmentation criteria that potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions were either evident *in the title, the preamble or the first paragraphs of the main body of the text*, as potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are not always covered in the headline, but connected to another topic such as discussions among politicians or new reports coming out. Considering the high amount of texts, it is important to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant material in the data. In short, all material that has a bearing upon the research question can be considered as relevant, though it is easy to get lost in the fascination of the data material (Schreier, 2012, 81). Initially, I included some articles which were later ruled out, but it was better to include them and then look at them again at a later stage, before dismissing them, as it is better to make the category with relevant data more inclusive than the category with irrelevant (Schreier, 2012, 83).

An example of this is a news article on a flood in Germany and how the municipality is planning for the climate future. There was however no mention of potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions and the text was therefore ruled out. In the case of this study, a criterion for a category to be denoted relevant means that the text has a focus on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions in one form or another (either technical measures, for example renewable energy projects, changes in industry or business, or economic measures which might mitigate CO2 emissions). Any hits on my search words that relates to the topics green shift and climate change without any reference to potential measures to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions are deemed as irrelevant. I also ruled out news articles that mention ‘climate politics’, without any reference to any potential measures. These texts were too generic to be put into any one category and offered no insight into what potential measures to mitigate climate change are covered by the ‘climate politics’.

I was given access from UiO to the database A-text, but only for a limited number of articles (150) as it costs the university 10 NOK for each article I download. As I was unsure of how many texts my search words would generate, I used the National Library (searches are free of charge, cross-checking with A-text). I first used the search word ‘grønne skiftet’ (green shift) for Aftenposten. This generated 112 texts at the National Library, and 124 in A-text. When going through the texts using the National Library, I cross checked with Aftenposten’s e-paper (newspaper online, same editions as the ones that are printed). It appears that the National Library occasionally misses out on some texts, and so I would cross-check with Aftenposten e-paper. I could not click on articles in A-text without using up the limited quota, so I used Aftenposten e-paper to download articles on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions that the term ‘grønne skiftet’ yielded. This left me with 120 articles. I performed the same procedure for Klassekampen with ‘grønne skiftet’. This generated 123 texts in the National Library, and 156 in A- text, and 146 texts when cross checking with the e-paper.

Newspaper	Search 'grønne skiftet' A-text (green shift)
Aftenposten 2021	124 texts
Klassekampen 2021	156 texts
Sum	280 texts
Newspaper	Search 'grønne skiftet' National Library (green shift)
Aftenposten 2021	112 texts
Klassekampen 2021	123 texts
Sum	235 texts
Newspaper	Search 'grønne skiftet' National Library cross checked with e-paper (green shift)
Aftenposten 2021	120 texts
Klassekampen 2021	146 texts
Sum	266 texts

Table 1. Preliminary data material deriving from the search word green shift Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021.

The second search words klima*⁴⁴ generated far too many texts in A-text, as the data base does not differentiate content, whether advertisement or editorial; 1927 texts in Klassekampen and 1402 texts in Aftenposten. In the National Library the search in Klassekampen came up with 302 texts which I cross checked with Klassekampen’s e-paper. This left me with 665 articles, but this did contain articles that do not explicitly focus on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, but also on climate disasters, climate adaptation and climate risk. Similarly, with Aftenposten,

⁴⁴ As it is hard to predict what combination of words the newspapers use in connection to the term climate, I added * to the search word *klima*, while *grønne skiftet* has no *, as this is more a ‘settled’ term, see chapter 3.

where the National Library generated 387 texts, and having cross checked with the e-paper I was left with 571 texts. The relevant texts needed to address potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions either by presenting challenges or opportunities (or both). An example of this could be discussions on whether decommissioning the Norwegian fossil industry will reduce global emissions or not.

Newspaper	Search 'klima*' A-text (climate*)
Aftenposten 2021	1402 texts
Klassekampen 2021	1927 texts
Sum	3329 texts
Newspaper	Search 'klima*' National Library (climate*)
Aftenposten 2021	302 texts
Klassekampen 2021	665 texts
Sum	967 texts
Newspaper	Search 'klima*' National Library crosschecked with e-paper (climate*)
Aftenposten 2021	387 texts
Klassekampen 2021	571 texts
Sum	958 texts

Table 2. Preliminary data material deriving from the search word climate* Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021.

There are pros and cons about doing the search with 'klima*'. It generates a huge amount of material to go through. The benefits of this are that it has given me many interesting insights (see next chapter on Findings) and even if there should be some articles that I have missed, the number of texts I have gone through is of such an extent that I still consider the data material capable of giving a solid overview of how Aftenposten and Klassekampen present potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions in 2021.

Dividing the material into units of coding

Furthermore, I followed Schreier's advice to do the analysis in two parts (Schreier, 2012, 82). First, I examined the material to decide whether it was relevant or irrelevant by selecting texts based on discussing potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, as noted above. Second, I created a coding frame based on the themes that were found in the data material. It is possible to either work in a *concept-driven* way, based on theory, prior research, everyday experience, or logic, in a *data-driven* way, by letting the categories emerge from the material, or by *combining the two strategies* (Schreier, 2012, 84-85), which was my chosen strategy. My concept-driven strategy was based on prior research on media studies on similar topics as well as the six-sector

solution to the climate crisis as defined by the UNEP⁴⁵. However, a data-driven strategy for building a coding frame is particularly appropriate if the research goal is to describe the material in detail (Schreier, 2012, 87), which is the case for this study wanting to gain as much insight into how potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis are presented in the two newspapers. Examples of concept-driven categories in this study are the main categories *Energy and Industry*; though they were supplemented by the data-driven *Energy and technology* and *Industry and business*. Furthermore, Schreier points out that in QCA, at least part of the coding frame will most often be data-driven because qualitative data usually contain more than be anticipated in advance (2012, 87). My data-driven strategy did uncover aspects I did not anticipate, becoming evident through the sheer volume of the subcategories that the material contained. Which main categories and which sub-categories were concepts driven and which were data driven can be found in detail in the code sheet in the appendix.

Schreier underlines that there is no ‘right mix’ when it comes to the relation between concept-driven and data-driven categories (2012, 90). What is important is that the categories in the coding-frame capture what is central about the material, as the categories become the filter which the material is seen through, anything that is not include here, will be lost (Schreier, 2012, 90-91). As I am looking at potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, it is fairly concrete to identify and isolate in the material, at least when it comes to technical or renewable energy options, or explicit critique of capitalism or discussions of degrowth, but others, such as taxes on oil could either have been categorised under *Economy* or *Oil*, but was categorised as *climate taxes* under *Economy*. While all subcategories are mutually exclusive (Schreier, 2012, 93), not all formal units of coding always fit into only one subcategory (Schreier, 2012, 134), which is why there is a sub-category labelled *renewable energy and technology in general* which refers to texts discussing more than one type of renewable energy project or technology (for example both windmills and nuclear energy). (See code sheet for full list and description of the main and sub-categories in the appendix, including its definitions and criteria.) Furthermore, there were no texts which were labelled residual (Schreier, 2012, 93), as the focus on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions fit well into the categories after trying out the coding frame, though regarding cited sources or authors of texts some were residual, labelled *other*.

⁴⁵ [The six-sector solution to the climate crisis \(unep.org\)](http://unep.org)

Trying out the coding frame

The pilot phase involved trying out the coding frame on part of the material, the trial coding. Following this, it was best to compare the two rounds of coding for consistency and make adjustments to categories that turned out to be difficult to apply. This would make it possible to identify and adjust for possible shortcomings of the coding frame at an early stage (Schreier, 2012, 147). As an aim of this study is to gain an in-depth description, I tried out the coding frame on the whole material which would be part of the main coding (Schreier, 2012, 148). While Schreier points out that this is not strictly necessary, that it is about striking the balance between variability and practicability (2012, 150), I tried out the coding frame on the whole of the data material to make sure it was a good fit.

In the first round of coding (October 2022) I took a broad perspective on multiple aspects of potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions and bring about the green shift, including categories such as *Transport, Agriculture, food and waste, Sustainable buildings and cities, and Nature-Based solutions*. This yielded too vast an amount of content to analysis properly given the scope of this study, counting 875 texts originally.

Newspaper	Search 'grønne skiftet' National Library cross checked with e-paper (green shift)
Aftenposten 2021	102 texts
Klassekampen 2021	130
Sum	232 texts
Newspaper	Search 'klima*' National Library crosschecked with e-paper (climate*)
Aftenposten 2021	215 texts
Klassekampen 2021	428 texts
Sum	643 texts
Total preliminary number of texts Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021	875 texts

Table 3. Preliminary data material deriving from the search word climate* and green shift Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021 (only including texts focusing on mitigating CO2 emissions or mitigation measures in connection to the green shift).

The data material was therefore limited to a narrower focus on potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions and bring about the green shift in connection to energy transitions. This resulted in three main categories; *Energy and technology* (fossil energy and renewable energy), *Economy*, and *Industry and business*. These three themes are also intertwined when presented and discussed in the two chosen Norwegian newspapers, on issues connected to transitioning from a

fossil-based economy to one more based on renewable energy. It is also in the intersection between these three main aspects (energy and technology, economy and industry and business) that the concept of a just transition and justice is brought up, see Findings.

Final coding frame applied in the study

By limiting the focus of the study to coding of the three themes of *Energy and technology*, *Economy*, and *Industry and business*, the data material was reduced to the following:

Newspaper	Data material on the search word grønne skiftet (green shift)
Aftenposten 2021	55 texts
Klassekampen 2021	93 texts
Sum	148 texts
Newspaper	Data material on the search word klima* (climate)
Aftenposten 2021	148 texts
Klassekampen 2021	187 texts
Sum	335 texts
Total number analysed texts Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021	483 texts

Table 4: Final data set (selected texts for analysis).

There should be made a note on the point of saturation here meaning “when looking at more material does not produce any new insights, and does not make you want to add more categories” (Schreier, 2019, 91). I felt I reached the point of saturation in my material after about six months of newspaper coverage looking at 2021, but seeing as I wanted the full impression of the coverage of measures to mitigate CO2 emissions at that time period I needed to look through the whole year. Also, it was not possible to predict whether new aspects would occur, and if I had not looked through the whole year I might have missed some perspectives. Furthermore, the large amount of articles strengthens both the validity and reliability of my study (see more on validity and reliability further on in this chapter).

Main analysis

The main analysis was conducted 4.11.2022. As I am the only coder, I went through the material a second time 9.12.2022 to ensure consistency (Schreier, 2012, 127). As I used a formal criterion (the individual texts) to identify the units of coding, marking the units and doing the coding was done in one step (Schreier, 2012, 196). Figure 1-5 below illustrate the themes, categories and sub-categories of the potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions present in the data material. Genres and cited sources/authors will be covered below this section. If the units of analysis are

identical to the units of coding, no further preparation of the results are needed (Schreier, 2012, 207), which is the case for this study.

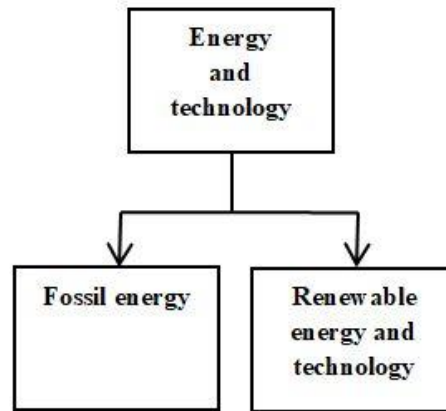


Figure 1: Main category Energy and technology with sub-categories.

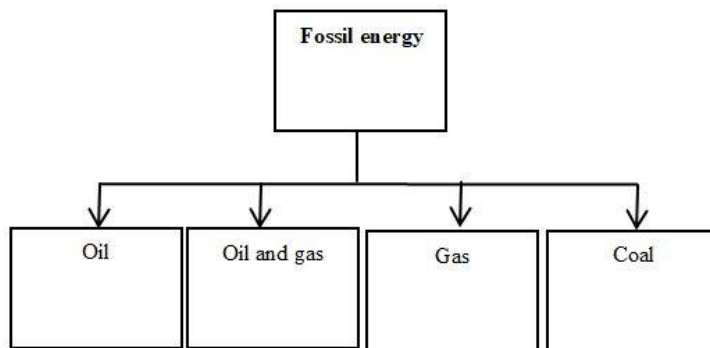


Figure 2: Sub-category Fossil energy with sub-categories.

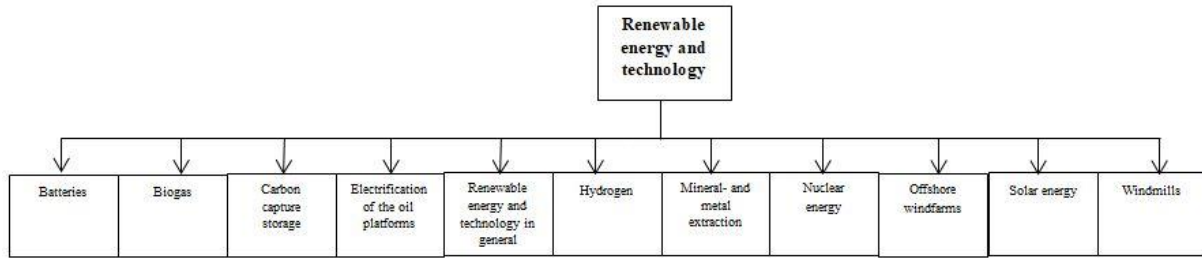


Figure 3: Sub-category Renewable energy and technology with sub-categories.

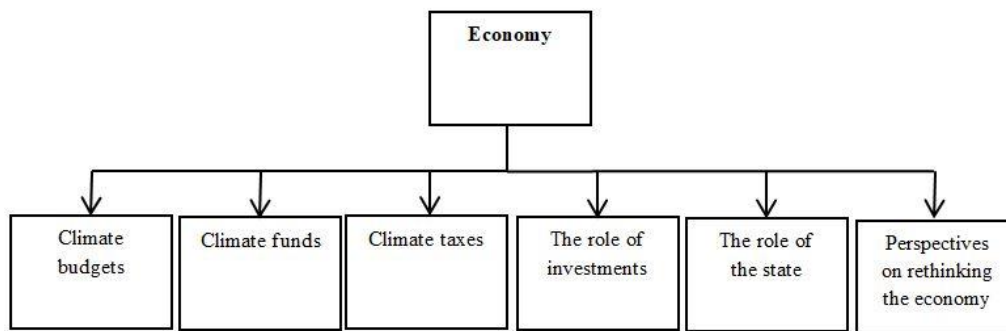


Figure 4: Main category Economy with sub-categories.

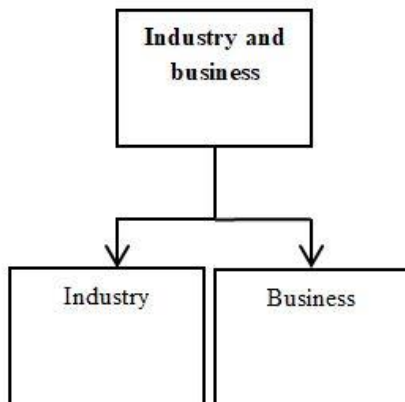
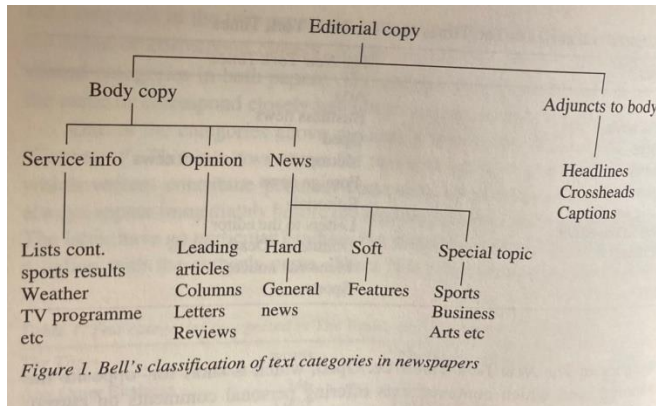


Figure 5: Main category Industry and business with sub-categories.

Categories genres

Different genres have different rules and carry with them different expectations and connotations (see chapter 4). As noted, I started the categorisation by creating a coding frame based on the various types of potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions that were present in the material. Once the material was sorted accordingly, I then coded according to what genre the categories were present in. Ljung (2000) uses Bell's (1991) classification on newspaper content, which I found useful:



The body copy refers to the running text, which is the relevant part to this study. Furthermore, in this study only Opinion and News are of interest. Ljung specifies that “News comes in three varieties: hard, soft and special-topic news. Typical representatives of hard and soft news are ‘general news’ (local, national and international news) and features respectively” (2000, 135). For the purpose of this study and related to the news genre, I have focused on hard and soft news. Ljung points out that “it is possible to organise the majority of the newspapers’ own text categories in terms of the model provided by Bell” (2000, 137). Bell, however have a fairly liberal definition of ‘genre’: “The genres are the particular kind of media content in which you are interested – news, classified advertising, game shows, weather forecast, and so forth” (1990, 12 in Ljung, 2000, 137), as well as “Genre is largely a matter of defining what kind of copy does and does not qualify as what you are looking for” (1990, 17 in Ljung, 2000, 137). This is due to how Bell’s main goal is “not to discuss the finer points of the definition of ‘genre’, but to explore and explain the most clearly identifiable of the text categories recognized by journalists, i.e. news” (Ljung, 2000, 137).

For the purpose of this particular study, I approach journalistic genres in the same fashion as Bell, it is not the finer points of genres that are of interest or bolster the findings of this study, but ‘the most clearly identifiable text categories recognized by journalists’. Therefore, it is not

useful to be too categorically strict, and the definitions and theory surrounding the discussions of hard news vs soft news is more relevant in this case, as is Brurås' (2020) arguments and reflections on the implications of the news – facts – genre vs the opinion genre. Even so, in order to categorize the genres a bit more specifically than Bell does, I have also applied Nils Øy's category definitions (1991) as used by Petteresen and Øyen (183-185, 1997) in their study of news coverage in *Dagbladet*⁴⁶. Like Petteresen and Øyen, I have supplemented Øy's category definitions with the news notice, and have for my part excluding genres that I did not consider to be relevant for the purpose of this study such as reviews, cartoons and ranking lists, which left me with the following categories of genres, coded during the main analysis (4.11 and 9.12.2022):

News	Opinions
News notice	Editorial
News article	Commentary editorial
News reportage	Commentary external contributor
Background article	Op-eds
Interview	Letter to the newspaper
Feature	
Portrait interview	

Table 5. Analysed genres in the thesis.

As the purpose of this study is to get an overview of which measures to mitigate CO2 emission are presented in which overall genre, News or Opinion, the findings will be presented as such in the next chapter for clarity. However, the specific news and opinion genres have been categorised and the findings regarding these details can be found in the appendix.

Categories for cited sources and authors

Following this, I then coded according to what kind of sources were used or what professional background the author of the various texts had (politicians, journalists, researchers, etc). The categories related to the cited sources or the authors of the texts were for the most part data-driven, though I had some concepts I mind before starting out based on the study of climate change journalism by Midttun et.al (2015) and a master thesis examining news coverage of the climate summit in New York in 2014 (Brattfjord, 2015). Based on this and what was present in this particular data material, the categories were as follows:

⁴⁶ «Innhold og presentasjon i Dagbladet 1935, 1965 og 1995» in *Avissjangre over tid* (Roksvold (ed.) 1997).

1. Politicians
2. Environmental/climate organisations
3. Business leaders
4. Climate/environmental researchers
5. Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)
6. Journalists
7. Employer organisations
8. Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)
9. Economist
10. Private people
11. Union leaders
12. Oil companies
13. Professional author
14. Organisations (other than climate or environmental)
15. Industry leaders
16. Oil workers
17. Other*
18. No visible sources/authors

Table 6. Analysed categories cited sources and authors of opinion pieces.

I went through each individual texts in the data material (the final selected 483 texts), counting the cited sources in news content and the authors of opinion content, using Excel to keep track (14.11.2022 and 16.12.2022). While there were no sub-categories here, the cited sources or authors were categorised depending on which genre they appeared in. In the findings, I have kept to the overall distinction of News and Opinions, as whose voices are being heard in what genre is of more importance to this study, than the precise details of which exact genre category the sources and authors are present in, though this has been categorised and can be made available.

Search on the terms 'just transition', 'justice/just' and 'solidarity' in selected data material

A sub-question in this thesis regards justice and solidarity. To examine how and to what extent these aspects are brought up in relation to potential measures to mitigate the climate crisis, I did a second round of search. After collecting and sorting the relevant data material in the first round (as noted above), I did a second search within this data material on the terms 'rettferdighet' and 'rettferdig omstilling' ('justice' and 'just transition') and 'solidaritet' (solidarity). These texts were then coded in the categories Justice, Just transition and Solidarity (3.1.2023 and 23.1.2023).

Validity and reliability

When it comes to evaluating the quality of qualitative research in general, validity is often more heavily emphasised than objectivity and reliability, and it is advised that a consistency check is built into the procedure in QCA (Schreier, 2012, 34). I therefore re-coded the material after four weeks. The rationale behind this double-coding has two purposes: Firstly, the purpose of QCA is to arrive at an interpretation of the data material that most people with a similar cultural background as me could agree upon. The point is not to claim that I have arrived at the absolute one and only meaning of the material, but to be able to claim that this is not just my individual understanding. Secondly, the double-coding helps to assess the quality of the coding frame; if the results of the two rounds of coding correspond, then the coding frame is considered reliable (ibid). The systemic quality of QCA also adds to its reliability; as QCA necessitates that the same set of steps are followed, it is a very systematic method, and as such, it is also reliable (ibid). Validity is equally important in QCA, and the study is considered valid to the extent that the coding frame captures the aspects indicated by the research question (Schreier, 2012, 35). This is why parts of the coding frame will be data-driven; to make sure the coding frame is sufficiently valid (ibid).

Furthermore, there is face validity which refers to “the extent to which your instrument gives the impression of measuring what it is supposed to measure” also called ‘WYSIWYG (what you see is what you get)’ (Schreier, 2012, 185). If there is low face validity for data-driven coding frames it often results in a high percentage of residual categories or high percentage of one subcategory compared to other subcategories (Schreier, 2012, 188). However, it is important to note that “High coding frequencies for one subcategory may simply reflect a corresponding distribution of themes in your material. This would be an empirical finding, not a reason to change your instrument” (Schreier, 2012, 188). I have high face validity considering that I have a very low frequency of residual categories and the high frequency of some subcategories is an empirical finding as it indicates which topics the newspapers write the most about and who the most or least cited sources and authors of the opinion texts are.

The significance of validity is also related to the debate over the types of inferences that can be drawn based on a QCA of the material. If it is an aim to say anything about the author, the situation in which the material was created, or what effect the material might have on the recipients, further evidence of validity is usually required (Schreier, 2012, 35). This is connected

to two contentious issues regarding validity: the first concerning manifest versus latent content, and the second, concerning what conclusions can be drawn from the analysis, how wide the scope of the conclusions can be (Schreier, 2012, 175). Schreier argues that applying QCA on data material “is no different from understanding indirect meaning in everyday situations. You will have to engage in more interpretation, and you may have to look at the context in more detail. But usually it is perfectly possible to arrive at a given meaning (...)” (2012, 178). The QCA in this study examine fairly manifest content, i.e. potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions presented in the selected Norwegian newspapers, whereas the more latent content, will have to be seen light of the contextual considerations and theories.

However, when it comes to drawing inferences “from the material to the social situation”, this needs to be bolster by arguments for why this is justified (Schreier, 2012, 181). When it comes to drawing inferences, I can interpret my findings according to the context it is written in (such as publication venue, profession of cited sources and journalistic genre for instance), and as such make some inferences as to the social situation, but I cannot and have not drawn any inferences regarding how the content will affect the recipients nor regarding the intent of the authors of news articles. The intent of opinion pieces are however evident as the author is specific about what cause the piece is promoting or arguing against.

My coding frame is considered reliable as the concept-driven categories (*Energy* and *Industry*) are based on the six-sector solution to the climate crisis as defined by the UNEP, as well as based on existing relevant literature and previous studies (*Justice*, *Just transition* and *Solidarity*). The coding frame has also been adapted to fit the data material through the data-driven categories (*Economy*, *Technology* and *Business*, as well as most sub-categories). The categories are created and defined to set out to capture what the research question specifies, and the coding frame is for that reason as well considered valid. In addition, the data material has been double-coded at two different points in time. Furthermore, I have discussed the material and categories with supervisor, text lab groups at SUM and with the Media and society research group at OsloMet, to ensure that the understanding of the interpretation of the material is not just my individual understanding, but is shared by others with similar cultural and professional background.

Ethics

Open-source material

As the data material consists of publicly available texts published through Norwegian newspapers, it is not necessary to seek permission to use the texts in this study (Grønmo, 176-177, 2016). When it comes to opinion pieces, some of them are written by private people to the newspapers, and they might not have intended for them to be used in texts analysis on a given topic at a later stage. However, opinion pieces when submitted to and published by publicly available newspapers are open-source material. Also, no names are mentioned throughout this thesis (apart from well-known politicians, experts or authors publicly vocal in climate change debates), as it is the topic they write about which are of primary interests. I therefore consider opinion texts to be in the same category as the news texts. Though I explore how potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are presented in the two Norwegian newspapers, it is not my aim to pass judgement on how they are presented, but to be able to give an overview of how this topic is presented and discuss the findings in light of the relevant context and theory.

Positioning and reflexivity

Similar to others, such as Ytterstad (2012), Gomez-Baggethun and Naredo (2015), Gomez-Baggethun (2022), Hickel (2020) and Tilsted et.al (2021) to mention but a few, this thesis is written based on the premise that given the current scientific empirical evidence, it is hard to argue for the sustainability of green growth despite its prevalence in society. However, even if I am not neutral about these issues I can be reflexive about my own positioning and biases, and I use strategies for managing my subjectivities. By acknowledging my own worldview I can suspend my initial judgements and seek out multiple points of view (O'Leary, 2021, 61-62, 66). This has been done through seeking out a broad variety of literature on both green growth and degrowth, and intersecting issues, exploring arguments from different perspectives (chapter 2). Furthermore, Ytterstad urges “researchers to be more forthcoming about the starting points of their analysis. This would make it easier for readers to separate out the researcher’s frames from the frames they find in research” (2012, 244). By being transparent about my position, and based on the reflection by Ytterstad, I aim to make it easier for readers to separate my views on these issues compared to those I have found in the data material through the QCA.

By being clear on the method behind the findings, I aim to present the findings as clearly and in as much detail as the QCA makes possible. Moreover, Ytterstad refers to the “importance

in reminding media scholars that all social and cultural research entails a double hermeneutics, always interpreting the interpretations of others” (Ytterstad, 2012, 80). This is relevant in connection to this thesis; examining presentations of measures to mitigate CO2 emissions in Norwegian newspapers, and interpreting the findings in light of green growth vs degrowth theories and journalistic perspectives. While I cannot make inferences to the intentions behind the analysed texts, it is worthwhile to explore what tendencies are visible in the data material regarding the battle over common sense in the media.

When it comes to qualitative research and reflexivity, this refers to both taking the research participants into account and how researchers to an extent co-produce their own data (Schreier, 2012, 31). As QCA on existing data material such as newspapers do not engage in data collection with live participants, it is the second part of reflexivity that is important; how the researcher affects the co-production of the data (ibid). Schreier points out that in order to consider the data material from various angles and overcome personal biases, it is usually best to discuss the material and coding with others (2012, 32). As I am the sole person working on this study, I have checked my categories with other students, teachers and with pre-existing defined categories as explained in connection to the validity of this study.

Limitations of the method

The search words ‘klima*’ (climate*) and ‘grønne skiftet’ (green shift) generated a large amount of data material. While QCA makes it possible to go through this in a systematic way and categorize the topics found in the material, the material leaves me with a single focus on Aftenposten and Klassekampen. I tried out at the beginning targeted search words such as ‘green transition’, ‘just transition’ and ‘renewable energy’ in addition to ‘green shift’ in the National Library for other newspapers such as Dagens Næringsliv, VG, Dagbladet and Bergens Tidende. The results indicate a more limited number of articles⁴⁷, and would have let me look at a greater variety of Norwegian newspapers. However, these search words are unlikely to generate texts that might contain system-critique connected to the climate crisis, such as the current economic system. I make this assumption based on trying out the search words ‘green transition’, ‘just transition’ and ‘renewable energy’ which in most cases in Aftenposten and Klassekampen were connected to potential measures related to energy and technology. Any critique of economic

⁴⁷ The total number might be higher in A-text, but I suspect the search words would still generate a lower number of texts.

growth connected to the climate crisis that I have been able to find is mainly located within texts generated from the search word 'klima*'.

The 'green shift' was chosen based on its prevalence in the Norwegian media (chapter 3) and was therefore considered too important to not use, though it might be argued that it would have been sufficient to focus on this search word only. However, if I was to drop the search word 'klima*', I would lose many of the insights connected to where critique of green growth is to be found – and where it is not. I also tried out at the beginning search words such as 'capitalism', 'consumption' or 'economic system'. However, the texts that I have found that contain a critique of these aspects are not consistent in the terms they apply which makes it difficult to do targeted searches for economic growth critique connected to the climate crisis without going through the search word 'klima*'. While I 'only' focus on two Norwegian newspapers, they are relevant to focus on for the reasons noted earlier in this chapter. Moreover, the collected data material gives a thorough insight into how potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are presented in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, how (genres), and by whom (author and/or cited sources).

Summary

This study employs Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA – as presented by Schreier, 2012) which makes it possible to go through the data material consisting of 483 texts in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, reduce it and present it through categories based on the themes located within the texts. The QCA in this study makes use of both a concept and data-driven strategy. The concept-driven categories are based on determined climate solutions (UNEP), as well as previous research and relevant literature. The coding-frame was created through the process of going through the data material based on the concept-driven categories and developing the data-driven categories based on what is to be found in the material, trying it out (piloting), adapting it further (main categories worked, but sub-categories were modified), before conducting the main coding (4.11.2021). Being the only coder, I went through the material a second time (9.12.2021) to ensure consistency. Based on the QCA, I will discuss my findings with emphasis on context (chapter 2-5), as context is of particular importance when doing a QCA. Without the proper understanding of the socio-historical context, the findings will not make much sense, and can be interpreted wrongly. Also, through various studies, context has been emphasized as an important aspect to pay attention to when studying climate change and the media. The next chapter presents the findings, before the findings will be discussed in chapter 8.

7 Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the QCA by going through the sub-questions derived from the main research question (see page 17 in chapter 1 Introduction).

Which potential measures to mitigate CO₂-emissions are presented, in what genre and by whom?

As presented in the Methods chapter the final analysed data material comprised of:

Newspaper	Data material on the search word grønne skiftet (green shift)
Aftenposten 2021	55 texts
Klassekampen 2021	93 texts
Sum	148 texts
Newspaper	Data material on the search word klima* (climate*)
Aftenposten 2021	148 texts
Klassekampen 2021	187 texts
Sum	335 texts
Total number of analysed texts	483 texts

Table 7. Analysed data set deriving from the search words green shift and climate*.

Potential measures and genres

The mentioning of potential measures to mitigate CO₂ emissions in the two newspapers Aftenposten and Klassekampen, as presented in texts resulting from searching climate* and green shift, respectively, were divided into three main categories: *Energy and technology*, *Economy*, and *Industry and business*. Each of the categories has sub-categories, which were developed through the process of analysis (see tables below for subcategories, full list of graphs can be found in the appendix). As noted in the Methods chapter the analysed genres consist of:

News	Opinions
News notice	Editorial
News article	Commentary editorial
News reportage	Commentary external contributor
Background article	Op-eds
Feature	Letter to the newspaper
Interview	
Portrait interview	

Table 8. Analysed news and opinion genres.

Climate*

Overall, the findings for both newspapers show that the largest portion of potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions is found in the genre News (news articles, hard news). A noticeable exception is the sub-category *Perspectives on rethinking the economy* (under *Economy*), which is where critique of the sustainability economic growth is to be located. These critical perspectives make up only a small part of the data material (2% of the total number of analysed texts in Aftenposten, and 16% in Klassekampen), and are located almost solely in the Opinions genre (see more on this under the section *Economy*).

Energy and technology

Fossil energy was the largest sub-category in the data material (41% of total texts on *climate** in Aftenposten and 35% in Klassekampen), with the largest emphasis on *Oil*, in both news genres and opinions genres, for both newspapers. Aftenposten and Klassekampen has fairly even amount of news coverage on this topic. While *Oil and gas* are covered at times together, *Gas* and *Coal* have relatively little coverage in either genre. Regarding the news genre in connection to *Oil*, the News article (hard news) figure the most prominently, with 19 news articles in Aftenposten and 23 in Klassekampen. News notice, Interview or Background article are the other genres represented under News here (for details on exact genres see appendix). On Opinions, in Aftenposten there is a fairly even balance between editorial content (five) and external contributions (seven; op-eds and letters to the newspaper), while Klassekampen has a greater portion of external contributions on the subject of oil compared to editorial content (25 external contributions vs two editorial commentaries; see appendix).

Aftenposten 2021

Fossil energy	News	Opinions	Total
Oil	22	12	34
Oil and gas	7	15	22
Gas	2	0	2
Coal	2	1	3
Sum fossil energy	33	28	61
Total coverage Aftenposten	85	63	148

Klassekampen 2021

Fossil energy	News	Opinions	Total
Oil	32	27	59
Oil and gas	1	2	3
Gas	2	0	2
Coal	0	1	1
Sum fossil energy	35	30	65
Total coverage Klassekampen	75	112	187

Share of coverage %	39%	44%	41%
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Table 9. Coverage of Fossile energy in Aftenposten 2021 climate*. Findings presented in total numbers except under share of coverage.

Share of coverage %	47%	28%	35%
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Table 10. Coverage of Fossile energy in Klassekampen 2021 climate*

Renewable energy and technology come in second (32 % of total texts on *climate** in Aftenposten and 29% in Klassekampen) regarding the amount of coverage. Both Aftenposten and Klassekampen give the topic fairly the same amount of attention, though there are differences in which aspects of this subject the newspapers emphasize. Aftenposten have more coverage of *Renewable energy and technology* in general, *CCS* and *Nuclear energy*, while there was only one news article and one opinion piece on *Windmills*, and neither news articles nor opinion pieces on *Offshore windfarms*⁴⁸. In the case of Klassekampen, the coverage of topics is quite different. The three largest sub-categories covered are *Electrification of the oil and gas platforms*, *Offshore windfarms* and *Renewable energy and technology*, with *Windmills* coming in fourth. Klassekampen covers *Nuclear energy*, though all the texts are opinion pieces. Regarding *CCS*, *Batteries* and *Biogas*, there are no texts in Klassekampen, while *Biogas* is the fifth largest sub-category in Aftenposten.

Aftenposten 2021

Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions	Total
Renewable energy and technology in general	6	4	10
Carbon capture storage (CCS)	7	1	8
Nuclear energy	3	4	7
Biogas	6	0	6
Solar energy	4	0	4
Mineral- and metal extraction	2	0	2
Hydrogen	1	1	2

Klassekampen 2021

Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions	Total
Electrification of the oil and gas platforms	6	5	11
Offshore windfarms	2	8	10
Renewable energy and technology in general	2	7	9
Windmills	6	3	9
Nuclear energy	0	9	9
Mineral- and metal extraction	3	1	4
Hydrogen	0	1	1

⁴⁸ This seems a bit odd, but there is the possibility that Aftenposten writes about offshore windmills without connecting them to the terms climate or the green shift.

Electrification of the oil and gas platforms	0	4	4
Batteries	2	0	2
Windmills	1	1	2
Offshore windfarms	0	0	0
Sum Renewable energy and technology	32	15	47
Total coverage Aftenposten	85	63	148
Share of coverage %	38%	24%	32%

Table 11. Coverage of Renewable energy and technology in Aftenposten 2021 climate*.

Solar energy	1	0	1
Carbon capture storage (CCS)	0	0	0
Batteries	0	0	0
Biogas	0	0	0
Sum Renewable energy and technology	20	34	54
Total coverage Klassekampen	75	112	187
Share of coverage %	27%	30%	29%

Table 12. Coverage of Renewable energy and technology in Klassekampen 2021 climate*.

Economy

Economy is the third largest category (21 % of total texts on *climate** in Aftenposten and 26% in Klassekampen). Here Klassekampen has overall more coverage than Aftenposten. Both newspapers emphasize *Climate funding* (funds to potential measures to mitigate climate change) and *The role of investments* (to boost such potential measures). The most striking difference between the two newspapers is found in this category (*Economy*). The largest sub-category for Aftenposten is *The role of the state* in promoting potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, though for Klassekampen the largest sub-category is *Perspectives on rethinking the economy*, with 28 texts in total, or 15% of the total coverage related to *climate** in Klassekampen (Figure 7). These texts question the sustainability of economic growth in the face of the climate crisis, and 23 of these texts are Opinions. Two of them are editorial commentaries, while the subsequent 22 are either op-eds or letters to the newspapers. The five news articles consist of two background articles, one interview and two portrait interviews (soft news). Aftenposten on the other hand have three opinion pieces critical of economic growth, consisting of two op-eds and one letter to the newspaper and no texts in the genre of News. While Aftenposten have some news articles on *Climate budgets* and *Climate taxes*, and one opinion text, Klassekampen have no texts on *Climate budgets*, but do have six texts related to *Climate taxes*, all of which concerning whether oil taxes would contribute to lower emissions or not.

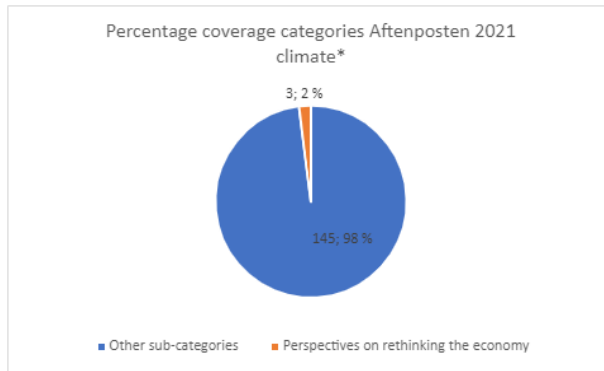


Figure 6. Percentage coverage categories Aftenposten 2021 climate*.

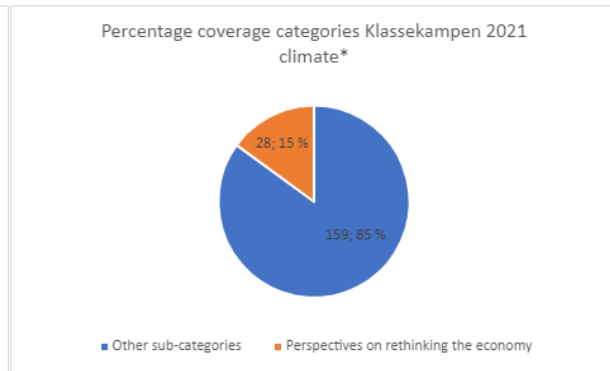


Figure 7. Percentage coverage categories Klassekampen 2021 climate*.

Aftenposten 2021

Economy	News	Opinions	Total
The role of the state	2	5	7
Climate funding	2	4	6
The role of investments	4	2	6
Climate budgets	5	0	5
Climate taxes	3	1	4
Perspectives on rethinking the economy	0	3	3
Sum Economy	16	15	31
Total coverage Aftenposten	85	63	148
Share of coverage %	19%	24%	21%

Table 13. Coverage of Economy in Aftenposten 2021 climate*.

Klassekampen 2021

Economy	News	Opinions	Total
Perspectives on rethinking the economy	5	23	28
Climate taxes	6	0	6
The role of investments	2	3	5
The role of the state	0	5	5
Climate funding	1	3	4
Climate budgets	0	0	0
Sum Economy	14	34	48
Total coverage Klassekampen	75	112	187
Share of coverage %	19%	30%	26%

Table 14. Coverage of Economy in Klassekampen 2021 climate*.

Industry and business

Industry and business has less coverage than the other two main categories (6 % of total texts on climate* in Aftenposten and 11% in Klassekampen), though Klassekampen covers this topic to a larger extent than Aftenposten. However, it is the sub-category of *Industry* which is covered mostly in Klassekampen, though mostly through the Opinions genre (external contributors), *Business* is covered to quite a lesser degree compared to *Industry*. Neither *Industry* nor *Business* is covered much in Aftenposten in connection to mitigate CO2 emissions, though here as well *Industry* is given a bit more attention than *Business*.

Aftenposten 2021

Industry and business	News	Opinions	Total
Industry	3	3	6
Business	1	2	3
Sum Industry and business	4	5	9
Total coverage	85	63	148
Share of coverage %	5%	8%	6%

Table 15. Coverage of Industry and business in Aftenposten 2021 climate*.

Klassekampen 2021

Industry and business	News	Opinions	Total
Industry	6	11	17
Business	0	3	3
Sum Industry and business	6	14	20
Total coverage	75	112	187
Share of coverage %	8%	12%	11%

Table 16. Coverage of Industry and business in Klassekampen 2021 climate*.

Green shift

Potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions are also covered through the concept of the green shift, but to a smaller extent than the texts connected to climate. There is also some variation in how the sub-categories are covered. However, also for the green shift, *Energy and technology* is the largest category, followed by *Economy*, and *Industry and business*. Moreover, and similar to the data material generated by the search word climate*, the sub-category *Perspectives on rethinking the economy* comprises only a small part (5% of the total coverage in Aftenposten, and 9% in Klassekampen, and mostly found in the Opinions genre, with a few exceptions of texts within the genre of soft news (see more under *Economy* below).

Energy and technology

Opposed to the findings related to climate*, the texts connected to the green shift has **Renewable energy and technology** as the largest category, consisting of 38% of total coverage for Aftenposten and 40% of total coverage for Klassekampen. Here *Renewable energy and technology in general* is the largest sub-category in Aftenposten (as was the case when searching climate*), though *Mineral- and metal extraction* comes in as second in this context. While *CCS* was the second largest sub-category in connection to climate*, here it is only covered by one news article, which is the case for many of the sub-categories (see table below). Klassekampen also has the most coverage in the general sub-category for renewable energy, though this consists of more Opinion texts (six external, one editorial commentary) than News. While *Offshore windfarms* and *Windmills* are hardly covered by Aftenposten, these are the second and third largest sub-category in Klassekampen, for the most part consisting of News; news articles (hard

news). *Mineral- and metal extraction* is also covered to by Klassekampen to fairly the same extent as Aftenposten, though Aftenposten only have News related to this (three news articles, one news reportage), while Klassekampen has one news article and two news reportage, as well as two letters to the newspaper on the subject. *CCS, Solar energy, Biogas* and *Batteries* are not covered by Klassekampen at all, though Aftenposten has a few texts on these topics (see table below), while none on *Electrification of the oil and gas platforms*.

Aftenposten 2021

Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions	Total
Renewable energy and technology in general	5	4	9
Mineral- and metal extraction	4	0	4
Carbon capture storage (CCS)	1	0	1
Windmills	1	0	1
Batteries	1	0	1
Hydrogen	1	0	1
Biogas	1	0	1
Nuclear energy	0	1	1
Offshore windfarms	1	0	1
Solar energy	1	0	1
Electrification of the oil and gas platforms	0	0	0
Sum Renewable energy and technology	16	5	21
Total coverage Aftenposten	34	21	55
Share of coverage %	47%	24%	38%

Klassekampen 2021

Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions	Total
Renewable energy and technology in general	3	7	10
Offshore windfarms	6	2	8
Windmills	8	0	8
Mineral- and metal extraction	3	2	5
Nuclear energy	0	3	3
Electrification of the oil and gas platforms	1	1	2
Hydrogen	1	0	1
Carbon capture storage (CCS)	0	0	0
Solar energy	0	0	0
Biogas	0	0	0
Batteries	0	0	0
Sum Renewable energy and technology	22	15	37
Total coverage Klassekampen	50	43	93
Share of coverage %	44%	35%	40%

Table 17. Coverage of Renewable energy and technology in Aftenposten green shift.

Table 18. Coverage of Renewable energy and technology in 2021 Klassekampen 2021 green shift.

In connection to the green shift, **Fossil energy** is the second largest sub-category for Aftenposten (25% of total coverage), while it is the third largest sub-category for Klassekampen (17% of total coverage), which is noticeable different from the findings related to climate*. While the sub-category *Oil* is emphasized the most in Aftenposten, Klassekampen has the most coverage of the sub-category of *Oil and gas*, with the greatest emphasis on News articles (10 out of 11, the remaining being news notice). Aftenposten however has more Opinions, equally shared between editorial content and external contributors. Klassekampen has no coverage of *Gas* and *Coal*, and Aftenposten has only one news reportage and one op-ed on *Coal*, with no coverage of *Gas*.

Aftenposten2021

Klassekampen 2021

Fossil energy	News	Opinions	Total
Oil	4	6	10
Oil and gas	0	2	2
Gas	0	0	0
Coal	1	1	2
Sum Fossil energy	5	9	14
Total coverage Aftenposten	34	21	55
Share of coverage %	15%	43%	25%

Table 19. Coverage of Fossil energy in Aftenposten 2021 green shift.

Fossil energy	News	Opinions	Total
Oil and gas	10	2	12
Oil	1	3	4
Gas	0	0	0
Coal	0	0	0
Sum Fossil energy	11	5	16
Total coverage Klassekampen	50	43	93
Share of coverage %	22%	12%	17%

Table 20. Coverage of Fossil energy in Klassekampen 2021 green shift.

Economy

In connection to the green shift, and opposed to the findings related to climate*, the category of **Economy** is the second largest category for Klassekampen (28% of total coverage), while it is the third largest category for Aftenposten (20% of total coverage). *The role of investments* to promote the green shift (to mitigate CO2 emissions) is the largest subcategory for both newspapers, though the total number of texts is not large (see tables below). The second largest sub-category, again for both newspapers, is *Perspectives on rethinking the economy* to mitigate CO2 emissions. Aftenposten have one news article and one news reportage on this subject, the news article here emphasizes the viewpoint of the cited source (former politician) that there is no

contention between the environment and a growing economy, and the news reportage focus on the sustainability of circular economy, while the one letter to the newspaper advocates the need for a fundamental shift in the economy for the green shift to be sustainable. In the case of Klassekampen’s eight opinion pieces in this category, they are all critical of the sustainability of economic growth and written by external contributors. Furthermore, *The role of the state* is the third largest sub-category in Klassekampen, mostly covered by opinion pieces, while Aftenposten have no coverage of this in connection to the green shift, though it was the largest sub-category in connection to climate and *Economy*. None of the newspapers have coverage on *Climate budgets* in this context.

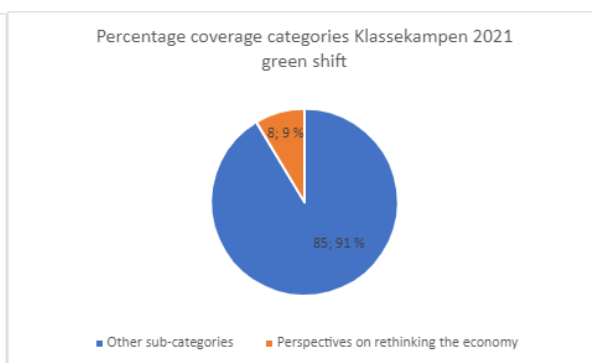
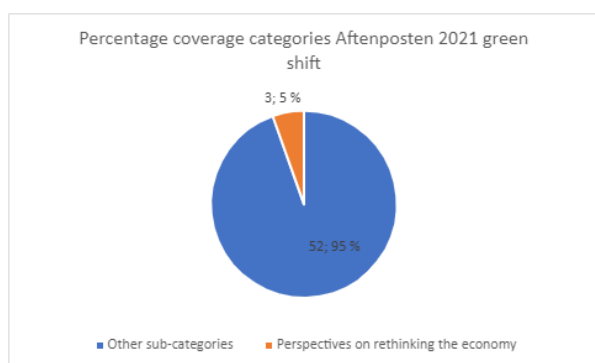


Figure 8. Percentage coverage categories Aftenposten 2021 green shift. Figure 9. Percentage coverage categories Klassekampen 2021 green shift

Aftenposten 2021

Economy	News	Opinions	Total
The role of investments	4	1	5
Perspectives on rethinking the economy	2	1	3
The role of the state	2	0	2
Climate funding	1	0	1
Climate budgets	0	0	0
Climate taxes	0	0	0
Sum Economy	9	2	11
Total coverage Aftenposten	34	21	55

Klassekampen 2021

Economy	News	Opinions	Total
The role of investments	6	3	9
Perspectives on rethinking the economy	0	8	8
The role of the state	1	5	6
Climate taxes	2	1	3
Climate funding	0	0	0
Climate budgets	0	0	0
Sum Economy	9	17	26
Total coverage Klassekampen	50	43	93

Share of coverage %	26%	9%	20%
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Table 21. Coverage of Economy in Aftenposten 2021 green shift.

Share of coverage %	18%	39%	28%
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Table 22 Coverage of Economy in Klassekampen 2021 green shift.

Industry and Business

When it comes to **Industry and business** in connection to the green shift (16% of total coverage in Aftenposten and 15% of total coverage in Klassekampen), Aftenposten has more coverage than they did in the context of climate*, and mostly through News (to news articles and to news notice; hard news). This is mostly located in the sub-category *Business*, while *Industry* has little coverage. Klassekampen however, has more emphasis on *Industry*, mostly through News (five news articles and one news notice; hard news), while the coverage of *Business* is fairly similar to the amount of coverage connected to climate, though with two news articles (hard news) in this context in addition to the Opinions.

Aftenposten 2021

Industry and business	News	Opinions	Total
Business	3	4	7
Industry	1	1	2
Sum Industry and business	4	5	9
Total coverage Aftenposten	34	21	55
Share of coverage %	12%	24%	16%

Table 23. Coverage of Industry and business in Aftenposten 2021 green shift.

Klassekampen 2021

Industry and business	News	Opinions	Total
Industry	6	3	9
Business	2	3	5
Sum Industry and business	8	6	14
Total coverage Klassekampen	50	43	93
Share of coverage %	16%	14%	15%

Table 24. Coverage of Industry and business in Klassekampen 2021 green shift.

By whom: Who do the cited sources represent?

Climate*

Overall, for both newspapers, *Politicians* are by far the most cited sources of texts both within the News genre and Opinions genre (see graphs below). *Politicians* (both as cited sources and authors of opinion pieces) amount to 125 in total numbers in Aftenposten and 121 in Klassekampen. In Aftenposten, the second and largest categories overall are *Public spokespeople* and *Environmental or climate organisations*, though they only amount to 26 each out of the total number of cited sources/authors. In Klassekampen, *Private people* and *Researchers (other than*

climate or environmental field) are overall the second and third largest categories. However, similar to Aftenposten, they only amount to 28 each out of the total number of cited sources/authors (see graphs in appendix for percentages).

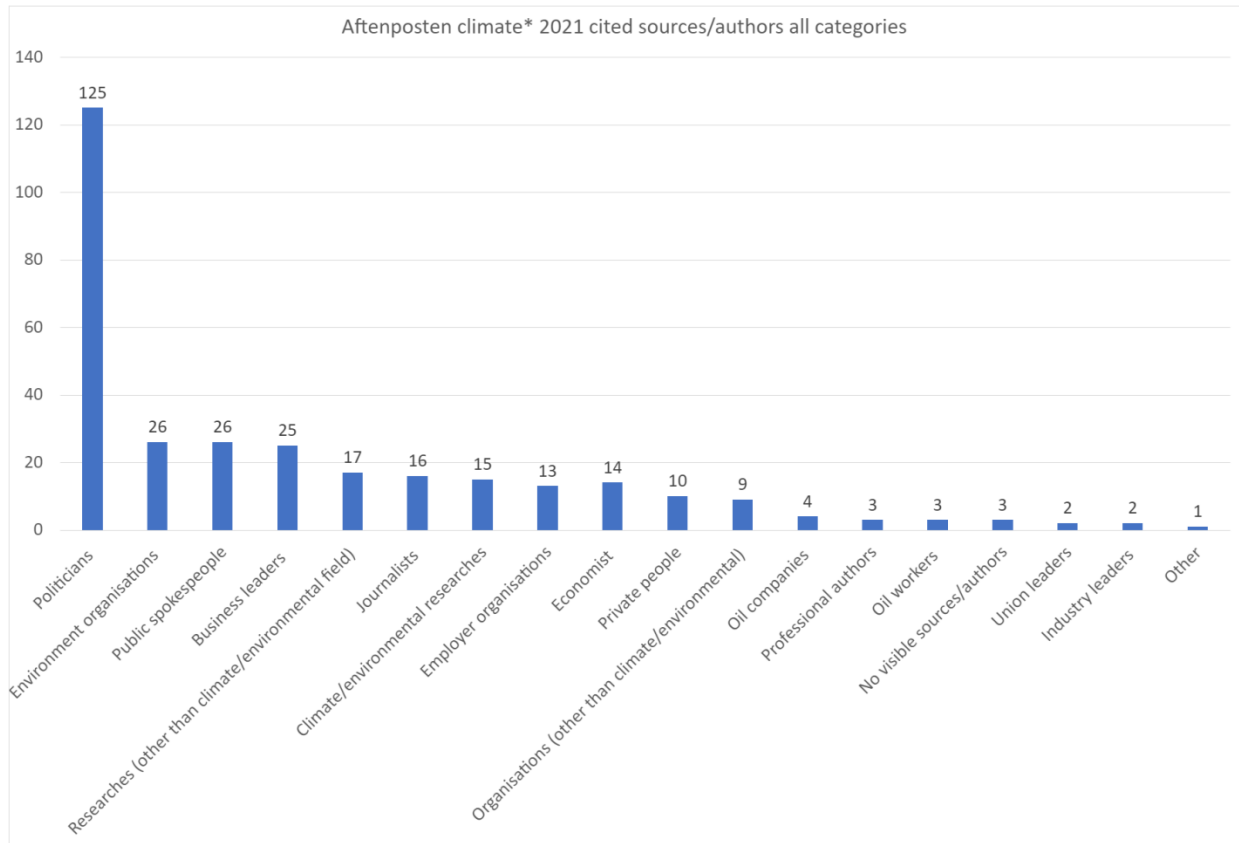


Figure 10. Aftenposten climate* cited sources/authors in all categories 2021. Graph depicting total numbers.

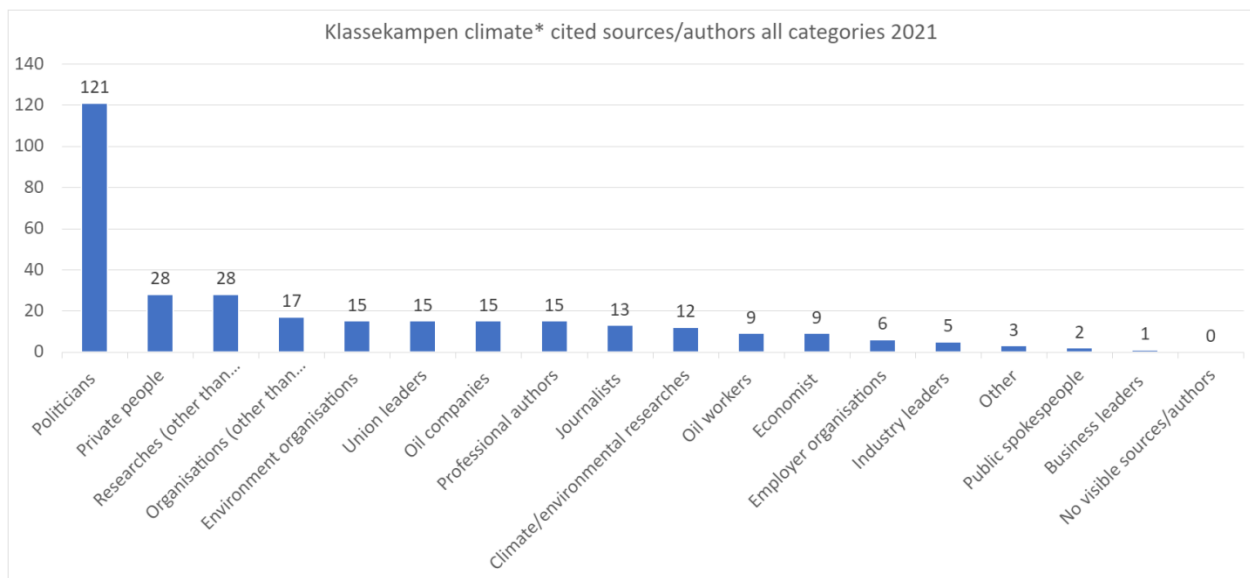


Figure 11. Klassekampen climate* cited sources/authors in all categories 2021. Graph depicting total numbers.

Energy and technology

When it comes to the category of **Fossil energy** Aftenposten have by far the highest number of *Politicians* as cited sources, 57 compared to 25 in Klassekampen (see tables below). The second largest category in Aftenposten is however *Environmental or climate organisations*, though quite a bit less than the category of *Politicians*, with 10 cited sources. Klassekampen on the other hand has *Oil workers* as the second largest category, though much less than *Politicians* and not as cited sources, but as authors of opinions pieces (8). These are either former oil workers advocating for a transition away from the oil industry, or in the case of the one cited source, an oil worker wanting out of the oil industry due to the CO2 emissions. *Environmental and climate organisations* is the third largest category in Klassekampen, but both the second and third largest category are far smaller than the category of *Politicians*. The third largest category in Aftenposten is *Business leaders*, though this category is also much smaller compared to the category of *Politicians*, and for the most part found as authors of opinion pieces.

Aftenposten 2021 Climate* Cited sources/Authors Fossil energy	News	Opinions
Politicians	57	8
Environmental/climate organisations	10	2
Business leaders	2	7
Journalists	0	7
Employer organisations	5	1
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	5	0
Climate/environmental researchers	1	4
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	1	4
Economist	2	0
Private people	1	3
Union leaders	2	0
Oil companies	2	0
Professional authors	0	1
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other*	1	0

Klassekampen 2021 Climate* Cited sources/Authors Fossil energy	News	Opinions
Politicians	25	10
Oil workers * **	1	8
Private people	0	8
Environmental/climate organisations	3	3
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	3	3
Climate/environmental researchers	1	4
Oil companies	4	1
Employer organisations	4	0
Economist	2	1
Professional authors	1	2
Journalists	0	2
Union leaders	2	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	1	0
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	1	1
Industry leaders	0	0
Business leaders	0	0
Other	0	0

No visible sources/authors	1	0
Sum cited sources/authors Fossil energy	90	37

Table 25. Aftenposten 2021 climate* cited sources/authors fossil energy

No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Fossil energy	48	43

Table 26. Klassekampen 2021 climate* cited sources/authors fossil energy

* Geologist thinking of wanting out of oil Business leaders

** Former oil workers; engineers, geologist, analytics

With **Renewable energy**, the category of *Politicians* is also the largest category for both newspapers, though here Klassekampen has a slightly higher number of cited sources (30) compared to Aftenposten (23), though they are not the authors of many opinion pieces within the category of *Renewable energy*. The second largest category in Aftenposten is *Business leaders*, which is here used to a larger extent as cited sources compared to the category of *Fossil energy*, though quite a bit less than the category of *Politicians*. The third largest category is tie between the category of *Climate and environmental researchers* and *Researchers in another field than climate or the environment*. In the case of Klassekampen, the second largest category is *Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)*, though the majority is to be located as authors of opinion pieces, 11 compared to three cited sources in news articles. The third largest category in Klassekampen in this regard is *Journalists*, as the authors of editorial commentaries on renewable energy issues.

Aftenposten 2021 Climate* Cited sources/Authors Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions
Politicians	23	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	14	1
Business leaders	6	4
Climate/environmental researchers	4	5
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	3	6
Journalists	0	5
Private people	3	2
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	3	0
Oil workers *	3	0
Oil companies	2	0
Industry leaders	2	0
Economist	0	1
Environmental/climate organisations	1	0

Klassekampen 2021 Climate* Cited sources/Authors Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions
Politicians	30	5
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	3	11
Journalists	0	6
Environmental/climate organisations	1	4
Climate/environmental researchers	2	3
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	4	2
Private people	0	9
Industry leaders	3	0
Union leaders	3	0
Oil companies	1	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	1	0
Economist	0	0
Professional authors	0	0

Professional authors	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Employer organisations	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/Authors	1	0
Sum cited sources/authors Renewable energy and technology	29	19

Table 27. *Aftenposten 2021 climate* cited sources/authors renewable energy and technology*

Employer organisations	0	0
Business leaders	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other *	2	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Renewable energy and technology	50	40

Table 28. *Klassekampen 2021 climate* cited sources/authors renewable energy and technology.*

* Engineers, previous, now in other 'green' business.

Economy

When it comes to cited sources and authors in the category of **Economy**, *Politicians* are here as well the largest category, though to a far greater extent in *Aftenposten*, 29 cited sources, than *Klassekampen*, 8, though here too they are mostly present as cited sources in News. The second largest category for *Aftenposten* here is *Economist*, though to a much lesser extent than the category of *Politicians*. The third largest category is *Public spokespeople*, though it is a tie with *Organisations (other than climate or environmental)*, with *Public spokespeople* being more used as cited sources, while *Organisations* are to a greater extent the authors of Opinions. The numbers here however are not large (see table below). In the case of *Klassekampen*, the largest category of *Politicians* is tie with the category of *Professional authors* which is interesting considering the main category here is *Economy*. However, this must be seen in connection with how the critique of economic growth is to be found within the sub-category of *Perspectives on rethinking the economy*. The third largest category in *Klassekampen* is *Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)*, however, only as authors of Opinions. Another notable difference between *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* regarding cited sources and authors within the category of *Economy*, is how *Aftenposten* has far more sources/authors within the News genre compared to *Klassekampen* (45 vs 17), while *Klassekampen* has by far more sources/authors within the Opinions genre than *Aftenposten* (39 vs 19).

Aftenposten 2021 Climate* Cited sources/Authors Economy	News	Opinions
Politicians	29	1
Economist	7	4
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	6	0
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	2	4

Klassekampen Climate* Cited sources/Authors Economy	News	Opinions
Politicians	8	3
Professional authors	4	7
Researchers (not climate or environmental field)	0	8
Private people	2	6

Business leaders	0	3
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	2
Journalists	0	2
Climate/environmental researchers	0	1
Professional authors	0	1
Private people	0	1
Environmental/climate organisations	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Employer organisations	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	1	0
Sum cited sources/authors Economy	45	19

Journalists	1	4
Organisations (not climate or environmental)	0	5
Economist	0	4
Climate/environmental researchers	0	2
Business leaders	1	0
Environmental/climate organisations	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Employer organisations	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/municipality, UN or similar)	0	0
Other	1	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Economy	17	39

Table 29. *Aftenposten 2021 climate* cited sources/authors economy.* Table 30. *Klassekampen 2021 climate* cited sources/authors economy.*

Industry and business

In *Aftenposten* the most frequent type of cited sources/authors is *Employer organisations* (such as NHO) as cited sources (7) in news articles, with the category of *Business leaders* and *Politicians* coming up tie as the second largest category. However, the numbers are quite low, three for each of them, as cited sources in news articles. The third largest category in *Aftenposten* is then *Journalists*, as authors of editorial commentaries, though only two. In *Klassekampen*, however, the largest category is that of *Union leaders* (organisations for workers), closely followed by *Politicians*, and then *Environmental or climate organisations* coming in third, but to a much smaller degree than the previous two categories. All three of these categories are found fairly evenly between the News and Opinions genre, though the total numbers are not large (see table below).

Aftenposten 2021 Climate*		
Cited sources/Authors Industry and business	News	Opinions
Employer organisations	7	0
Business leaders	3	0
Politicians	3	0
Journalists	0	2

Klassekampen 2021 Climate*		
Cited sources/Authors Industry and business	News	Opinions
Union leaders	6	4
Politicians	4	5
Environmental/climate organisations	2	2
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	1	3

Professional authors	0	1
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	1	0
Climate or environmental researchers	0	0
Economist	0	0
Environmental or climate organisations	0	0
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	0	0
Private people	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers *	0	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Industry and business	14	3

Table 31. *Aftenposten* 2021 climate* cited sources/authors industry and business.

Private people	0	3
Industry leaders	0	2
Employer organisations	1	1
Professional authors	0	1
Climate or environmental researchers	0	0
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	0
Economist	0	0
Journalists	0	0
Business leaders	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Industry and business	14	21

Table 32. *Klassekampen* 2021 climate* cited sources/authors industry and business.

Green shift

Overall, the use of cited sources or presence of authors in connection to the green shift within the categories of *Energy and technology*, *Economy*, and *Industry and business* is fairly similar as in connection to climate*. *Politicians* are by far the most frequently cited sources in both *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, though the total numbers are higher in *Klassekampen*, 53 compared to 36 in *Aftenposten*. *Business leaders* and *Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)* are overall the second and third largest categories in *Aftenposten*, which is a contrast to *Klassekampen* where *Union leaders* and *Private people* are the second and third largest categories (see graphs below). However, it should be noted in regards to the number of *Private people* counted in the coverage in *Klassekampen*, that four of these are cited sources in *News*, while the remaining 11 are the authors of *Opinions*.

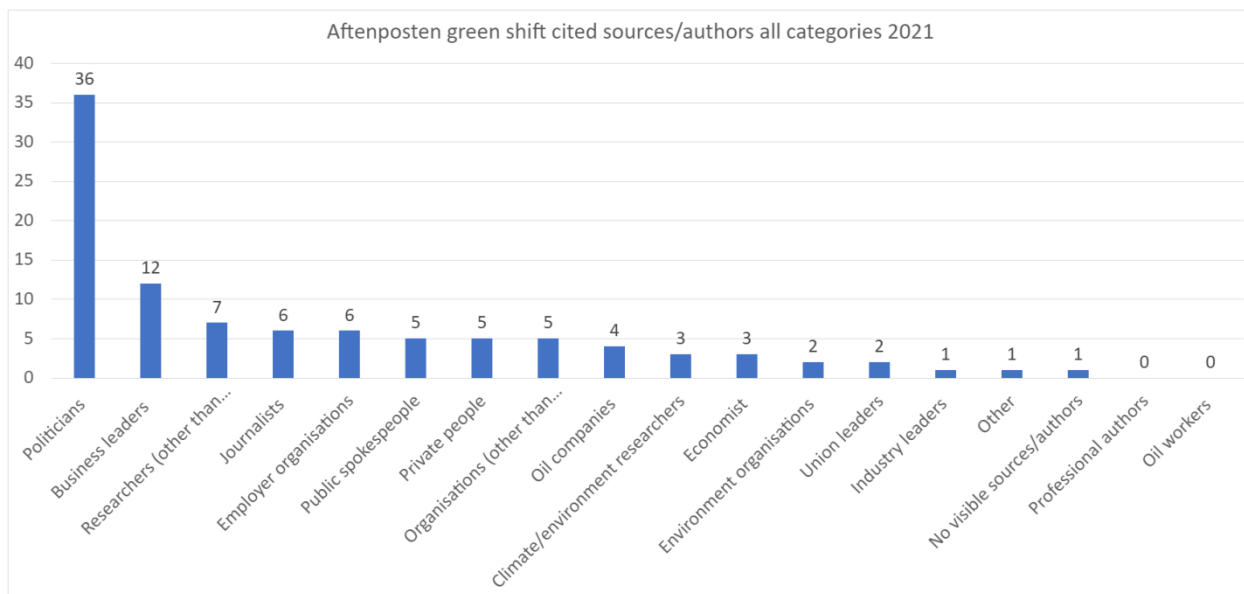


Figure 12. Aftenposten green shift cited sources/authors all categories 2021. Graph depicting total numbers.

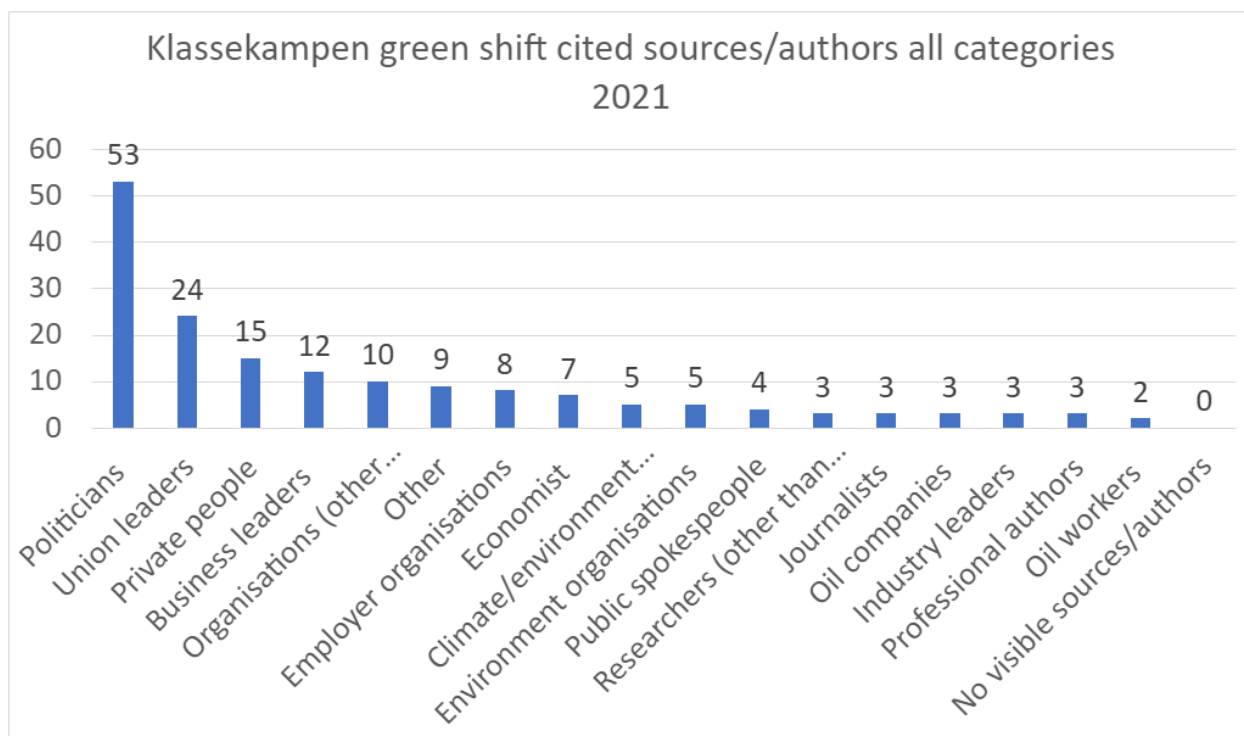


Figure 13. Klassekampen green shift cited sources/authors all categories 2021. Graph depicting total numbers.

Energy and technology

Within **Fossil energy** connected to the green shift, the category of *Politicians* are the largest category in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, though here to a much larger extent as cited sources in Klassekampen, 18, compared to Aftenposten, 8. The second largest category of

Aftenposten is *Journalists*, including editorial commentaries, followed by *Private people* coming in tie with *Climate or environmental researchers*, though the numbers are not high. In Klassekampen, the second largest category is *Union leaders* as cited sources followed by *Oil workers*, though the total numbers are not high (see table below).

Aftenposten 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Fossil energy	News	Opinions
Politicians	8	0
Journalists	0	4
Private people	3	0
Climate/environmental researchers	0	3
Business leaders	2	0
Environmental/climate organisations	1	0
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	1
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	0	1
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	1	0
Economist	0	0
Professional authors	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Employer organisations	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Fossil energy	15	9

Table 33. Aftenposten 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors fossil energy.

Klassekampen 2021 green shift Cited sources/Authors Fossil energy	News	Opinions
Politicians	18	3
Union leaders	4	0
Oil workers *	2	0
Employer organisations	2	0
Business leaders	1	0
Oil companies	1	0
Climate/environmental researchers	0	1
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	1
Private people	0	1
Economist	0	0
Environmental/climate organisations	0	0
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	0	0
Journalists	0	0
Professional authors	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	0	0
Other **	3	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Fossil energy	31	6

Table 34. Klassekampen 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors fossil energy.

* Former oil workers

** Priests or involved in the church

Regarding **Renewable energy** in connection to the green shift, both Aftenposten and Klassekampen have *Politicians* as the largest category as cited sources, with 13 in Aftenposten (and one as authors of Opinions) and 21 in Klassekampen. The second largest categories in Aftenposten and Klassekampen are here in contrast to each other, with *Business leaders* being the second largest category in Aftenposten (nine cited sources) and *Union leaders* (14 cited

sources) in Klassekampen. *Public spokespeople* is the third largest category in Aftenposten, while the category of *Business leaders* is the third largest in Klassekampen.

Aftenposten 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions
Politicians	13	1
Business leaders	9	1
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	4	0
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	3	2
Private people	2	0
Environmental or climate organisations	0	1
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	1	0
Industry leaders	1	0
Employer organisations	1	0
Economist	0	0
Climate or environmental researchers	0	0
Journalists	0	0
Professional authors	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other *	1	0
No visible sources/authors	1	0
Sum cited sources/authors Renewable energy and technology	36	5

Table 35. Aftenposten 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors renewable energy and technology.

Klassekampen 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Renewable energy and technology	News	Opinions
Politicians	21	0
Union leaders	14	0
Business leaders	7	2
Private people	4	5
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	3	2
Professional authors	1	2
Industry leaders	2	1
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	2	0
Environmental/climate organisations	2	0
Journalists	0	2
Climate/environmental researchers	1	1
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	1
Economist	1	0
Employer organisations	1	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other *	5	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Renewable energy and technology	64	16

Table 36 Klassekampen 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors renewable energy and technology.

* Expert, engineer, attorney, and members of Church council.

Economy

When it comes to cited sources and authors within the category of **Economy**, Aftenposten has the category of *Politicians* as the largest category, mostly as cited sources, while Klassekampen has the category of *Economist* as the largest category, followed by *Politicians* and *Private people* coming in tie and the category of *Organisations (other than climate or environmental)* as the third largest category, though the numbers here are not high (see table below). This change in

cited sources and authors compared to the findings related to climate* could be seen in connection to how the sub-category of *Perspectives on rethinking the economy* (which is where critique of economic growth is present) was larger here compared to the findings related to the green shift. In Aftenposten, the second largest category is the category of *Economist*, followed by the category of *Oil companies*, though the numbers are not high (see table below).

Aftenposten 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Economy	News	Opinions
Politicians	6	1
Economist	3	0
Oil companies	3	0
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	1
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	1	0
Climate or environmental researchers	0	0
Environmental or climate organisations	0	0
Journalists	0	0
Professional authors	0	0
Private people	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Union leaders	0	0
Employer organisations	0	0
Business leaders	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Economy	13	2

Table 37. Aftenposten 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors economy.

Klassekampen 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Economy	News	Opinions
Economist	2	3
Private people	0	5
Politicians	3	1
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	1	4
Environmental/climate organisations	1	1
Oil companies	2	0
Union leaders	1	0
Climate/environmental researchers	0	1
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	1
Journalists	0	1
Employer organisations	1	0
Business leaders	1	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	1	0
Professional authors	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other *	1	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Economy	14	17

Table 38. Klassekampen 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors economy.

Industry and business

As for cited sources and authors within the category of **Industry and business** connected to the green shift, both Aftenposten and Klassekampen have *Politicians* as the largest category, followed by *Employer organisations* being the second largest for Aftenposten, with the categories of *Organisations (other than climate or environmental)* and *Journalists* coming in

third. In Klassekampen, *Union leaders* and *Employer organisations* are the second largest categories, with *Climate or environmental researchers*, *Public spokespeople* and *Economist* coming in third together, though the number is very low for all of them (see table below).

Aftenposten 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Industry and Business	News	Opinions
Politicians	7	0
Employer organisations	4	1
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	0	2
Journalists	0	2
Union leaders	1	1
Oil companies	1	0
Climate or environmental researchers	0	0
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	0
Economist	0	0
Environmental or climate organisations	0	0
Professional authors	0	0
Private people	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Business leaders	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Industry and Business	13	6

Table 39. Aftenposten 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors industry and business.

Klassekampen 2021 green shift Cited sources/ Authors Industry and Business	News	Opinions
Politicians	5	2
Union leaders	4	1
Employer organisations	3	1
Climate/environmental researchers	0	1
Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)	0	1
Economist	0	1
Environmental/climate organisations	1	0
Business leaders	1	0
Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)	0	0
Organisations (other than climate or environmental)	0	0
Journalists	0	0
Professional authors	0	0
Private people	0	0
Industry leaders	0	0
Oil companies	0	0
Oil workers	0	0
Other	0	0
No visible sources/authors	0	0
Sum cited sources/authors Industry and Business	14	7

Table 40. Klassekampen 2021 green shift cited sources/ authors industry and business.

Summary

The texts in connection to climate* found *Fossil energy* to be the largest category (41% of the total coverage in Aftenposten and 35% in Klassekampen) in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen. This was followed by *Renewable energy and technology* (32% in Aftenposten and 29% in Klassekampen), *Economy* (21% in Aftenposten and 26% in Klassekampen), and *Industry and business* (6% in Aftenposten and 11% in Klassekampen). In connection to the green shift however, both Aftenposten and Klassekampen had *Renewable energy and technology* as the

largest category (38% of the total coverage in Aftenposten and 40% in Klassekampen). In Aftenposten the second largest category was *Fossil energy* (25% of the total coverage) and the third largest category being Economy (20% of the total coverage). However, in Klassekampen the second largest category was *Economy* (28% of the total coverage) and the third largest category being *Fossil energy* (17% of the total coverage). Industry and business came in last in both newspapers (16% of the total coverage in Aftenposten and 15% in Klassekampen), though when it comes to number of texts, Klassekampen has overall more coverage than Aftenposten in this category. Regarding whose voices are presented in connection with these energy transitions topics, *Politicians* are by far the most cited sources/authors, counting 125 in total numbers, in Aftenposten and 121 in Klassekampen, in connection to *climate**. In connection to the green shift, *Politicians* count 36 in total numbers in Aftenposten and 53 in Klassekampen (see graphs for percentages in appendix).

To what extent and how are issues of justice and solidarity connected to the measures presented?

As noted in the Methods chapter, issues of justice and solidarity are highlighted as particularly important in order to ensure a green transition that is just. Therefore, a search within the final data set (the selected 483 texts) was conducted on the search words ‘*rettferdighet*’ and ‘*rettferdig omstilling*’ (‘justice’ and ‘just transition’) and ‘*solidaritet*’ (solidarity). These texts were coded in the categories Justice, Just transition and Solidarity, respectively. Overall for both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, issues of justice and solidarity comprise only a small part of the data material, though Klassekampen have more texts connected to these issues than Aftenposten. Issues of justice and a just transition is mostly presented in general terms, as in the importance of ensuring that measures to mitigate CO2 emission are just for everyone in society, e.g. between different groups of people, or underlining that a green transition needs to be just for petroleum workers. Aspects of justice and a just transition also come up in connection to texts voicing critical opinions regarding continued economic growth in the face of climate crisis. Of all analysed texts in both Klassekampen and Aftenposten, only one opinion piece presents the issue of justice in connection to non-human nature. Regarding issues of solidarity, this is presented slightly different and more in connection to redistribution of resources and the responsibility of the North towards climate change in the Global South. Issues of justice and solidarity are also mostly present in Opinion content rather than News content.

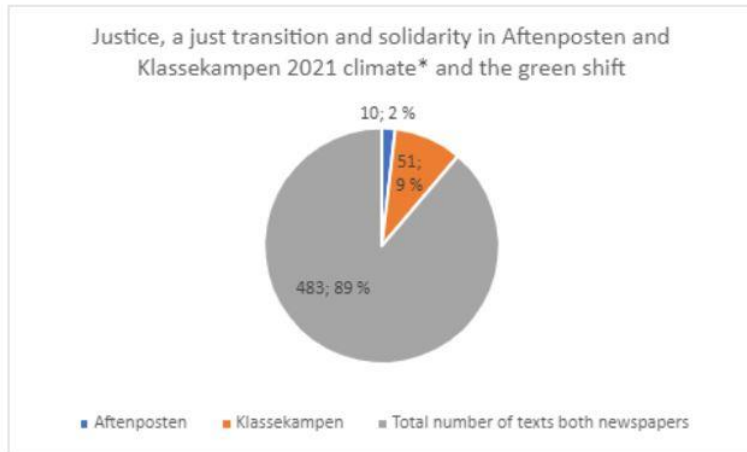


Figure 14. Justice, a just transition and solidarity in Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021 climate* and the green shift.

Justice Aftenposten: 4 out of 203 texts in Aftenposten

Issue of justice is only present in a small number of texts in Aftenposten, consisting of two News texts, being one news article on oil politics and the need to have CO2 fees that are distributed in a just way for the population, and one news reportage on people being evicted out of a German town due to a new coal mine. Apart from this there are two Opinions texts, both being letters to the newspaper, and both focusing on the need for just climate politics when it comes to phasing out the oil industry and in connection to this, ensure a green transition that is just for all.

Justice Klassekampen: 24 texts out a total of 280 texts in Klassekampen

In Klassekampen, issue of justice are presented to a slightly larger degree, but still in small number considering the total amount of analysed texts. There are six News texts, comprising of one background article with critical perspectives on economic growth, one interview which includes critique of economic growth, one interview on the role of the state in pushing forth needed changes to ensure a green transition, one news article on climate budget and oil politics, and two portrait interviews, where the people portrayed are critical of economic growth. Furthermore, there are 18 Opinions texts, one being an external commentary advocating degrowth. Then there are either external commentaries, op-eds or letters to the newspaper on how to promote a green transition and reduce CO2 emission by planning an end to the oil industry and promote changes to make the industry 'greener' by making it profitable to invest in green technology. However, there are also voices urging redistribution of resources and who caution against the belief that green technology will solve the climate crisis.

Justice for non-human nature is only present in one opinion piece in Klassekampen out of a total of 483 texts (all analysed material Aftenposten and Klassekampen). The letter to the newspaper argues for the intrinsic value of Antarctica and how the current oil politics are not paying sufficient attention to the inherent value of nature here.

Just transition: 1 out of 203 Aftenposten

Just transition specifically is only present in one news article in Aftenposten, regarding the large union LO's lack of faith in the political party of SV's view on oil politics, where SV is arguing for the need to have greater control of the oil industry: “- The question is whether we should leave everything to the market or whether we should have a plan for a just transition and large-scale investment in green industry and safe workplaces. SV wants the latter, and the trade union movement must be an important ally there” (SV-Politicians, Kari Elisabeth Kaski, 9.7.2021).

Just transition Klassekampen: 16 out 280

In Klassekampen, just transition is addressed to a slightly greater extent than Aftenposten, but still in a small amount considering the total number of texts. Just transition specifically appears in eight News texts (news articles; hard news) and eight Opinions texts (external commentaries and letters to the newspaper). Both the News and Opinions texts are quite consistent in how just transition is presented, as the topic is mostly connected to ensuring a just transition for petroleum workers, including the issue of whether or not the environmental movement should be part of such discussions on just transition.

Solidarity: 5 out of 203 texts in Aftenposten

The issue of solidarity is only present in a small number of Opinions texts in Aftenposten (one editorial commentary, one op-ed and three letters to the editor). The texts address the issue of solidarity in general terms, regarding the need for different oil politics to ensure a sustainable planet for everyone, though with an emphasis on the need to promote solidarity to benefit people suffering from the consequences of the climate crisis in the Global South, as well as the need for climate funding for developing countries to aid in a green transition.

Solidarity: 10 texts out of 280 in Klassekampen

Klassekampen has twice the amount of texts mentioning the issue of solidarity, though these texts are still small compared to the total number of analysed texts. There is only one News text (soft news), which is a portrait interview with political scientists and author Linn Stalsberg who

is critical of economic growth in the face of the climate crisis and who argues for the need to promote solidarity on behalf of future generations to come: “Stalsberg thinks the word solidarity must become something more than a dusty hippie word. - The climate battle must be a cross-generational battle. In solidarity! I'm going to leave this life with the world more or less in balance, so I'm doing this in solidarity with people who don't even exist” (Klassekampen 6.11.2021, my translation). Apart from this, there are nine Opinions texts, (external commentaries, op-ed and letters to the newspaper). These texts are similar to the topics addressed in texts mentioning solidarity in Aftenposten, such as the need to change the oil politics to reduce CO2 emissions, and climate funding for the Global South. There is however also texts addressing the need for redistribution of resource, arguing for a change of the economic system and cautioning against a single focus on technological solutions.

Which challenges and opportunities are presented in connection to the potential measures to mitigate CO2 emissions?

Climate and the green shift Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021*

Energy and technology

Fossil energy: Decommission or develop the oil that remains the question

Aspects connected to fossil energy and whether or not it might be part of the solution to facilitate the needed energy transition has a lot of coverage in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, both in connection to the search word climate* and the green shift. Both newspapers have critical opinion pieces, both editorial content and external contributions, that are sceptical to fossil energy, in particular oil, being presented as part of the solution to the climate crisis, as opposed to being a problem. An example of this is editorial commentaries from Aftenposten: “With your head in the oil. Relax. It can go well with Norwegian oil. Perhaps the world is still giving up on the climate” (19.5.2021, my translation), and “The petrophiles. Friends of the oil must become less confident” (17.8.2021, my translation). However, while Klassekampen has editorial commentaries that underline the urgency in addressing the climate crisis, it does not argue for the oil industry to come to a full stop, but rather increase investment in renewable energy projects:

The one-sided focus on the oil shutdown can lead public opinion to believe that this is actually a quick and effective climate measure, which it is not. In any case, it comes far down on the list if the goal is rapid measures that are feasible. It can instead become a diversionary manoeuvre, which makes it more difficult to concentrate on what really counts. Today, for example, it is very important to put massive pressure on the Authorities to speed up measures that will reduce

emissions, such as CO2 capture and storage, hydrogen and offshore wind. These are investments which, in addition to major cuts, will create thousands of jobs and contribute to a sustainable, green industry (Klassekampen, 17.8.2021, my translation).

Though similar to Aftenposten, Klassekampen have many opinion pieces from external contributors which are critical to this view:

We don't need more bureaucratic talk and loose agreements, we need action today. Spending the time on creating a climate quota system and chatting with international bureaucrats is like peeing in your pants to keep warm. Because at the same time CO2 emissions are increasing, and the consequences of climate change are getting worse for humanity and the nature around us. (...) Instead of harping on the mantra “develop, not decommission” as Støre does, we must realize that there is no room in the atmosphere for emissions from new oil fields (Klassekampen, 12.11.2021, my translation).

The largest amount of both news and opinion content revolve around the petroleum industry and how it might and should adapt to the green transition and disagreement on whether decommissioning or developing the oil industry is the best way to contribute to curb the climate crisis and be part of the green shift. This can be seen in news articles such as this: “Scientists and the industry do not agree on whether Norway should follow IEA advice and stop new oil exploration” (Klassekampen, 20.5.2021, my translation). This is seen in Aftenposten as well: “Støre says no to a joint red-green climate policy before the election. The UN sounds full climate alarm. Arbeiderpartiet will not stop the search for oil. (...) - I think we have the best policy because we develop and do not decommission” (Aftenposten, 12.8.2021, my translation). Many of these news articles depict politicians from different political parties disagreeing on the role of Norway’s oil industry in the face of the climate crisis: “SV protest against Ap-Sp politics. It is only two days since SV broke away from the government talks: - Ap and Sp stand for a completely different line in oil and gas policy than what SV does” (Aftenposten, 2.10.2021, my translation). This is also present in Klassekampen:

KrF and Venstre warn of a rematch over the energy report presented in June: Towards bourgeois deflation. CONTROVERSY: Høyre will continue oil exploration in new areas. Despite the fact that both KrF and Venstre agreed to it in the recent energy report, both are now announcing a rematch. (...) - Continuing with oil exploration after 2025 is irresponsible and naïve (...) (news article, Klassekampen, 19.8.2021, my translation).

Renewable energy: Contention points and conflicts of interest

Disagreeing politicians feature also within news articles related to renewable energy, particularly in connection to whether electrification of the oil - and gas platforms is a viable option or not, regarding biofuel, windmills and offshore windfarms, though this is covered to larger extent in Klassekampen compared to Aftenposten. The overall tendency for both Aftenposten and Klassekampen is that aspects connected to renewable energy are greatly marked by contention points and conflicts of interests, though there are differences in which renewable energies and technologies are presented in the two newspapers. While Aftenposten has news articles on CCS, they are mostly connected to problems of getting a new facility in Oslo up and running, and Klassekampen has no news article on CCS. There is little news coverage presenting renewable energy as ‘the solution’ (tech-optimist). One exception might be seen to be Aftenposten’s climate special in A-magasinet October 29th, 2021, which presented possible solutions to the climate crisis: CCS, electrification of society, as well as former petroleum engineers and geologists transferring to a ‘green’ sector. This is the most optimistic coverage of possible solutions to the climate crisis which is evident in the data material: “The carbon hunt is underway. CO2 capture: The industrial revolution began when we dug up carbon dioxide from the earth. A green revolution requires us to dig it back in” (news reportage, Aftenposten, 29.10.2021).

Mostly however, in the case of both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, while the emphasis on different renewable energies varies, both newspapers have News and Opinion content which depict disagreements on whether electrification of the oil and gas platforms is a viable solution or not, though this features to a larger extent in Klassekampen. Both Aftenposten and Klassekampen have coverage on whether nuclear energy is a viable option in the green transition, though Klassekampen only have opinion pieces, for the most part external contributors, featuring both opponents and proponents. Aftenposten however have a few news articles (three) all of which present nuclear energy as a possible solution. Generally concerning opinions pieces (mostly external contributors), in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, there are proponents and opponents of various other renewable energy projects, such as windmills, offshore windfarms, hydrogen, and renewable energy and technology in general.

In Klassekampen the conflicts of interest can in particular be seen regarding the industries’ need of increasing energy in the green shift in the shape of windmills coming up against Samee reindeer herds and local people’s land use. This is the case as well with offshore

windfarms, where the need for 'green' energy clashes against fisheries and concern for wildlife at sea. Same applies to mineral extraction where copper mines are opposed by local population, while mining companies point to the need for minerals for renewable technology necessary in the green shift, seen in the news reportage "The copper mosquito": "TO DIG OR NOT TO DIG: Should Norway extract copper for the green shift or leave it alone in the name of nature?" (Klassekampen, 18.9.2021, my translation) Here the friction between the need for a rapid transition to renewable energy can be seen to be rubbing up against the reality of what mineral mining entails:

But in order to build offshore wind, you need copper, and if it is to happen quickly, enormous quantities must be unearthed, and at a breakneck pace, Rushfeldt [owner of mine] believes. This is where he believes visions and plans are disconnected from reality. Rushfeldt states that a thousand Nussir are needed to obtain enough copper for the green shift. But if he is not even allowed to open his little "copper mosquito", what other mining projects will be allowed, and what will happen to the green shift? (Klassekampen, 18.9.2021, my translation)

Aftenposten too has a news reportage on mining for minerals in connection to the green shift, where this friction is also present, though slightly differently presented, with a greater emphasis on the money that the mining could generate:

She leads one of Europe's major mining projects - and has a knack for green gold. An incredible 70 billion tonnes of phosphorus lie underground in South Rogaland. Monika Øksnes leads the team that digs for minerals worth several hundred billion kroner. (...) - The industry is often seen as a dirty industry, but this has developed. The natural interventions will be big, you can't avoid that, but to bring about the green shift, you have to have minerals to build it (...) (Aftenposten, 23.6.2021, my translation).

Klassekampen also has a news reportage that accentuates the opportunities of mineral mining, looking at Bolivia where the mineral lithium is presented as a business opportunity for the country: "THE HUNT FOR THE WHITE GOLD. (...) The world's major powers are drooling over Bolivia's lithium. Klassekampen visited the factory which the country's government hopes will create a green industrial adventure for the Bolivians as well (...)" (Klassekampen, 9.11.2021). This is followed by another news reportage some days later presenting concerns from the local population that they will be left behind in the lithium-rush: "Locals have high hopes for Bolivia's lithium adventure, but are concerned about access to water and jobs" (Klassekampen, 11.11.2021).

Economy: Questioning green growth – but virtually only in opinion content

It is in this category where the critique of green growth and structural aspects of the economic system appears, though almost solely in opinion pieces, mostly by external contributors, and with Klassekampen as the main venue for voicing these perspectives. When critique of green growth is presented in a news genre, it is within ‘soft’ news genres like portrait interviews or background articles, for example in a portrait interview with Erik Damman, founder of the environmental organization Framtiden i våre hender (Future is in our hands):

- You have no faith in the so-called green gro... - No. He answers before the question is finished.
- Absolutely not. “Green growth” requires such enormous interventions in nature that it is completely unthinkable that it will be able to continue. Look at what the development of wind power leads to, for example (Klassekampen, 14.8.2021).

Critical voices in opinion pieces can be seen in such as these: “It is time that ‘counter-growth’, as an effort against the climate crisis and an alternative to capitalism, is also discussed in Norway” (Op-ed, Klassekampen, 2.3.2021, my translation), and

The debate about whether more economic growth is compatible with saving the planet's climate and environment has flared up again. The fact that this is still a topic of discussion where the supporters of growth claim that economic growth can take place without harmful effects on the physical world shows how the environmental fight is at a standstill (Letter to the newspaper, Klassekampen, 30.6.2021, my translation).

This stands in contrast to Aftenposten, which has to a much lesser extent critical coverage of green growth, though when it does occur it is almost solely in opinion pieces, similar to those in Klassekampen:

Most Politicians, regardless of whether they are on the right or the left, cannot think beyond the neoliberalism that has been the ruling doctrine for the last 40 years. They consider the market economy to be a state of nature, and in their lack of imagination they are convinced that privatization is the only way to organize a society. Therefore, they do not see that in the era of accelerating climate change, the growth society will be crushed under the unstoppable force of nature. (...) It is very important that the changes in the way of life and production that the pandemic heralded are not associated with renunciation and dismissal. Instead, they should be associated with a richer life where we dare to live and dream big, and where quality of life is not linked to the bubble life of consumption, but with care between people (Op-ed, Aftenposten, 20.11.2021, my translation).

The two news texts in Aftenposten which approach the question of sustainability of growth is a news reportage on circular economy: “Circular economy: Everything that can be reused must be reused. (...) How do you solve the climate crisis? Part of the solution is so banal that most people before us knew the art: You stop wasting (...)” (Aftenposten, 29.10.2021). This story was part of the climate special edition of A-magasinet which depicted renewable energy solutions. The second is an interview with former politician Erik Solheim emphasising the need for economic growth to facilitate the green shift:

The great thing is that this is a win-win situation: We want to win more green jobs, create a better life for people and a better environment. At the same time, it is good for Mother Earth, says Solheim, and rejects that “we have to choose between the economy and the environment”. - We have to get out of the old, foolish debate about economics or ecology. Yes, thank you, I say to both. Win-win. (Aftenposten, 25.3.2021, my translation).

This was picked up by philosophy professor Arne Johan Vetlesen, who countered this statement in a commentary in Klassekampen: “There is something blatantly naive about the ‘realism’ Solheim expresses, a mentality towards the nature and climate crisis that is thoroughly system-preserving, not system-critical” (external contribution, Klassekampen, 30.3.2021).

Apart from this, the role of investments and the role of the state in mitigating CO2 emissions or promoting the green shift are present in both newspapers, but it varies to what extent. In Aftenposten the role of the state is much more present in connection to climate*, as opposed to the green shift. The role of the state features discussions on how much influence the state should have on the green transition, with differing views in both news articles and opinion pieces. When it comes to investments, the news coverage and opinion pieces focus on how investments could contribute to speed up the transition and how it could do so.

Industry and business: A general overview

This category is mostly presented by news articles and opinion pieces on the petroleum industry, or otherwise written and discussed in more general terms, such as how the industry should adapt to the green shift and contribute with climate solutions, or what might hinder such solutions and transitions. This is the case for both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, though to a far lesser extent than the categories of fossil- and renewable energy. Klassekampen have the most coverage of the industry, with news articles focusing on how the industry can be part of the green transition and what they need to be able to do so, with a few news articles looking at whether the unions for the

industry and environmental organisations can cooperate in the green transition: “(...) LO leaders disagree with LO's leader on whether the environmental movement should help shape the green transition” (News article, Klassekampen, 11.11.2021). Aftenposten have some editorial commentaries that urge caution when working towards new green businesses:

(...) ‘The new thing is that climate becomes business’, said NHO CEO Ole Erik Almlid. And not just any business: ‘If politics and business collaborate on a broad front, this could become something close to a new oil adventure,’ Almlid told Aftenposten this week. (...)The green transition is still pressing ahead. It also entails great opportunities for Norway. But the fact that climate measures will both increase employment, reduce emissions and become the Oil Adventure 2.0, may quickly turn out to be a little too big of a kinder egg” (Aftenposten, 8.1.2021, my translation).

This caution can also be found related to green industries: “Far, far away he saw something green shining and glittering Hold onto your wallet when someone wants to save the climate and says ‘industrial adventure’” (Editorial commentary, Aftenposten, 27.3.2021, my translation). In Klassekampen, a general tendency is how a green transition for industries can take place and if it might be compatible with preserving nature: “A new direction is needed in climate policy, so that we do not have to choose between industrial death or natural death. Nature + Industry = true (...)” (Op-ed, Klassekampen, 21.2.2021); “In nine years, Norwegian emissions will be halved. A coordinated change is then needed. (...) Therefore, export-oriented value creation from existing and new industry must be developed, at the same time that the entire society must be converted from fossil to renewable energy sources” (External commentary, Klassekampen 26.5.2021).

Energy and technology, Economy, and Industry and business – intersecting topics

What the last example above also shows is that all the three main categories – *Energy and technology*, *Economy*, and *Industry and business* – refer to each other. In the example above, while the main focus is on how industries can be part of the green transition, transitioning to renewable energy comes up. In news articles and opinion pieces about industry and business, the texts often mention various renewable technologies, most often hydrogen, CCS, offshore windfarms and windmills. Same applies to texts (both genres) discussing transitioning from the petroleum industry to renewable energy. Such intersections can be seen in opinion pieces:

Norwegian industrial policy is characterized by us betting too much on what we already know a little about, rather than using politics to plow new land for new industries. It may be a comfortable lie that in the future we will live from carbon capture and storage or offshore wind,

industries that are close to what we already do. (...) The consequence must be that we must change the focus from traditional business policy to innovation policy, entrepreneurship and conditions for growth for young companies. Future solutions must be more than renewable. They must also be circular and sustainable (Letter to the newspaper, Klassekampen, 26.11.2021, my translation).

And vice versa, when discussing and writing about renewable technology, texts in both genres in both newspapers refer to industry and business, and often how to transition from oil-based energy to renewable energy. In other cases when discussing and writing about issues connected to a green transition in the petroleum industry, news articles and opinion pieces in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen refer to a green transitioning of the economy:

The conclusions in the recent report from the UN's climate panel (IPCC) are dramatic and shocking. (...) Norway is particularly strong in this situation. We are one of the world's leading energy nations - and we shall continue to be so even after the age of petro. Much of what we have learned in the North Sea, we can apply in new contexts. We are among the world's leading nations when it comes to research into renewable energy solutions. (...) it can also be far less bad than we now have reason to fear, if we take the right measures now. This option involves a fundamental green shift in the economy (...) (Letter to the newspaper, Aftenposten, 12.8.2021).

In texts like this, it appears that the 'fundamental green shift in the economy' will be enabled by the transitioning to renewable energy, more than a restructuring of the economy which critical voices of green growth advocate.

Summary

The findings for both newspapers shows that energy transition in the oil and gas industry is the predominant tendency where the discussion revolves around whether to decommission the petroleum industry or continue to develop it (*avikle eller utvikle*). When it comes to aspects connected to renewable energy solutions, this is to a high degree dominated by contention points and conflicts of interest, such a disagreement on whether or not electrification of the oil and platforms is a viable solution, opposition against windmills countered by the industry pointing to an increasing need for energy in the green shift, offshore windfarms coming into conflict with the fishing industry, copper mines destroying nature and land areas, clashing against the need for the minerals as they are vital components in renewable energy technology. Aftenposten and Klassekampen put different emphasis on these issues as the amount of coverage on these topics

varies between the newspapers, with Klassekampen having more coverage of conflicts of interest regarding land use and windmills and offshore windfarms and fisheries. As for aspects connected to solutions in relation to economy, this is where the structural perspectives do come up, through the category *Perspectives on re-thinking the economy*, though these perspectives are almost solely presented in opinion pieces. In the cases where these critical voices are present in News texts, they are located in soft news genres such as background articles and portrait interviews. Industry and business is covered to a lesser extent in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, though Klassekampen have more coverage concerning climate measures and green transition in connection to industries than Aftenposten.

When it comes to sources, *Politicians* are cited to a much higher degree compared to other sources, such as *Climate and environmental experts* or *Experts in other fields*, and *Private people* are seldom used as cited sources in news texts, nor do they appear very often as authors of opinion pieces on these issues in the data material. An interesting note on cited sources regarding climate measures related to the economy is that *Economists* are neither used much as cited sources nor are much present as authors of opinion pieces. In contrast, professional authors are the authors of many opinion pieces in Klassekampen, and these texts are part of those which are critical to the sustainability of continued economic growth. Regarding issues of justice and solidarity, aspects connected to these topics comprise only a small part of the texts in both newspapers, though Klassekampen more frequently than Aftenposten present such texts. In both newspapers, issues of justice is often addressed in general terms, as in the need to ensure justice for everyone in society, while just transition specifically is often connected to the need of justice for petroleum workers in a green transition. Klassekampen however have some texts that see justice in connection to critique of economic growth and redistribution of resources. Justice for non-human nature is only found in one opinion piece (Klassekampen). The issue of solidarity is most often presented as a need for the North to act in solidarity with the Global South when discussing climate mitigation measures. This is present in both newspapers. Solidarity presented as an issue between generations is only present in one portrait interview (Klassekampen). The next chapter will discuss these findings in light of green growth vs degrowth theories as well as journalistic perspectives of objectivity and balance, as well as the journalistic genres of News (hard vs soft news) and Opinions.

8 Interpretation and discussion of the findings

This chapter will interpret and discuss the findings presented in the previous chapter. I start by discussing the newspapers' news coverage (as opposed to opinion pieces), how the two newspapers tend to highlight technologies and also controversial aspects in their news coverage on energy transitions. I then go into how the Norwegian petroleum sector is to a large degree covered in critical terms, though there is certain ambivalence to be detected here. After this, I will discuss how the relatively few entrances critical of economic growth are presented, which is mainly in the form of opinion pieces. These topics will be discussed in light of different perspectives on energy transitions through green growth, degrowth and just transition, as well as journalistic perspectives such as media's structural and symbolic power, hard news vs soft news, objectivity and balance. These perspectives will also be seen in connection to the notions of hegemony, good sense and the battle over common sense in the media, in addition to previous media research on climate journalism and the green shift.

Technical controversies and aspirations for creating new jobs

Overall, when Aftenposten and Klassekampen cover energy and technology issues related to energy transitions, controversies and differing opinions on possible mitigation measures is a predominant finding. As seen in the previous chapter on Findings, the climate mitigation measures found in the data material deriving from the search words *climate** and *green shift*, are categorized within the main topics (categories) of *Energy and technology*, *Economy*, and *Industry and Business*. As to how they are presented (challenges and opportunities), contesting perspectives and debates regarding whether the fossil industry should be decommissioned or keep developing, and what forms of renewable energy technology should be pursued or not, seem to be the dominant way of presenting energy transition issues in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen. In connection to *climate**, *Fossil energy* was the largest category in both newspapers; 41% of the total coverage in Aftenposten and 35% in Klassekampen. This was followed by *Renewable energy and technology* (32% in Aftenposten and 29% in Klassekampen), *Economy* (21% in Aftenposten and 26% in Klassekampen), and *Industry and business* (6% in Aftenposten and 11% in Klassekampen). In connection to the green shift however, both Aftenposten and Klassekampen had *Renewable energy and technology* as the largest category (38% of the total coverage in Aftenposten and 40% in Klassekampen). In Aftenposten the second largest category was *Fossil energy* (25% of the total coverage) and the third largest category

being Economy (20% of the total coverage). However, in Klassekampen the second largest category was *Economy* (28% of the total coverage) and the third largest category being *Fossil energy* (17% of the total coverage). Industry and business came in last in both newspapers (16% of the total coverage in Aftenposten and 15% in Klassekampen), though when it comes to number of texts, Klassekampen has overall more coverage than Aftenposten in this category.

In connection to renewable energy, problematic aspects of renewable energy technology is presented, in particularly in Klassekampen, concerning land use disputes regarding windmills, contention between possible offshore windfarms and fisheries, and regarding the extractivist costs of mining for minerals. This news coverage, in connection with the different debates on what climate mitigation measures might be the best way forward, gives an overall impression in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen that the media presentation cannot be said to be ‘tech-optimistic’, in the eco-modernist sense (Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015), understood as technology being presented as an unequivocal solution to the climate crisis. However, the strong focus on new technology as possible climate mitigation measures could be seen to be in line with green growth perspectives (Pollin, 2018; Stoknes and Rockström, 2018) which have belief in technology as a basic tenet, and envisions such technology to be both crucial and beneficial in creating new job opportunities, in addition to mitigating climate change. Even so, these climate mitigation measures are presented in a way that makes it clear that these issues are contested and filled with conflicting interests. In this sense, both Aftenposten and Klassekampen seem to live up to the watchdog function of the press, to examine energy transition issues from a critical perspective. Although ‘critical’ must here be understood as critical of different renewable energy projects, not as in critiquing the system itself (for instance the economic system; system critique will be addressed later on in this chapter).

While previous climate change studies both in Norway and the UK found an ‘opportunity frame’ (business opportunities deriving from climate change; Bjørnæs and Naper, 2013) - which Ereaut and Segnit (2006) called the ‘optimistic’ discourse - this is not a prevalent finding in neither Aftenposten nor Klassekampen, though there are exceptions. For instance Aftenposten, in the climate special issue of their magazine A-magasinet⁴⁹, presented possible solutions to the climate crisis, CCS being one of them. Another exception was a news reportage on mineral mining in the green shift, referring to the mineral as the new ‘green gold’ worth several hundred

⁴⁹ “The climate crisis can be fixed”, Aftenposten, 29.10.2021 (my translation).

billion NOK⁵⁰. Klassekampen also had a news reportage from Bolivia⁵¹ emphasising lithium extraction as a business opportunity for the country, although this could be said to be countered by another news reportage a week later focusing on concerns from the population that they would be left out of this business opportunity⁵². However, there is an emphasis in both newspapers on either the need to ensure ‘green’ jobs in the energy transition or how the energy transition will create opportunities for new jobs. This could be seen to be line with certain aspects of green growth which emphasises new jobs as a positive side-effect in a green economy.

Furthermore, the premise of continued economic growth underlining these climate mitigation measures are not challenged either in news content in this data material. However, in the data material deriving from the search words *climate** and *green shift*, there is limited explicit focus on green growth statements. Neither are references to the possibility of decoupling fossil fuels from energy production highly present in this study. Within the category of *Economy* (being the second largest in connection to the *green shift* in Klassekampen, third largest in Aftenposten, and third largest in connection to *climate** in both newspapers), the sub-categories of *The role of investments* and *The role of the state* echo the economic perspectives prevalent in how the green shift is predominantly understood (Bjartnes, 2015; Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022). In connection to *The role of the state*, issues connected to the market are also discussed. This discussion between how the state and the market should interact in the green shift is also a common way of viewing this green transition (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022). While the destructive consequences of CO2 emissions and problematic aspects of renewable energy are highlighted, the economic system, which these mitigation measures are embedded in, is not addressed in news stories in this study (see later on in this chapter).

Extensive coverage of the petroleum industry

Both Aftenposten and Klassekampen have considerable coverage of *Fossil energy*. The extensive coverage of the fossil industry in both newspapers and which way the industry should go in the green transition probably reflects that oil and gas are still Norway’s main bread and butter, and have been found to form a large part of the green shift discourse (Veimo, 2020). Aspects of structural power, such as Lindholm (2022) refers to, might be worth considering here.

⁵⁰ “She leads one of Europe’s major mining projects - and has caught the scent of green gold”, Aftenposten, 23.6.2021.

⁵¹ “The hunt for the white gold”, Klassekampen, 9.11.2021 (my translation).

⁵² “They want to be part of the dance”, Klassekampen, 11.11.2021, (my translation).

Aftenposten is part of the Schibsted media group, and when collecting the data material, certain news articles were published in Aftenposten, but had been produced by E24 (business news) or Stavanger Aftenblad (similar mainstream newspaper as Aftenposten located on the south-west coast of Norway). As these three media platforms are part of the same media group, it is not hard to see why due to reasons of efficiency the same news content is distributed within the various newspapers. However, as Lindholm points out, the tendency to do this in combination with using KPI might result in more standardized journalistic content. This in turn, might make it more difficult to deviate from a certain way of presenting issues relating to energy transitions.

Moreover, while Aftenposten have both news coverage and opinion pieces, including editorial commentaries, voicing highly critical arguments against the development of the Norwegian fossil industry, while collecting the data I observed there were ongoing advertisement for the oil and gas industry in Norway over several months, often double-page spreads, sometimes twice in one issue. The advertisements are not part of the analysed data material, nor has there been conducted any interviews with journalists or editors in Aftenposten on this. It could therefore be argued that it bears no mention in here. Even so, it left an impression on me of ambivalence in Aftenposten regarding the oil industry. It was pointed out by one letter to the editor that the advertisement was “fossil propaganda”⁵³ which was allowed to stand uncontested as it did not form part of a debate or news article where opposing voices could be heard. Aftenposten might have replied to this criticism (though they did not as far as I can see from the climate coverage in 2021) that their balance was accomplished through coverage over time, as in the case of defending Mathismoen’s stand on climate change (Ytterstad, 2012).

It still leaves the question of how critical to the oil industry Aftenposten will ‘allow’ themselves to be if they generate a significant amount of revenue from advertising the fossil industry as part of the solution and not the problem. As Laws and Chojnicka write, “the mass media receive a good deal of their income from advertisements. (...) What is more, advertisers can also influence the content of articles or coverage. Why should e.g., a bank place ads in magazines that (...) highlight the stake banks may have in companies that make their money with nuclear power plant” (2020, 1272). Even so, Aftenposten has to great extent critical news coverage and editorial commentaries on the fossil industry. However, it could be argued that the fossil industry might benefit from having their ads in a mainstream newspaper like Aftenposten,

⁵³ “Unchallenged fossil propaganda”, Aftenposten, 30.4.2021 (my translation).

which does voice critique against the oil industry as this might make the fossil industry seem open to opposing voices and as such willing to be ‘part of the solution, not the problem’.

Repeating storylines and slow progression on climate mitigation measures

Furthermore, a large amount of the news coverage concerning transition aspects connected to fossil energy and renewable energy run along the same storylines. Boykoff points out that news can sometimes simply be new angles on already existing topics and storylines, as well as being in line with pre-existing norms and pressure (2011, 105). The former might seem to be the case for how these measures to mitigate emissions are presented in both *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*. Regarding fossil energy, the main discussions revolve around whether the Norwegian fossil industry should be developed or decommissioned. When it comes to renewable energy, the main discussions often concerns disagreements on various renewable energy technology and conflicting interests. The news articles are often updates on the same topics, recurrently consisting of politicians disagreeing with each other or reacting to something another politician said. The issues do not seem to move forward much, but along the same storyline with some new actors coming in or exiting along the way. Therefore, there seem to be little progress on the climate mitigations. This might be an accurate rendition of reality as previous studies have found the progress of climate mitigation measures to be exceedingly difficult and slow (Figueres et al., 2017).

Here it must be underlined that it is very much part of the media’s contract with civil society to present various aspects on difficult topics and seek out different points of views; it is what gives journalism its needed credibility and integrity (Brurås, 2020). However, this raises the question of how this might affect the media consumers. Although this study makes no claim to be able to answer this question, it is nonetheless worth considering if this kind of media presentations might spur more conflict and confusion in the public regarding these issues, as no settlement on what the best way to move forward with the mitigation measures might be. Furthermore, it raises the question whether this form of climate change news coverage can possible lead to more ‘climate fatigue’ or ‘climate nausea’ (Brattfjord, 2015). Even if this was the case, one might argue that this would not be the fault of media presentations, but rather the failure of the politicians to act decisively and sufficiently to mitigate CO₂ emissions.

However, though many do argue that politicians are not doing enough to mitigate the climate crisis (Carvalho, 2010; Ytterstad, 2012; Jacobsson, 2021), studies looking at media

coverage of climate change issues note that media representations tend to have a strong focus on conflict and debate (Ryghaug. 2006; Curry et.al. 2006). Similarly, the news coverage in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* regarding energy transitions from oil to renewable energy, do tend to focus on conflict and debate. Ryghaug's study (2006), which found through interviews with Norwegian journalists that they tended to favor polarization and conflict when presenting climate change issues, was explained through the norm of 'balanced' reporting; to present differing points of view on any given issue. Back then (Ryghaug, 2006) it was the climate sceptics who were given space in the news columns. In this study, other controversies are given space, though a common denominator might be that journalists keep favouring polarization to trigger the reader's interests.

Critique of green growth: personal opinions

Laws and Chojnicka argue that when issues such as SDGs or energy transformation are in the news, they are covered "*without addressing modifications in economic or societal structures necessary to actually achieve them*" (2020, 1270, my emphasis). This resonates with the findings related to news content in this study, even in a left-wing newspaper such as *Klassekampen*. This in turn resonates with Laws and Chojnicka's arguments (2020) that even professed progressive media platforms do not always produce truly progressive news content, which could be seen in connection to structural aspects such as ownership, as well as expectations in society. *Klassekampen*'s ties to the industry through ownership might make them likely to focus on oil workers and their future, without addressing the broader economic structures tied into the industry. However, presentations of the fossil industry and its future can be argued to be important in a just transition perspective; to ensure a just transition for workers employed in fossil energy jobs. *Klassekampen*'s ties to the industry and historically being a newspaper for the workers might also explain the extensive coverage of the oil industry in general.

The mentioned coverage of fossil energy and renewable energy and technology is to a large degree presented in news articles, commonly perceived as 'hard' news (Ljung, 2000), as well as being embedded in strict expectations regarding fact-checking and credibility, and devoid of personal opinion (Brurås, 2020). This finding stands in contrast to how critique of economic growth is presented in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* (found within the category of *Economy*). When critique of green growth or the sustainability of continued economic growth is presented, it is almost solely in opinion pieces, and for the most part written by external contributors. When

such critique is presented in the news genre, it is found within ‘soft’ news such as portrait interviews. This is the case for both newspapers, though Klassekampen have more opinion pieces criticising economic growth and green growth than Aftenposten (23 in connection to the search word *climate** and eight in connection to the *green shift*, compared to Aftenposten which has three in connection to *climate** and one in connection to the *green shift*).

The last point here ought to be seen in connection with Aftenposten’s history of being considered a conservative mainstream newspaper, while Klassekampen is the more radical one. Although Klassekampen is outspoken about being a newspaper for the ‘entire left-wing’, and does not shy away from being critical of capitalism, it does however not offer explicit critique of green growth in news articles. Seeing as issues presented in news articles carry with them connotations connected to ‘facts’ and stricter journalistic methods regarding fact-checking and reliability, while opinion pieces are embedded in expectations of subjective perspectives and carry less expectations regarding ‘facts’ (Brurås, 2020), one might argue that leaving critique of green growth to the opinion section or ‘soft’ news genres might leave readers with the impression that such critique is a personal opinion and not necessarily based on facts or scientific research. This then stands in contrast to how issues on fossil energy and renewable energy are to a great extent found in news articles.

Furthermore, these findings can also be seen in connection to how Ytterstad (2012) found that journalists who are the most sympathetic to environmental issues and climate change action, are those who feel a great need to balance out their reporting. Klassekampen is already a vocal critic of capitalism through their history, the opinion pieces, and through critiquing social and political issues, such as the rise in economic inequality in Norway⁵⁴. It might be possible that they do not put explicit critique of the dominant economic system in connection to climate change and the environment in news articles at risk of being seen as too partial to the ‘anti-capitalist’ cause and therefore not to be taken seriously. Considering how prevalent the hegemony of growth is, supported by powerful institutions such as the OECD, UNEP and the World Bank, this might be understandable. Especially if this is seen in combination with how journalists are expected to be objective in news content. In regards to this, it might be that degrowth and system critique trigger immediate associations to politics, while fossil and renewable energy are viewed as more neutral topics. Therefore, to present controversial topics,

⁵⁴ Such as “Shatters myths about Norwegian equality”, Klassekampen, 20.5.2021, my translation.

such as critique of economic growth, in news articles can be challenging and can in turn be seen in connection to issues of journalistic consensus. As issues regarding journalistic consensus is particularly relevant when discussing what issues are perceived as neutral or controversial it is worth exploring.

Journalistic consensus

Klassekampen is as noted above critical of capitalism on a number of issues, but to come across as objective about the ‘things we are passionately concerned about’ (Ytterstad, 2012) is not an easy task for journalists:

An extensive literature on media coverage of contentious movements has shown that, even when sympathetic to issue advocates, professional and institutional constraints often inhibit coverage that facilitates mobilization. (...) Instead, coverage tends to shape activist messages in ways that reflect dominant interests (Wade, 2011, 1166).

As such, while energy transition issues are covered extensively by both Aftenposten and Klassekampen, they could be said to be shaped by the dominant interests of society which emphasize economic growth. This is not necessarily without importance as the news media, a central platform for the production, reproduction, and transformation of meanings, play an important role in this process, influencing social representations as well as policy-making on climate issues (Carvalho, 2010, 485). While both Aftenposten and Klassekampen have dedicated climate journalists, similarly to Ytterstad’s study (2012) on Norwegian climate reporters, Hiles and Hinnant (2014) found that highly experienced environmental journalists held tightly on to the ideal of objectivity when covering climate change, to avoid revealing their personal opinions so they could not be said to be advocating on behalf of the environment. These considerations might impact how the controversy regarding the sustainability of economic growth is presented, or rather, is not presented in news articles.

However, it is important to note how Hiles and Hinnant refer to objective practices, agreeing with Brurås’ (2020) admonishment that journalistic objectivity should apply to the methods, not the journalist as a person. It might be that this is a consideration that gets lost somewhat when covering climate and energy transition issues. Another point in the study of Hiles and Hinnant is that the ‘balanced reporting’ had changed from the practice that Boykoff (2011) criticizes, to a “weight-of-evidence” approach, which means that stories are seen as unbiased when they reflect scientific consensus. Based on this is, it becomes apparent that the

scientific consensus surrounding the problematic aspects of green growth are lacking in news stories on energy transitions in the studied texts in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*. This lack of coverage in the media on the scientific consensus of harmful consequences of the dominant economic system is also noted by Jacobsson, who compares this to how the consensus surrounding anthropogenic climate change was downplayed in the media during the time of ‘climate sceptics’:

In the case of Sweden today the debate is rather centred around what solutions are needed to meet the challenges of the crisis. What is similar however is that, despite the high level of scientific consensus and reports about climate crisis that identifies the growth logic of the capitalist system and society’s structural inequalities as issues that need to be addressed, *mainstream journalism seems incapable of seriously putting issues of capitalism and class on the news agenda* (Jacobsson, 2021, 494, my emphasis).

Considering the controversy surrounding critique of economic growth due to the growth paradigm, putting issues of capitalism in connection to the climate crisis on the news agenda might be perceived as so far removed from objectivity (as long as this is associated with the journalist as a person, not the journalistic method) to be considered advocacy journalism. While a contested form of journalism, Ytterstad (2012) specifically uses the term ‘advocacy journalism’⁵⁵, in connection to how journalists can take a stand and still be truthful. As such, he argues this presents a better option than ‘objective’ journalism. Journalists in the field have argued this position as well:

‘All journalism is advocacy journalism. No matter how it’s presented, every report by every reporter advances someone’s point of view. The advocacy can be hidden, as it is in the monotone narration of a news anchor for a big network like CBS or NBC (where the biases of advertisers and corporate backers like GE are disguised in a thousand subtle ways), or it can be out in the open...’ (Matt Taibbi, *Rolling Stones*, cited in Edwards, 2013)

Edwards (2013) agrees with this point of view, stating that “‘advocacy journalism’ is a sin committed only by opponents of established power.”⁵⁶. As such, presenting the scientific consensus regarding problematic aspects of green growth in news stories, might be considered a

⁵⁵ Advocacy journalism refers to a genre of journalism that combines reporting with a point of view. Although some advocate journalists dismiss objectivity, they insist on adhering to professional standards because they are still doing journalism rather than propaganda (Cáceres, 2019). In this they are in line with how Brurås (2020) underscores the requirement of truth as essential to the credibility of journalism.

⁵⁶ [All Journalism Is 'Advocacy Journalism' - Global Research - Centre for Research on Globalization](#)

'sin' which neither *Aftenposten* or *Klassekampen* is ready to commit as it goes against powerfully established views on economic growth, backed by real and invested actors. Especially as Harvey (2010) argues that the fundamental journalistic understanding is based on consensus; an underlying agreement on how the world is structured. And while scientific consensus regarding anthropogenic climate change is one thing, the journalistic agreement on how the world operates is largely based on a neoliberal understanding of society in which the capitalist system and its way of life are viewed as a condition with no alternatives (Harvey, 2010). Fairclough (2013) too argues that the journalistic ideal of objectivity works in favor of dominant ideology because it is based on a social consensus paradigm and thus both reflects and shapes societal values.

Hallin (1986) have done comprehensive work on explaining the relationship between reporting and consensus. Through his study of the media coverage of the Vietnam War, he found that some issues reside within a "sphere of legitimate controversy" and others within a "sphere of consensus". These spheres call for "two entirely different kinds of journalism" (Hallin, 1986, 150). Wade builds on this and writes that "Controversy requires objectivity; professional norms require non-advocacy" (2011, 1167), while issues within the sphere of consensus easily find support for their objectives and very little organized opposition partly because their proponents call for education and empathy and not structural change (ibid). Therefore, as critique of green growth remains a controversial topic, it is to be expected to be met with one set of criteria for journalistic objectivity, whereas economic growth, understood as prosperity, is surrounded by a taken for granted consensus in society (Schmelzer, 2015) which does not demand the same objectivity. To clarify, economic growth is considered so 'commonsensical' to borrow Ytterstad's term (2012), that it could be argued to be perceived as an objective observation.

However, "When the conditions are right (...) reporters have been known to set an agenda, mobilize global populations, and even engage in familiar social movement tactics" (Wade, 2011, 1168). An example of this from a Norwegian context is how *Dagbladet* in 1995 ran an article series consisting of more than 100 articles over the course of six months under the banner "Stop the violence", to try and put a stop to blind violence on the town, often involving youth. The campaign was launched alongside several larger actors and had its own logo, particular style to the articles and started almost a movement in the population. The campaign was later taken over by *Røde Kors* (The Red Cross) (Ottosen et.al, 2012, 238-239). To stop blind

violence on the streets, particularly when young people are concerned, can in line with Wade's arguments be seen as a consensus issue that 'everyone' can get in line with and support. It has little controversy attached to it and so requires little defence from journalists to act less 'objective' than they normally would strive for (at least the appearance). Campaign journalism has been evident in other Norwegian journalism as well. Brurås (2020) refers to an interview in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* with Arne Skouen (1913-2003), who was a journalist and filmmaker:

- You are aware that campaign journalism is a terrible insult in our days?
- The very best of journalism that I have been involved in has been campaigns, he says.

And some of them he has won. Among others, the battle to change attitudes regarding people with mental disabilities and to move the responsibility of care from voluntary organizations to the public. The social journalism that Skouen, in companionship with Gerd Benneche, worked on regarding this is a historical landmark in the business. Not least because they worked on this for 10 years – on the same case! (Brurås, 2020, 53, my translation)

Campaign journalism in Norway is therefore not without precedence. However, considering the reflections by Hallin and Wade, it would most likely be easier for journalists to fight on behalf of weaker groups in society, rather than against economic growth as this affects not just the powerful elite, but also the middleclass. The associations of austerity which often accompanies degrowth arguments would most likely not work in the favor of journalists presenting such issues in news stories. Although, as noted, the niche magazine *Harvest* is not afraid of going against the 'economic grain' of society (Ytterstad and Bødker, 2022). Yet they are a niche media platform, not a larger newspaper such as *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, and as such might find it easier to be a counter-voice in Norwegian media. However, even if a topic has been considered controversial, but not legitimate by the media, powerful actors and the public, this can change and the media can be a strong player in this change (Wade, 2011).

Though it is important to note here that "Without consensus, reporter advocacy would have seemed inappropriate" (Wade, 2011, 1181). Therefore media platforms which would like to build consensus around a subject would need to find a way to present a topic in a way that would most likely garner support, rather than trigger opposition (ibid). This could present a knife-edge balance for journalists. Either they make the topic so politically palpable that the issue gets watered down (think of the critique of the SDG's and the green shift) and as such potentially loses the transformative power it sought at the beginning, or they keep the 'edge' and as such

push people away from the cause (think degrowth's insistence on being provocative). Hickel (2021) however argues that it is precisely by calling out the negative of growth that degrowth gets its legitimacy, much the same way that decolonialism calls out the destructive consequences of colonialism. However, "Journalist construction of consensus is constrained *if an issue carries a long history of adversarial politics or has powerful advocates who disagree*" (Wade, 2011, 1181, my emphasis). Currently, climate change and climate journalism can be said to be controversial with mighty adversaries in the political and economic elite, not to mention the fossil fuel industry. Add critical questions about the current dominating economic system and there is a potent and controversial mix that journalists would have to tread carefully if they were to try and make this a consensus issue in news stories. This also touches on the norm of balanced reporting, and as this is such an ingrained norm in journalism, it is worth coming back to.

Balanced reporting

Klassekampen puts growth critical aspects in opinion genres and have the news genre filled with more mainstream conflicts associated with the needed energy transition, such as labour rights and dispute over land use and windmills. This might be a strategy to achieve balanced reporting. Yet, having seen the magnitude in difference between news coverage of fossil and renewable energy on the one hand and growth critique on the other, this balance does appear somewhat skewed. Another way of viewing balanced reporting is through Gans' definition, that "balance is usually achieved by identifying the dominant, most widespread, or most vocal positions, then presenting 'both sides'" (1979, 175). This sounds simple enough in theory, but becomes challenging when

grappling with the introduction of new and complex ideas into discourse. These ideas take more time to explain than old ideas that support the status quo, so in this sense, equal time falls in favor of people proffering easily digestible, not ideologically contrary, viewpoints. Admits these many time pressures, this norm can then become a 'surrogate for validity checks' (Boykoff, 2011, 125).

It is possible to see the reflections above in connection to which genre critical voices against continued economic growth are relegated; to the opinion section. It is worth juxtapose this against the one interview⁵⁷ which explicitly refers to the belief in green growth that continued economic growth poses no risks for the environment:

⁵⁷ "We can have a red-green government without visions", Aftenposten, 25.3.2021 (my translation).

(...) The great thing is that this is a win-win situation: We want to win more green jobs, create a better life for people and a better environment. At the same time, it is good for Mother Earth, says Solheim, and rejects that “we have to choose between the economy and the environment”. - We have to get out of the old, foolish debate about economics or ecology. Yes, thank you, I say to both. Win-win. (Aftenposten, 25.3.2021, my translation)

Although this form of explicit endorsement of green growth is only present in this interview, it is nonetheless interesting to note that the statements were not met with any critical questions from the journalist. It might be argued that the journalist did not have to do validity checks on the claims of the ‘win-win’ scenario because it is such a dominant perspective in society to be accepted as a universal truth. There are not many other perspectives on rethinking the economy in the examined material. Circular economy is brought up in one news reportage in Aftenposten⁵⁸. Although circular economy is somewhat contested as to how effective a transformation of society this would entail, others argue that it should nonetheless not be discarded, but included in degrowth debates (D’Alisa, 2019, 28). This might indicate that there is a growing awareness that the current economic system is not entirely compatible with the sustainability of the planet, though it is not explored to a greater degree in news stories.

Journalists often speak of the need of a ‘news hook’ to turn an event into a climate story (Boykoff, 2011, 104). It might be possible that to translate questions of the sustainability of green growth into a news story or to find a news hook to hang it on poses difficulty for journalists. Research on degrowth might be considered research with few milestones, and as most Norwegian political parties are proponents of continued economic growth, it might be difficult to cover new stories with a critical angle on economic growth when there are few political spokespeople advocating a degrowth perspective. Though considering the rise in inequality along with the rise in global temperatures, this news hook might be possible to find for journalists who would like to put the topic on the news agenda.

Stephen Schneider wishes that the media would “back off their concept of ‘balance’ in favour of the concept of perspective” (1993, 173). Perhaps such a change in perspective on economic growth is what is needed in news stories on energy transition issues. This might be especially important considering that if media coverage of climate change issues distorts rather

⁵⁸ Part of the climate special edition of A-magasinet, “The greenhouse effect – circular economy”, Aftenposten, 29.10.2021 (my translation).

than clarifies scientific understanding, then this can to a high degree influence “how policy actors perceive, approach and prioritize actions and remedies” (Boykoff, 2011, 142), which might then impact how policy actors, politicians and the public perceive different climate mitigation measures. This does not mean that journalist should censor views on climate science and governance, but what might be needed is “greater media accuracy by more carefully and fairly representing all credible perspectives, findings, views and sides, in context (...) when making journalistic decisions regarding ‘who speaks for climate’ (Boykoff, 2011, 143). It is possible that a broader perspective on continued economic growth is needed when deciding on who speaks for climate in Norwegian media. The findings indicate that it is very much the politicians and their own viewpoints which are presented.

Politicians: main source for the media coverage?

As previous studies have found a heavy presence of expert voices (chapter 3), it is a bit surprising that the findings in this study find little presence of researchers on energy transition issues, particularly compared with the number of politicians. Overall in both *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, politicians are present to a great extent (125 in total numbers, cited sources/authors of opinion content, in *Aftenposten* and 121 in *Klassekampen*, in connection to *climate**) while the use of researchers, whether within climate and environmental issues or another field, are present to a far lesser extent (28 and 12 in *Klassekampen* and 17 and 15 in *Aftenposten*). Private people are similarly less present (28 in *Klassekampen* and 10 in *Aftenposten*). In connection to the green shift the numbers are even lower (see appendix). This is fairly consistent with findings in other media studies which have found that there is a great emphasis on the use of political sources in climate change journalism, while ordinary people are not represented much (chapter 3).

The ‘authority-order’ norm (Boykoff, 2011), could certainly explain the tendency to use politicians to a high degree. In order to find voices and perspectives that have the authority to ‘speak for the climate’ journalists seek out politicians, spokespeople for various environmental organizations, high profile scientists, government officials and leaders within carbon-based industry “to provide order to an otherwise confusing and complex world” (Boykoff, 2011, 107). The need to use authorities as sources in this might be apparent; though the effect of this norm is not so straightforward when authorities clash openly together in the media. Strongly opposing views can cloud the context of the climate issues being discussed as it is the conflict between the

authorities that gains prominence in the media. (Boykoff, 2011, 107) This in turn can influence how ‘climate stories’ are presented as driven by individuals rather than group dynamics and social processes, which again can lead to journalists having a propensity to “highlight competition between personalities and stories focus on individual claim-makers while de-emphasizing issues of power, context and process” turning it into “a battle between personalities” (Boykoff, 2011, 101). The high number of political cited sources in this study, who are in constant disagreement with each other, does give the news stories a sense of ‘competition between personalities’.

However, Ryghaug and Skjølsvold (2009) points to the possibility of journalists attempting to push for political action on climate change by using politicians as sources in climate stories. Furthermore, it is relevant to ask different politicians what their views are on contested issues, such as various renewable energy projects and the question of the future of Norwegian oil production. These findings must also be seen in connection to the job of journalists to show what the contentious points are regarding various measures to mitigate emissions, legitimate conflicts of interest and needs and truthfully quote sources. Even so, the backside of focusing to a large degree on politicians is that if news on climate change becomes highly personalized then this “can distract media consumer-citizens from more textured analysis of climate science and governance” (Boykoff, 2011, 101). This raises the possibility that the high use of politicians with different opinions on the future of the fossil industry and how to transition to renewable forms of energy might distract from the underlying issue – the urgency of the transition - or underlying structural problems such as the question of the sustainability of continued economic growth. Moreover, it might distract from the power and business interests underlying these energy transition issues.

This personalization can also result in the media choosing to let individuals express claims due to the weight of the importance of their person and their personality-driven arguments. When this happens, it also “illustrates the gulf that can emerge between accuracy and effectiveness” (Boykoff, 2011, 104). This could be seen in connection with the ‘win-win’ statement concerning continued economic growth and the environment in the news article in *Aftenposten*, which is not met with any critical questions by the journalist. Another drawback of an overreliance on political sources is that it “can come at the sacrifice of giving voice to a wider range of perspectives on the complexities of climate science and governance” (Boykoff, 2011,

108). A wider perspective on energy transition issues seen from a degrowth perspective gets lost when these voices are not given space in news stories, but is relegated to the opinion section.

Furthermore, at the beginning of the 1990's, the issue of global warming became increasingly politicized and merged with a small group of influential spokespersons and scientists who refuted these claims (Boykoff, 2011, 130). Today this could be seen in light of the IEA report underlining the necessity of phasing out the fossil industry⁵⁹, while a report by Rystad Energy (commissioned by the Norwegian oil and gas industry) states that reducing or stopping Norwegian oil and gas is going to increase the global emissions⁶⁰. This led to debates in both *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* between those who supported the claims of the report and those who refuted them⁶¹. This could be seen in connection to the quote in Boykoff (2011, 140): “All it takes is a little muddying of the water so there's no clear answer... it takes a lot less money and effort to muddy the water than it does to clear it”, as it echoes the rhetoric of ‘Norwegian oil is cleaner than other countries’ oil’, and as such makes it part of the solution, not the problem. Those seeds of doubts on whether reducing Norwegian oil industry will help to reduce emissions or not are consistent with previous media research on climate change issues, with the consequence of the debate on fossil industry in Norway not seeming to move forward much (Ytterstad, 2012; Veimo and Ytterstad, 2020; Ytterstad, Houeland and Jordhus-Lier, 2022).

Regarding the different opinions of various politicians in news articles, when it came to news coverage of anthropogenic climate change “Such focus on pitched battles and debates came at the expense of providing larger context of climate science” (...) framing “anthropogenic climate change as one of mere political opinion” (Boykoff, 2011, 115). Seeing it from this perspective, climate mitigation measures such as the future of the fossil industry or renewable energy projects might be seen as reduced to a question of political opinion and which side of the political spectrum a politician adheres to rather than scientific research backing up their claims. Boykoff points out that “The dynamic cultural politics are politicized and contested arenas where ‘agents of definition’ battle for recognition and discursive traction; and it is here where the implications for climate governance and action remain open considerations” (Boykoff, 2011,

⁵⁹ “Scientists and the industry do not agree on whether Norway should follow IEA advice and stop new oil exploration”, *Klassekampen* 20.5.2021 (my translation).

⁶⁰ [Globale klimautslipp øker ved norsk produksjonskutt \(offshoreenergy.no\)](https://www.offshoreenergy.no/nyheter/2021/05/20/globale-klimatestimer-ogker-ved-norsk-produksjonskutt/)

⁶¹ See list of analysed texts in appendix.

139). In this study the ‘agents of definitions’ are mostly politicians and their definitions have very real implications for climate governance and action in Norway.

Issues of justice and solidarity

Issues of justice and solidarity are only present in a small part of the findings, in 10 out of 203 texts in Aftenposten and 51 out of 280 texts in Klassekampen. It is possible that if the topics in the data material had been purely on just transitions, climate justice or the concern for nature, these issues might have been covered to a greater extent. However, it is nonetheless food for thought that when the newspapers present issues related to energy transitions *concerning Energy and technology, Economy and Industry and Business*, issues of justice and solidarity are mentioned to such a small degree, and mostly concerning a limited segment of the population; the oil workers. Seeing as the oil industry is such a massive part of the Norwegian economy, this might be expected. Even so, this limits the perspectives on for whom the just transition should encompass. Furthermore, Ytterstad (2017) argues that it is dangerous and inaccurate to put labour rights and the environment up against each other. It benefits the status quo, the political and economic elite, but not the workers in the long run, the rest of the public or the environment and non-human nature.

Heffron and McCauley point out that while justice is a fundamental part of the transition, governments, companies, institutions and researchers often discuss ‘a transition to low carbon economy’ without any mention of ‘just’ (2018, 74 cited in chapter 2). This seems to a large degree to be the case in both news content and opinion content in both Aftenposten and Klassekampen. While issues connected to justice and solidarity are at times connected to the Global North/South division and acknowledging that the energy transition will have a different impact on different groups in society, depending on socio-economic and geographical factors, issues regarding a just transition is first and foremost seen in connection to workers currently employed in the fossil industry. While the concept of a just transition, where, when and for whom, has greatly expanded, a large emphasis is still being put on just transition for oil workers (Wang and Lo, 2021). This narrowing down of the challenge appears to be the case in the presentations of a just transition in Aftenposten and Klassekampen. Justice for non-human nature is virtually non-existent in the examined material, which might indicate that the concept of justice in the climate crisis is understood in fairly androcentric terms. Even when issues of justice and solidarity are seen in connection to energy transitions, it is limited.

Furthermore, when just transition is presented from the viewpoint of those speaking on behalf of the oil workers, their perspectives could be viewed to be in line with the the affirmative transition view which is often called political realism, promoting a just transition “within the current neo-liberal system through mechanisms of eco-efficiency, eco-modernization and other technological solutions” (Kenfack, 2019, 230). However, there are some tendencies in the examined material who lean towards the “social power approach to just transition” which Kenfack speaks of (2019, 230). An example of this is a letter to the editor criticizing a transition perspective which keeps a narrow focus on the oil industry rather than putting this in context of how the climate crisis is a global problem, and therefore ‘solidarity cannot end with the oil workers’⁶². While Cock argues that a ‘just transition to a low carbon economy’ could “contain the embryo of an alternative eco-socialist social order” (2014, 33), this angle is only somewhat present in the opinion pieces where the need for solidarity to build something that could result in a more just society is present.

Hegemony, ‘good sense’ and the battle over common sense in the media

This in turn leads to the discussion of hegemony and the battle over common sense in the media and ‘good sense’ pushing from below. As mentioned in chapter 5, Ytterstad argues that the notion of journalistic objectivity, instead of ensuring an ‘objective’ journalism to the extent one can speak of such a thing, binds it to the dominant perceptions and institutions in society (2012, 34). ‘Balance’ can come to represent ‘bad versions of objectivity’ (Ytterstad, 2012, 106). Based on this, Ytterstad views political realism as an expression of “an intermeshing between hegemony and bad objectivity”, which only reflects “public opinion or powerful interests [which] only serve to reinforce conservative common sense in the media. It severely limits the potential for media resistance to hegemony” (Ytterstad, 2012, 106-107).

As such, it might be that issues attached to journalistic objectivity binds the presentations of energy transition issues in the news genre in both *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* to the ‘dominant perceptions and institutions in society’, being the political realism infusing the debates on climate mitigation measures. Especially considering how the dominant cited sources in this study are politicians. It might be likely to assume politicians would ‘limit resistance to hegemony’, keeping in mind Ytterstad’s arguments that “Hegemony is exercised primarily through state leaders themselves, not by the media” (Ytterstad, 2012, 22 cited in chapter 4). As

⁶² “Justice for whom, Kristjánsson?”, *Klassekampen*, 9.3.2021 (my translation).

such, it could be argued that the hegemony of growth is left unchallenged in the news by the emphasis on political sources. Similarly, Bennett (1996) points out that

The more official the position, the more likely it is to be reported: the more it is reported, the more credibility it gains; and the more credibility it gains, the more official it becomes. It is obvious why common sense fares poorly in direct competition with media logic. Like any successful logic, media logic is functional; it enables news and politics to operate on a routine, symbiotic basis. Common sense, by comparison, is of little use in unravelling the news web of political secrecy, double talk, and untestable abstraction (1996, 81).

While Bennett here uses the term ‘common sense’ to indicate viewpoints that runs counter to hegemony frames presented by politicians, Ytterstad refers to Gramsci’s use of ‘good sense’, ‘the healthy nucleus of common sense’ (2012, 30), e.g. ‘good sense’ residing within common sense, meaning that common sense does not need to be in and of itself ‘good sense’. Gitlin also points out that “The ‘good story’ in traditional terms is also appealing to a mass audience: ‘common sense’ ratifies the hegemonic frames” (Gitlin, 2003, 280 in Ytterstad, 2012, 35). This also connects to Lindholm (2022) and how news articles are always normative in the sense that they present deviants to the norms and through this bolster the notion of what the norms, or to use Gramsci’s term, what common sense, are. As such, by having news stories which to a large degree cite politicians who leave the hegemony of growth uncontested, this keeps being repeated as the standardized image of what a green future should entail, becoming the official position, and to borrow the words of Bennett, “The more official the position, the more likely it is to be reported: the more it is reported, the more credibility it gains; and the more credibility it gains, the more official it becomes” (1996, 81).

The battle over common sense in the media can also be seen in connection to the symbolic power of the media (Lindholm, 2022), which as mentioned in chapter 4, ‘determines what we take for granted, and excludes alternative thoughts’. This in combination with the expectations and associations with the news genre, as well as ‘the powerful rhetoric of green growth’ (Carvalho, 2010), becomes a common sense that it would appear that those pushing degrowth perspectives from below, or from the side-lines, is finding hard to beat. Particularly considering Lindholm’s arguments that if we are to understand the role of the media, we must acknowledge that journalism is deeply ingrained in society’s power structures and that journalism influences our perceptions in ways that are rarely discussed (Lindholm, 2022, my translation,

cited in chapter 4). It is this ‘rarely discussed’ influence on what we perceive as the common sense of climate mitigation measures which carries weight when deciding upon climate actions.

Although media makers of good sense could be said to only reside within Opinion content critiquing green growth, this would be a narrow understanding of what media makers of good sense can be. The journalists who highlight difficult or controversial aspects of the fossil industry and renewable energy projects might be said to be media makers of good sense as well. Apart from some exceptions mentioned above, ‘pure’ green growth or ‘tech-optimist’ perspectives are not promoted to a large degree in news articles, nor in opinion pieces. Although, concerning the latter, some opinion pieces are strongly promoting certain renewable energy projects such as hydrogen and nuclear power⁶³. However, these opinion pieces arguing for one particular type of renewable energy technology do not appear particularly dominating in the data material as the coverage overall of renewable energy projects are marked by emphasising what the contention points are regarding these issues. Furthermore, it is also important to keep in mind that “Media texts are contradictory, as all reality is contradictory” (Ytterstad, 2012, 74), and contradictory is an apt term to describe these findings in this study.

That being said, the common sense in the media (the media here being the two examined newspapers) does seem to be centred on an energy transition that has continued economic growth as the basic tenet, rather than one questioning it. Furthermore, it might be argued that the hegemony of growth as the common sense in energy transitions has left a boundary around news stories which not even a radical newspaper as Klassekampen confronts, leaving critique of green growth out of the news genre. Even so, it is worth remembering that ‘good sense’ as ‘the healthy nucleus that exists in common sense’ can be found “Beneath the conservative surface, radicalism resides as an interest in truth (...)” (Ytterstad, 2012, 40). Perhaps this good sense makes itself known in the presentations of conflicts of interest and contention points regarding fossil and renewable energy; the healthy nucleus in the common sense of technological solutions emerges through the good sense of viewing these possible solutions in a critical light.

However good sense as understood as requiring “a real understanding, not just of the singular truth of anthropogenic climate change, but of all truths, *including fundamentally those which links climate change to the broader structure of capitalism and provide a coherent*

⁶³ “The hydrogen road is the fastest way to Paris”, Aftenposten, 13.8.2021 (my translation); “Why is the left so sceptical about nuclear power? The power tragedy”, Klassekampen, 22.6.2021 (my translation).

alternative” (Ytterstad, 2012, 44) are virtually only located in the opinion genre. And just as important as defining hegemony, is how it is used (Ytterstad, 2012, 36). As such it would appear that the hegemony of growth is to a large degree used through the news genre. However, Ytterstad stresses that it does not do to assume that good sense will always be submerged by the hegemony, and points out that “struggles, even revolutions, sometimes win” (Ytterstad, 2012, 36). Therefore it might be that the good sense that is located in within the critical perspectives on fossil and renewable energy in combination with the good sense located in green growth critique in the opinion genre, might in time be able to pave a path that push the criticism of economic growth into the news stories. Though considering the overall impression of the findings in this study, Veimo and Ytterstad’s observation (2020) that the anti-growth voices do not appear to take off or take hold, still appear to stand.

Summary

Proponents of advocacy journalism contend that it is possible for journalists to maintain their professional integrity and produce quality journalism, while taking a stand on a topic. While journalists might find it possible to create consensus around an issue that is uncontroversial and politically palpable, it is significantly less so when an issue has a long-standing history of controversy and powerful adversaries. In light of this, it might be that the consistent lack of critique of the current economic system in news content in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* when discussing energy transition issues could be connected to issues related to the norm of journalistic objectivity, as well as why the voices advocating system change is consistently relegated to the opinion section. While news stories on renewable energy and technology present contention points and conflicts of interest, they still form a great part of the findings, and as such are consistent with previous research that indicate that this is the dominating trend when presenting measures to mitigate CO2 emissions. Also consistent with previous media research on climate journalism, this study finds that politicians are the dominant source, while private people are seldom used. As degrowth voices are only rarely present and almost solely in opinion content, they appear to struggle to break into the ‘hard’ news genre. Therefore, though not explicitly stated, the underlying assumption of economic growth does appear to be presented as the dominating common sense in both newspapers through the news genre, while the critical voices in good sense pushes on from the outskirts of the debates.

9 Conclusion

This study only analyses two Norwegian newspapers, *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, and as such cannot claim to address general Norwegian media representations. Nonetheless, by exploring one mainstream and one radical newspaper and 483 analysed texts, the study has given an overview of media representations of climate mitigation measures in connection to energy transitions in a Norwegian media context. The search words used were *klima** (climate*), *grønne skiftet* (green shift), and the investigated year was 2021. Once the relevant data material was gathered, a second search on the search words ‘*rettferdighet*’ and ‘*rettferdig omstilling*’ (‘justice’ and ‘just transition’) and ‘*solidaritet*’ (solidarity) was conducted. The findings and my interpretations have not been discussed with journalists in the selected newspapers.

While economic growth is not explicitly promoted in news content related to energy transition issues in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, it is not challenged either. In regards to the method applied in this study, QCA, George (1959) was as much interested in the absence of a topic as the presence of one. In the context of this study, the absence of green growth critique in news genres stands out to me. Laws and Chojnicka point out that even if media outlets address environmental and sustainability issues and acknowledge problems connected to this, ‘root causes and underlying conditions’ spurring the climate and environmental crisis are not focused on (2020, 1273). This study set out to examine whether such root causes and underlying conditions for the climate change problem are covered in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen*, and which almost solely appear in opinion content, rather than news content.

Putting growth critique on the news agenda might be challenged by those arguing that the most important problem that needs to be addressed is to reduce CO₂ emission (Pollin, 2018; Asafu-Adjaye et.al. 2015; Stoknes and Rockström. 2018), expressed in statements such as “It’s the carbon, stupid” (Neale, 2010 cited in Ytterstad, 2012). However, this perspective views the basic source of the climate crisis to be CO₂ emissions, while degrowth perspectives argue that it is economic growth which spurs the emissions and makes the task of reducing them all the more difficult (Hickel, 2020). It might seem as if the news stories on energy transition analysed in this study operates from the former perspective, and not the latter. As such, it still appears as if the hegemony of growth is dominating the battle over common sense in the media in connection to climate change mitigation measures, while degrowth voices pushes against this from below, or the side-lines, of the opinion columns.

However, it would be too narrow a focus to view ‘media makers of good sense’ (Ytterstad, 2012) as solely those who are critical of economic growth. There is ample critique of the fossil industry, and conflicts of interests regarding renewable energy projects are presented. These could be said to be media makers of good sense as well, as they highlight problematic aspects of energy transitions. Although, if good sense is to be understood as those voicing explicit critique against economic growth, then the good sense seems to be rather limited to the opinion columns. Therefore, while the findings indicate that oil and gas are problematized, in addition to highlighting conflicts of interests connected to renewable energy, the news stories discussing this are not truly progressive the way Laws and Chojnicka (2020) proposes it ought to be: The status quo, the underlying economic system, is not pulled into question in news stories on energy transition issues. As news are embedded in strict expectations of objectivity and fact-checking (Brurås, 2020), combined with the use of authority sources such as politicians (Boykoff, 2011), it could be argued that the news genre lends the issues discussed more weight than those topics discussed in the opinion genre.

Even so, as multiple scholars have addressed (Hallin, 1986; Ytterstad, 2012; Laws and Chojnicka, 2020; Brurås, 2020, Jacobsson, 2021), news need not be objective at all, but can often be embedded in the current dominating hegemonic - taken for granted - understandings prevalent in society, such as economic growth. As explicit critique of the hegemony of growth does not appear to have moved much beyond the opinion columns in either *Aftenposten* or *Klassekampen*, this gives the impression that the growth critical voices are still relegated to the side-lines of debates on energy transitions in the media. It will most likely be hard for degrowth voices to gain access to news stories as long as the basic understanding of energy transitions in news stories is implicitly taken for granted as economic growth. Perhaps Anna Rosemberg (2013) is right when she wonders if the debate regarding just transition is really about growth vs no growth.

This is especially pertinent to consider, given how justice and solidarity-related issues in the energy transition are relatively few in number in this study, 10 out of 203 texts in *Aftenposten* and 51 out of 280 texts in *Klassekampen*. While issues connected to justice and solidarity are at times connected to the Global North/South division, as well as acknowledging that the energy transition will have a different impact on different groups in society, depending on socio-economic and geographical factors, issues regarding a just transition is first and foremost seen in connection to workers currently employed in the fossil industry. Just transition

literature indicates that while the idea of a just transition, where, when, and for whom, has significantly expanded, an emphasis is still placed on just transition for oil workers (Wand and Lo, 2021). It seems as if the depictions of a just transition in *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* somewhat reflect that. There is hardly any mention of justice for non-human nature, which may suggest that the concept of justice in the climate crisis is largely androcentric.

However, it is not just *which* issues connected to energy transitions that are being presented that matters, but also *who* gets to present them and voice their opinions about them. As pointed out by many (Boykoff, 2011; Jacobsson, 2021; Willig et.al. 2022), and as the findings in this study indicate, it could be argued that journalists need to explore a greater diversity in whose voices are heard on climate change issues and regarding energy transitions aspects. The high number of politically cited sources suggests that journalists writing on these matters ought to a greater extent include expert voices, which the public seem to ask of climate journalism as well (Willig et.al. 2022). While political opinions on energy transition issues are certainly needed to be sought and highlighted by journalists as decisions on these matters are made by politicians and as such politicians need to be held accountable in the media, the flipside of a too narrow focus on political opinion is that it reduces the perspectives presented (Boykoff, 2011). To explore a greater variety of voices and perspectives on energy transition issues might open up for more perspectives on climate mitigation measures. This might also reduce the need to keep repeating the same political disagreements and perhaps shift the debates in more fruitful directions. Such disagreements certainly need to be covered by the media; yet seeking out a greater diversity in sources might open up new possibilities for climate mitigation measures.

In line with this way of thinking, Laws and Chojnicka argue that there is risk that people open to progressive ideas, might be drawn to media outlets which might not be truly progressive proponents, thereby limiting the potential to build societies within the planetary boundaries (2020, 1280). Seeing it from this perspective, it raises the question of whether critiquing the oil industry (though highly important) make for example *Aftenposten* seem progressive, even if they are not confronting the underlying economic structures that many would argue are a crucial part of the climate problem (Foster et.al. 2010; Hickel, 2020; Hickel and Kallis, 2020; Tilsted et.al. 2021). What is more, even a “nominally progressive media outlet” (Laws and Chojnicka, 2020, 1280), such as *Klassekampen*, might be less progressive than they desire or perhaps even strive for, by leaving the hegemony of growth unaddressed in news stories. This might suggest that

critiquing the growth paradigm is still so controversial that even an outspoken radical newspaper such as *Klassekampen* does not bring this issue into news stories perhaps at the risk of being accused of lack of ‘objectivity’, even if journalistic objectivity ought to be tied to the journalistic method, not the journalist themselves (Brurås, 2020).

Brurås argues that this perspective tends to get lost in discussions on journalistic objectivity and it appears that might in particular be the case in climate journalism. Because while mainstream journalism in many countries can now report on the climate change crisis as an established fact, the challenge now appears to be how to understand and construct stories about solutions and responses to the crisis without jeopardizing objectivity (Jacobsson, 2021). Several scholars argue that the consensus-oriented concept of sustainability, where economic growth is seen as a prerequisite for success, prevent the critique of power structures in modern society as discussions regarding sustainable solutions have neoliberalism as its starting point (Jacobsson, 2021, 482). However, climate change solutions which have economic growth as its basic premise are not explicitly presented as such, but are instead presented as “the only reasonable way of life” (Jacobsson, 2021, 485). Therefore, journalistic objectivity makes it difficult to cover systemic critique that would enable journalism to focus on the capitalist system and how it might be in conflict with climate change solutions (Jacobsson, 2021, 493), which is lacking in the news content analysed in both *Aftenposten* and *Klassekampen* in this study. As economic growth remains unquestioned in the news stories analysed in this thesis, the perspectives presented above resonates with the findings in this study.

This thesis emphasized in the introduction, that the media does not only reflect reality, but that the media also shape these realities (Boykoff, 2011). As such, the media holds significant responsibility for how they choose to frame climate change mitigation measures and who they, literally, hand the microphone to. These issues all point to what the future of journalism and climate change journalism specifically might or ought to entail. Jacobsson (2021) goes as far as to ask whether climate change journalism is failing in its democratic mission, and she is not the only one. The project, “Covering Climate Change: A New Playbook for a 1.5-Degree World”, conclude that being objective about climate change is unsuitable because it implies that journalism is failing in its responsibility to keep the public informed and to hold power accountable. Instead, journalism should concentrate on its responsibilities to awaken and

rouse the people to action⁶⁴ (Jacobsson, 2021, 486). If such a development towards a journalism which is explicit about its perspectives, in line with those promoting advocacy journalism, were to be a possibility, then the objectivity ideal is in need of rethinking.

Cunningham (2003) suggests that instead of clinging to the objectivity ideal, journalism and journalists need more freedom and encouragement to develop expertise that can be used to separate conflicting claims, identify and explain the underlying assumptions of those claims, and as such draw conclusions about what readers really need to know to understand what is going on and what to do about it. Building on this and in connection to possible measures to mitigate CO2 emissions, news journalism in pursuit of truth and in the interests of covering all credible perspectives in regards to these issues, would necessarily need to address how these topics connects to capitalism and the question of economic growth. A news journalism that does not, however, might still be missing out on crucial pieces of the puzzle that is how the climate crisis is to be mitigated while there is still time. Especially keeping in mind how Ytterstad argues that

an objective, truth-seeking journalism need be neither neutral nor balanced. *The greatest problem with global warming is that there are real, objective interests behind the political realism that says that we should be satisfied with baby measures in climate policy at the national or international level* (Ytterstad, 2012, 227, my emphasis).

This can be seen in connection to Brurås' argument that since "reality is not always balanced, then truthful journalism cannot always be either" (Brurås, 2020, 52, my translation). Furthermore, whose truth gets to be the dominant perspective in the media, might shape what is perceived as common sense and as a consequence what mitigation measures are deemed desirable and viable.

Further research

I have discussed the findings in light of selected works from the literature and hope to have spurred some discussions that might prove relevant for future research. It should be of great interest to explore further journalistic considerations regarding how the norm of objectivity influence climate news coverage, which topics are chosen for news stories and which gets

⁶⁴ This echoes aspects connected to advocacy journalism covered in the previous chapter, which is not a new debate within journalism, and can be traced back to civic (public) journalism and can be found in newer journalistic genres such as solution- and constructive journalism. The debate remains controversial, centred on issues of journalistic objectivity (see for instance Ottosen et.al. 2012; Hermans and Drok, 2018; McIntyre and Gyldensted; 2018, McIntyre, 2019).

attention in the opinion columns, as well as journalistic reflections on who gets to speak for the climate, to borrow Boykoff's phrase. These issues would be especially interesting to study in connection to how journalists view critique of economic growth in connection to the climate crisis and possible mitigation measures. Furthermore, related to this, it might be of interest to future research to explore journalistic perspectives on building consensus around issues in the media. This could be particularly relevant to examine in connection to controversial topics, and if this is something journalists view as compatible with the ideal of objectivity. Perhaps it might be possible to be bold on behalf of the planet and its inhabitants, both human and non-human, if the ideal of objectivity can to a greater degree be associated with the journalistic method, not the journalists themselves.

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Appendix

Analysed texts

Texts climate* Aftenposten 2021

Energy and technology

Fossil energy

Oil

News

1. *Interview Aftenposten 2.9.2021*
Oxford-filosofen ber oss tenke 10.000 år frem i tid
2. *News notice Aftenposten 20.11.2021*
Hundrevis melder seg ut av Kirken etter olje-nei
3. *News article Aftenposten 16.6.2021*
- Equinor bærer ved til klimabålet
4. *News article Aftenposten 11.6.2021*
Equinor: Massive utfordringer med energiomstillingen
5. *News article Aftenposten 4.9.2021*
Frp-profiler står bak «Oljebøllet».
6. *News article Aftenposten 2.9.2021*
Hermstad: Lettere å få en stans i oljeleting med Støre som statsminister
7. *News article Aftenposten 14.8.2021*
Reagerer kraftig på Støre
8. *News article Aftenposten 23.8.2021*
Oslo-folk vil ha slutt på oljeleting
9. *News article Aftenposten 29.9.2021*
Oljenæringens krisepakke kan bli langt dyrere enn antatt
10. *News article Aftenposten 28.1.2021*
Staten betaler leteutgifter for oljeselskaper som ikke tjener penger
11. *News article innenriks Aftenposten 12.8.2021*
Støre sier nei til felles rødgrønn klimapolitikk før valget.
12. *News article Aftenposten 2.10.2021*
SV-protest mot Ap-Sp-politikk
13. *News article innenriks Aftenposten 6.10.2021*
SV vil flytte oljemakt til Stortinget
14. *News article Aftenposten 10.8.2021*
Unge Høyre ber partiet ta en ny oljedebatt. Nei, sier Solberg.
15. *News article Aftenposten 19.5.2021*
- River vekk grunnlaget til argumentene for mer oljeleting

16. *News notice 22.5.2021*
Norsk oljenæring vil ikke slutte å lete etter mer
17. *News article Aftenposten 27.4.2021*
KrF: Nei til tildeling av nye lisenser
18. *News article Aftenposten 9.7.2021*
LO-topp har ingen tro på at SV får gjennomslag i oljepolitikken
19. *News article Aftenposten 10.6.2021*
MDG: Utfordrer SV, V og KrF til å legge ned veto mot mer oljeleting
SV, KrF og Venstre har alle vedtatt stans i leting etter mer olje og gass. Men de tre partiene avviser å stille ultimatum i regjeringsforhandlinger til høsten.
20. *News article Aftenposten 7.5.2021*
De rødgrønne åpner for å styrke Stortingets kontroll med oljen
21. *News article Aftenposten 27.2.2021*
Rekordlav interesse for oljeleting i Barentshavet
22. *News article Aftenposten 4.12.2021*
SV og NHO enige om klimaavtale

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 14.8.2021*
De petrofile. Oljens venner må bli mindre skråsikre.
2. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 24.8.2021*
Fnatt på museet. Lan Marie Berg inntar oljehovedstaden. For å legge den ned.
3. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 19.5.2021*
Med hodet i oljen. Slapp av. Det kan gå bra med norsk olje. Kanskje verden fortsatt gir blaffen i klimaet.
4. *Editorial 25.5.2021*
Norge trenger politikk for den siste olje
5. *Editorial Aftenposten 06.9.2021*
Norge trenger en ny oljepolitikk
6. *Op-ed Aftenposten 30.8.2021*
Den viktigste klimatilpasningen nå er å stemme ut oljepartiene.
7. *Op-ed Aftenposten 29.8.2021*
Har oljehykleriet sine fordeler?
8. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 12.1.2021*
Regjeringens klimaplan burde ledet ut av oljealderen. Den gjør det motsatte.
9. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 17.8.2021*
Hvordan bygge bro til fornybaralderen?
10. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 13.9.2021*
Grønn realisme
11. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 26.7.2021*
Naturkatastrofer verden over. Når vil man skjønne alvorret?
12. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 19.2.2021*
Nå må dere voksne gjøre en dugnad for oss.

Oil and gas

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 19.5.2021*
- Vi kommer ikke til å sette en sluttdato.
2. *News notice Aftenposten 29.1.2021*
Joe Biden stanser ny olje og gassvirksomhet.
3. *News article Aftenposten 10.8.2021*
Styrket i troen på sitt nei til regjeringens viktigste klimagrep
4. *News article Aftenposten 07.8.2021*
MDG ber Ap gjøre som Labour. Britiske Labour åpner for å sette sluttdato for olje- og gassleting. MDG ber det norske søsterpartiet gjøre det samme.
5. *News article Aftenposten 11.8.2021*
Har ett krav til den neste regjeringen
Skal MDG støtte noen regjering etter valget, må den slutte med all leting etter mer olje og gass.
6. *News article Aftenposten 29.8.2021*
Solberg: Klima mer enn olje og oljeproduksjon
7. *News article Aftenposten 21.4.2021*
Sier nok en gang nei til fortsatt leting etter olje og gass

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 12.11.2021*
Stimulere kull, olje og gass? Det må ta slutt.
2. *Commentary external contributor Aftenposten 29.8.2021*
La kanarifuglen synge
3. *Op-ed Aftenposten 1.9.2021*
Ny rapport: Dette kan skje dersom Norge kutter i olje og gassproduksjonen
4. *Op-ed Aftenposten 04.9.2021*
Rystad Energy undervurderer utslippseffekten av oljekutt SSB og NMBU
5. *Op-ed Aftenposten 8.9.2021*
Globale klimagassutslipp vil øke betydelig dersom norsk gass tas bort fra markedet.
6. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 30.4.2021*
Uimotsagt fossilpropaganda
7. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 22.10.2021*
EUs forslag om å stanse all olje og gassvirksomhet i Arktis har truffet en nerve
8. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 31.5.2021*
Ambisiøse klimamål krever alle typer løsninger
9. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 11.8.2021*
Jeg har sluttet å tro på dine løfter om handling, Støre.
10. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 7.9.2021*
Oljerapporten fra Rystad Energy ser bort fra nesten hele verden

11. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 15.10.2021*
Støre og Vedum har sviktet klimastreikerne
12. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 3.9.2021*
Tre spørsmål til Rystad Energy-rapporten
13. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 26.5.2021*
Utdaterte argumenter fra Norsk olje og gass
14. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 10.9.2021*
Klimakamp for økte utslipp?
15. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 3.6.2021*
Det mangler politisk vilje

Gas

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 2.11.2021*
Støre talte FN midt imot: Mener gass er en del av løsningen.
2. *News article Aftenposten 20.8.2021*
WWF mener Norge kan tape milliarder på ulønnsom gass

Coal

News

1. *News notice Aftenposten 12.1.2021*
Kullkraftverket på Svalbard legges ned.
2. *News article Aftenposten 4.10.2021*
Kullet må kuttes. Men er det egentlig det som skjer?

Opinions

1. *Editorial Aftenposten 24.9.2021*
Kina tar et viktig skritt i riktig retning

Renewable energy and technology

Batteries

1. *News reportage Aftenposten 29.10.2021.*
En ladbar verden lader opp.
2. *News article Aftenposten 12.5.2021*
Elkem vurderer å investere 10 mrd. i batteriproduksjon

Biogas/biofuel

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 10.10.2021*
Endestoppet for Oslos matavfall er blitt et pengesluk
2. *News article Aftenposten 27.1.2021*
Avføring fra fisk blir biogass i Danmark

3. *News article Aftenposten 18.2.2021*
Sier nei til populært klimatiltak
4. *News article Aftenposten 26.10.2021*
SVs klimaadvarsel til Støre: Ikke gjør som Høyre gjorde
5. *News article Aftenposten 21.10.2021*
Klimatiltak som kan koste Oslo flere hundre millioner, har ingen effekt
6. *News article Aftenposten 26.10.2021*
Oslo ber regjeringen om klimahjelp

Carbon capture storage (CCS)

News

1. *News reportage Aftenposten A-magasinet 29.10.2021*
Karbonjakten er i gang.
2. *News article Aftenposten 12.11.2021*
Her ligger nøkkelen til Oslos klimamål
3. *News article Aftenposten 17.11.2021*
Ingen EU-støtte til CO₂-fangst på Klemetsrud
4. *News article Aftenposten 27.11.2021*
Oslo gir ikke opp CO₂-fangst på Klemetsrud
5. *News article Aftenposten 30.11.2021*
EU om karbonfangst i Oslo: – For lite og umodent
6. *News article Aftenposten 24.10.2021*
Barth Eide avviser anklager mot Norge i BBC-artikkel
7. *News article Aftenposten 20.11.2021*
Langskip-budsjettet nær havari etter et knapt år

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 15.6.2021*
Fjerning av klimagasser fra atmosfæren er mulig - og tvingende nødvendig

Electrification of the oil platform

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 12.6.2021*
Electric Circus, avd. Løvebakken
2. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 25.2.2021*
Jo, elektrifisering har en global klimaeffekt
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 27.2.2021*
Enig i resonnementet om elektrifisering
4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 15.6.2021*
Oljesmurt elektrifisering gir utslipp og naturinngrep

Hydrogen

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 18.12.2021*

Én milliard til grønn ammoniakk: – Dette setter Norge på kartet

Opinions

1. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 13.8.2021*

Hydrogenveien er den raskeste veien til Paris

Mineral- and metal extraction

News

1. *News notice Aftenposten 17.12.2021*

Norge får gruveavfall-kritikk fra Esa

2. *News article Aftenposten 29.11.2021*

USA relanserer seg i Afrika. Vil stormakten lykkes?

Nuclear energy

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 7.6.2021*

Hver tredje vil at Norge skal satse på kjernekraft

2. *News reportage Aftenposten 11.11.2021*

Ikke lenger «Aldri mer!»

3. *News article Aftenposten 27.12.2021*

Vind er ikke nok. Nederland sier ja takk til atomkraft

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 13.4.2021*

Det radioaktive partiet

2. *Op-ed kjernekraft 11.11.2021*

Kjernekraft må med i energimiksen

3. *Op-ed Aftenposten 30.3.2021*

Det er på tide å slutte med ensidige og negative fortellinger om atomer og stråling

4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 13.12.2021*

Ustabil vindkraft eller stabil kjernekraft? Det haster å velge

Renewable energy and technology in general

News

1. *News reportage, A-magasinet, Aftenposten, 29.10.2021*

Oljeskiftet

2. *Portrait interview Aftenposten 23.4.2021*

Overløperen

3. *News article Aftenposten 19.3.2021*

5 teknotrender som kan påvirke livet ditt Vi har spurt ekspertene

4. *News notice Aftenposten 25.9.2021*
400
5. *News notice Aftenposten 12.5.2021*
Fornybar energi i vinden
6. *News article Aftenposten 2.11.2021*
Oslo har millioner til å kutte klimautslipp. Mye står ubrukt

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 26.4.2021*
Stormen mot vind løyet litt i SV
2. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 24.4.2021*
SVs seier er blitt SVs hodepine
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 15.9.2021*
Kinesisk-norsk klimasamarbeid med felles mål og felles verdier.
4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 25.2.2021*
Bill Gates har forstått miljøkatastrofen

Solar energy

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 30.1.2021*
Borettslag og sameier mister støtte til å spare strøm
2. *News article Aftenposten 17.3.2021*
Borettslag med solceller straffes med avgifter
3. *News article Aftenposten 20.3.2021*
Pålegg om å fjerne «straff» for solstrøm ikke fulgt opp
4. *News article i Aftenposten 12.5.2021*
Borettslagene blir hørt: Slipper å betale avgift for egenprodusert strøm

Windmills

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 06.12.201*
Kjempet mot vindkraft i hyttekommunen – kan få saken på eget bord

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 7.9.2021*
Fyr for myr

Economy

Perspectives on re-thinking the economy

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 11.7.2021*
Generasjonen som stjal fra den neste
2. *Op-ed Aftenposten 20.11.2021*
Spørsmålet ingen stiller er hvordan vi ønsker å dø
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 17.9.2021*
Til den nye regjeringen: Hva er forskjellen på kode rød for pandemien og for klimaet?

Climate budgets

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 7.1.2021*
Varsler «historisk taktskifte i klimapolitikken»
2. *News article Aftenposten 5.11.2021*
Regjeringens viktigste klimatiltak er et budsjett
3. *News article Aftenposten 30.11.2021*
Støre lover å kutte mer i klimautslipp
4. *News article Aftenposten 9.11.2021*
- Kan ikke godta et budsjett som svekker klimapolitikken
5. *News article Aftenposten 14.11.2021*
Støre-regjeringen bruker mer på å motvirke klimatiltak i Norge enn på å styrke dem

Climate funding

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 29.10.2021*
Støre lover en dobling av klimamidler for utviklingsland
2. *News article innenriks Aftenposten 30.10.2021*
Høyre: Støre svekker Solbergs klimaløfte

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 3.5.2021*
Norsk bistand kan utløse milliarder i fornybar investeringer
2. *Op-ed Aftenposten 28.9.2021*
Fra «u-hjelp» til globale investeringer.
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 5.10.2021*
Forvirrende bistands-merkelapper
4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 5.11.2021*
Regjeringen oppfører seg som en omvendt Robin Hood

Climate taxes

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 9.2.2021*
Åpner for skattekutt som en del av klimapolitikken
2. *News article Aftenposten 10.2.2021*
Ap sier nei til brede klima-skattekutt til bedriftene
3. *News article innenriks Aftenposten 8.9.2021*
Når selv oljelobbyen omfavner oljeskatten, er bløffen avslørt

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 1.9.2021*
Endelig! (Dette burde skjedd for lenge siden.)
Skattesystemet skal ikke lenger stimulere til nye investeringer i olje og gass. Det er jaggu på tide.

The role of investments

News

1. *Background article Aftenposten A-magasinet 27.2.2021*
Grønne nykommere i kø til Oslo Børs.
2. *News article Aftenposten 8.3.2021*
- Den grønne bølgen drives av grådighet
3. *News article Aftenposten 27.6.2021*
Nå drysser hun penger over Europa
4. *News article Aftenposten 19.11.2021*
En fjerde koronabølge truer de økonomiske utsiktene til EU

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 4.11.2021*
En sentralbanksjef er blitt finansverdenens Greta Thunberg
2. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 21.8.2021*
Dette er noe av det viktigste Norge gjør for klimaet

The role of the state

News

1. *News article innenriks 1088 ord Aftenposten 21.4.2021*
- Støre forstår ikke privat næringsliv, det er åpenbart
2. *News article Aftenposten 08.04.2021*
Arbeiderpartiet vil øke eksporten fra fastlandet med 50 prosent til 2030

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 28.2.2021*
Mot en kapitalisme med staten i en mer aktiv rolle
2. *Commentary external contributor Aftenposten 6.6.2021*
Total forandring, total forvaltning.
3. *Commentary external contributor Aftenposten 30.5.2021*
Økonomisk kuvending verden over. Hva med Norge?
4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 8.6.2021*
Det trengs ingen kuvending i norsk økonomi
5. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 22.4.2021*
Om å lage politikk gjennom bakspeilet

Industry and Business

Industry

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 4.9.2021*
Norsk Industri advarer mot Senterpartiets industripolitikk
2. *News article Aftenposten 23.11.2021*
Ny rapport: Det er lite sannsynlig at Norge når klimamålene i 2030
3. *News article Aftenposten 5.10.2021*
Varsler endringer i industripolitikken

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial Aftenposten 27.3.2021*
Langt, langt borte så han noe grønt lyse og glitre
2. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 22.1.2021*
Hva vil staten med «klimabedriftene» Statkraft og Equinor?
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 6.4.2021*
Mer samarbeid mellom stat og industri

Business

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 6.6.2021*
Håper på store inntekter fra tareoppdrett

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 8.1.2021*
Festen uteble. Men NHO har funnet et grønt kinderegg.
2. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 17.8.2021*
Norge trenger norske private eiere

Texts green shift Aftenposten 2021

Energy and technology

Fossile energy

Oil

News

1. *Interview Aftenposten 13.8.2021*
Ambassadøren som gruer seg til å dra
2. *News article Aftenposten 9.7.2021*
LO-topp har ingen tro på at SV får gjennomslag i oljepolitikken
3. *News article Aftenposten 19.1.2021*
Mener Solberg ikke kan ta æren for at oljepakken virker
4. *News article Aftenposten 7.5.2021*
De rødgrønne åpner for å styrke Stortingets kontroll med oljen

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 22.10.2021*
Støre skrur opp høreapparatet
2. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 15.09.2021*
Listhaug skylder på KrF og Venstre
3. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 8.9.2021*
Noen å klø bak øret
4. *Op-ed Aftenposten 20.9.2021*
Hvis ikke Norge går i bresjen for en grønn omstilling, hvem da?
5. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 12.3.2021*
Ski VM er over men regjeringen tar gull i selvbedrag.
6. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 20.9.2021*
Samfunns-opdrag: Norge etter oljen

Oil and gas

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 2.10.2021*
Mindre forskjeller og gøy på landet
2. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 16.12.2021*
Bevar olje og gassnæringen!

Coal

News

1. *News reportage Aftenposten 1.11.2021*
Familien har fått beskjed om at de ikke har noen fremtid her. Men de nekter å flytte.

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten.11.2021*
Kina: Grønt skifte med svarte kanter

Renewable energy

Batteries

News

1. *News notice Aftenposten 14.9.2021*
Norge gikk glipp av EUs milliardpakker for batterier

Biogas

News

1. *News article innenriks 807 ord Aftenposten 9.10.2021*
Oslo og Viken mener regjeringen trenerer viktig biogass-satsing

Carbon capture storage (CCS)

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 6.11.2021*
Tysk industritopp: Tyskland bør lære av Norges klimapolitikk

Hydrogen

News

1. *News notice Aftenposten 25.2.2021*
Vil bygge verdens første drivstoffstasjon i havet

Mineral- and metal extraction

News

1. *News reportage Aftenposten 23.6.2021*
Hun leder et av Europas store gruveprosjekter - og har ferten av grønt gull
2. *News article Aftenposten 23.7.2021*
Lenker seg fast mot gruvedrift
3. *News article Aftenposten 8.4.2021*
Derfor følger stormaktene med på valget på Grønland
4. *News article Aftenposten 12.12.2021*
Kina vinner kampen om Kongos kobolt

Nuclear energy

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 25.2.2021*
Vi kan ikke ha et grønt skifte uten kjernekraft

Offshore windfarms

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 24.12.2021*
Sinken skal få sving på møllene

Renewable energy and technology in general

News

1. *Background article Aftenposten 5.10.2021*
Under «Slik kan tekno-året 2021 bli»
2. *News article Aftenposten 11.6.2021*
- Skal gjøre Norge grønnere og bedre
3. *News article Aftenposten 1.09.2021*
Ny rapport: Verden når ikke klimamålene
4. *News article Aftenposten 4.7.2021*
Kolbotn IL skal bruke millioner på ny miljøvennlig teknologi
5. *News article Aftenposten 14.10.2021*
IEA: Satses ikke nok for fremtidens energibehov

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 17.2.2021*
For Norge kan det grønne skiftet bli lønnsomt
2. *Letter to the newspaper debatt 781 ord Aftenposten 16.3.2021*
5G-racet starter nå. Sverige og Tyskland viser vei.
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 24.9.2021*
Vi trenger en handlingsregel for klima
4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 17.8.2021*
Hvordan bygge bro til fornybaralderen?

Solar energy

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 31.3.2021*
Vil fjerne avgift på solceller i borettslag

Windmills

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 22.4.2021*
Dyp splittelse i SV om vind til lands og til vanns

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Perspectives on re-thinking the economy

News

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Drivhuset.
Sirkulærøkonomi: Alt som kan brukes om igjen må brukes om igjen.
2. *Interview Aftenposten 25.3.2021*
Tidligere SV-leder Erik Solheim advarer:
Vi kan få en rødgrønn regjering uten visjoner

Opinions

1. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 12.8.2021*
Det finnes bare ett alternativ nå

Climate funding

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 22.9.2021*
Biden i FN: Amerika er tilbake

The role of the state

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 8. 4.2021*
Ap vil ha mer stat i det grønne skiftet
2. *News Aftenposten 20.4.2021*
Vil heller at staten skal eie selskaper enn å gi dem tilskudd

The role of investments

News

1. *News article Aftenposten 3.4.2021*
DNB vil fylle hullet etter oljen
2. *News article Aftenposten 17.6.2021*
DNB skjerper kravene til kunder med høye utslipp
3. *News article Aftenposten 25.8.2021*
Lover 150.000 grønne jobber innen 2035
4. *News article Aftenposten 8.11.2021*
Venstre mener budsjettgrep kan gi tre milliarder i grønne investeringer
En ny låneordning og et EU-program skal sette fart på grønne investeringer i Norge

Opinions

1. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 27.1.2021*
Løsninger - ikke person

Industry and Business

Industry

News

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LO og NHO med fem krav til Støre

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Aftenposten 18.4.2021*
Statlige industrieventyr kan bli svært dyre

Business

News

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Vil plukke våre nye næringer
2. *News notice 25.3.2021*
980 millioner kroner til grønn omstilling
3. *News notice Aftenposten 5.6.2021*
NHO er godt fornøyd med frihandelsavtalen

Opinions

1. *Editorial Aftenposten 21.1.2021*
Biden må lede stødig og pragmatisk
2. *Commentary editorial office Aftenposten 5.2.2021*
Et etterlengtet slag i trynet
3. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 7.1.2021*
Koronaåret var en god start på klimatiåret
4. *Letter to the newspaper Aftenposten 27.4.2021*
Vi må lære av historien

Texts climate* Klassekampen 2021

Energy and technology

Fossil Energy

Oil

News

1. *Interview Klassekampen 15.2.2021*
Senterpartiet skal nå Norges klimamål, men ikke slik regjeringen foreslår, sier leder Trygve Slagsvold Vedum:
Skjermer ikke olja
2. *Interview Klassekampen 2.10.2021*
Angrer ikke på SV-utspill
3. *Background article Klassekampen 29.5.2021*
OLJEEVENTYRET (1971–2021)
Snipp, snapp, snute

4. *Interview Klassekampen 14.8.2021*
KLIMA. Tager det han haver
5. *News article Klassekampen 26.6.2021*
For å nå klimamålene sine må Equinor kutte enorme mengder klimagassutslipp innen 2050: Må kutte mer enn Norge
6. *News article innenriks Klassekampen 28.5.2021*
Equinor lar seg ikke påvirke av det internasjonale energibyråets rapport: AVVISER NORSK OLJESTOPP
7. *News article Klassekampen 29.12.2021*
Et flertall i befolkningen mener Norge har ansvar for klimagassutslipp fra olje vi selger: Gir Norge ansvar for olja
8. *News article Klassekampen 30.10.2021*
Norges nye statsråder for olje, energi og klima vil sette fart på utbygging av fornybar kraft: Nekter å rikke olje-politikken
9. *News article Klassekampen 20.5.2021*
Forskere og industrien er ikke enige om hvorvidt Norge bør følge IEA-råd og stanse ny oljeleting: Tror ikke på oljesmell
10. *News article Klassekampen 4.10.2021*
Bransjeorganisasjonen Norsk olje og gass håpar og trur at lite vil skje med norsk oljepolitikk: Forventar full gass
11. *News article Klassekampen 31.5.2021*
Grønne partier på borgerlig side vil ikke stoppe oljeleting, tross advarsler fra IEA: Stemmer for mer olje
12. *News article Klassekampen 27.5.2021*
IEAs oljestopp-rapport påvirker ikke LOs og NHO ønske om å åpne nye oljefelt: Superlobby får oljebråk.
13. *News article Klassekampen 25.9.2021*
Naturvernforbundet slår i forhandlingsbordet med å utrede stans i oljeleting: Vil stanse utdelingen
14. *News article Klassekampen 1.12.2021*
Equinor forventer halvert produksjon i 2050: Olja er ikke død
15. *News article Klassekampen 19.8.2021*
Oljearbeider mener Norge bør sette en sluttdato for olja: VIL AVVIKLE SIN EGEN BRANSJE
16. *News article Klassekampen 2.11.2021*
Oljenæringen splitter folket mellom øst og vest og privat og offentlig sektor: Olja polariserer folket
17. *News article Klassekampen 22.5.2021*
Oljeultimatum til tross – kommer MDG på vippen, blir Støre ny statsminister: Gir grønn garanti for Støre

18. *News article 19.8.2021*
**KrF og Venstre varsler omkamp om energimeldingen som ble lagt fram i juni:
Mot borgerlig utblåsning**
19. *News article Klassekampen 13.8.2021*
**Fagfolk deler ikke Frps frykt for at oljekutt vil gi mer makt til «bandittstater»:
Ikke redd for røverstater.**
20. *News article Klassekampen 5.6.2021*
**V, Rødt og MDG ber staten pålegge Equinor å følge Parisavtalen:
Krever et grønt Equinor**
21. *News article Klassekampen 16.1.2021*
**Lars Haltbrekken (SV) mener oljeindustrien slipper billig unna i klimameldingen:
Staten får CO2-regningen**
22. *News article Klassekampen 20.8.2021*
**SV «skal slåss» for å stanse oljeleting i regjeringsforhandlinger, men stiller ikke ultimatum:
Stiller krav til Ap og Sp**
23. *News article Klassekampen 30.12.2021*
**Vil et norsk oljekutt hjelpe klimaet eller føre til en energikrise? Folket er delt i synet på
norsk oljeeksport:
Hvem har ansvaret for olja?**
24. *News article Klassekampen 29.6.2021*
**Naturvernforbundet går hardt ut mot kuttplanene til Equinor:
Ikke troverdig**
25. *News notice Klassekampen 1.9.2021*
**Ein ny rapport frå Rystad Energy konkluderer med at eit kutt i produksjonen av olje og
gass i Noreg truleg vil bidra til auka globale utslepp av klimagassar**
26. *News notice Klassekampen 28.10.2021*
Forsvarer oljestans
27. *News notice Klassekampen 20.10.2021*
Krever norsk støtte
28. *News notice Klassekampen 23.2.2021*
Reagerer på tolkning av FN-rapport
29. *News notice Klassekampen 2.9.2021*
Oljegrep gir SV blod på tann
30. *News article Klassekampen 17.11.2021*
**Kirkemøtet har vedtatt en radikal klimaog miljøplan:
Ber om oljestans**
31. *News article Klassekampen 11.6.2021*
**Biden vil øke USAs klimakredibilitet i Europa • Er under økt klimapress på hjemmebane
Kjemper mot Bidens oljerør**
32. *News article Klassekampen 12.11.2021*
**Lanserer brei allianse for å fase ut olja:
Samles om oljestans**

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 17.8.2021*
Norge må kutte klimagassutslippene drastisk innen 2030.
Vi er på etterskudd
2. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 2.9.2021*
Bør rapporten fra Rystad Energy avvises som et useriøst bestillingsverk?
Fagfellevurdert klimadebatt
3. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 2.9.2021*
Billig fossil energi er fortsatt viktig for utviklingen i fattige land.
Usolidarisk utfasing
4. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 12.11.2021*
Vi trenger ikke mer byråkratprat og løse avtaler, vi trenger handling i dag.
Unnasluntrerne
5. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 9.2.2021*
Med olje og gasspedalen i bånd, kjører industrien rett i fjellveggen.
Petroleumspopulisme
6. *Commentary external Klassekampen 6.9.2021*
Rett skylda der den hører hjemme.
Miljøindividualisme
7. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 21.5.2021*
Norges satsing på fortsatt oljeutvinning kan bety økonomisk selvmord.
Negativ tenkning
8. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 21.9.2021*
Norsk oljeretorikk hviler på en konsekvensetikk som tåkelegger ansvaret.
Gedigent selvbedrag
9. *Op-ed Klassekampen 4.6.2021*
Det er utviklinga av ny energiteknologi som vil gjere nye oljefelt ulønsamt, ikkje stans i oljeutvinninga: Eit vegkart for nullutslepp
10. *Op-ed Klassekampen 10.9.2021*
Debatten om norsk oljeutvinning tilsløres av et grønt røykteppe.
Norske oljemyter
11. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 14.11.2021*
Bruk olja
12. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 2.9.2021*
Vi må tenke globalt
13. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 8.9.2021*
Vi holdes for narr
14. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 15.9.2021*
Norsk olje og Antarktis.
15. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 11.3.2021*
Den magiske datoen
16. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 15.03.2021*
Hvilken allianse?

17. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 4.9.2021*
Still krav, Moxnes!
18. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 21.10.2021*
Om fingerbruk i klimakampen
19. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 29.5.2021*
Det blir ikke fred, vi kan fortsatt bombe
20. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 3.11.2021*
Zorba Barth Eide
21. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 17.4.2021*
Iskanten, en troverdighetstest
22. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 13.9.2021*
Vi oljearbeidere bør stemme MDG
23. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 2.9.2021*
Handlekraft og rettferdighet
24. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 11.9.2021*
Klare krav fra Rødt
25. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 1.9.2021*
Rødt må prioritere letestans.
26. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 19.8.2021*
Ja, vi er på etterskudd, Braanen
27. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 25.8.2021*
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1. *News notice 30.9.2021*
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1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 5.6.2021*
Olje, gass og IEA
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 24.4.2021*
SV, olje og gass – litt realisme, takk!

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1. *News notice Klassekampen 16.12.2021*
Kveler gassen.
2. *News notice Klassekampen 14.10.2021*
IEA: Investering i fossil-avrusing må triples

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1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 16.11.2021*

Nedtrapping: et politisk ansvar

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Electrification of the oil platform

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1. *News article Klassekampen 21.4.2021*

Ber SV holde kraft på land

2. *News article Klassekampen 10.3.2021*

**Elektrifisering av oljeplattformer vil gi kraftunderskudd, ifølge bransjeorganisasjon:
Gir oss fem år til krise**

3. *News article innenriks Klassekampen 7.5.2021*

Gavepakke til olja

4. *News article Klassekampen 17.3.2021*

**MDG freder klimamålene etter oppgjør om elektrifisering:
Står på målene**

5. *News article Klassekampen 6.9.2021*

**Elektrifisering av sokkelen fra land er en korttenkt og uklok investering, mener Manifest:
Mener krafta må til havs**

6. *News article Klassekampen 18.6.2021*

**I Energimeldingen sår regjeringen tvil om effekten av å elektrifisere oljebransjen:
Klimagevinsten er usikker**

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 3.12.2021*

**Elektrifisering av norsk sokkel er først og fremst en investering i olja.
Tre ulike løsninger**

2. *Op-ed Klassekampen 4.3.2021*

Elektrifiseringseffekten

3. *Op-ed Klassekampen 13.30.2021*

**En elektrifisering av sokkelen vil føre til en sterk økning i prisen på strøm både for hushold
og industri.**

Stopp elektrifiseringen

4. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 10.3.2021*

Uholdbar logikk og moral

5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 6.4.2021*

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Renewable energy and technology in general

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 11.11.2021*
Teknologioptimisme og folk med kopling til fossilindustrien dominerer paviljongene i Glasgow: Reklamerer for seg selv
2. *News article Klassekampen 8.10.2021*
Klimatoppmøtet i Glasgow nærmer seg • Stor spenning knyttet til Kina og Xi Jinpings rolle. Satses på bonus fra Beijing

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1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 2.11.2021*
Lang vei fram
2. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 6.5.2021*
Hvis vi ikke får gjort noe med energibehovet til databruk og datalagring, vil andre klimatiltak bli nytteløse. Elefanten i drivhuset.
3. *Op-ed Klassekampen 4.3.2021*
I algoritmenes tidsalder må innovasjons og forskningspolitikken spørre: Hva slags framtid ønsker vi? Kreativitetens kollaps.
4. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 3.6.2021*
Tør vi å satse på IEAs quick fix?
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 14.12.2021*
Solgløtt til Heggdal
6. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 28.1.2021*
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7. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 29.9.2021*
Katastrofeønsking

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1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 22.5.2021*
Blåøyd tro på blått hydrogen?

Mineral and metal extraction

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1. *News reportage Klassekampen 11.11.2021*
**Lokalbefolkningen har store forventninger til Bolivias litiumeventyr, men er bekymret for tilgang til vann og jobber:
DE VIL VÆRE MED PÅ DANSEN**
2. *News reportage Klassekampen 21.4.2021*
Snart ti år etter at Grønlands eneste gullgruve stengte, har flere store planer på verdens største øy: GULLFEBEREN ER TILBAKE.
3. *News article Klassekampen 1.9.2021*
**Sametinget har jobbet på spreng for å stanse Nussir-gruva:
Presset ut tysk kunde**

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Klassekampen 3.11.2021*
Regjeringen er på dypt vann når de vil åpne for mineralutvinning i havet. Det kan få store konsekvenser.
Risikosport på havets bunn.

Nuclear energy

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1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 22. 6.2021*
Hvorfor er venstresida så skeptisk til atomkraft?
Krafttragedien.
2. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 3. 6.2021*
Den nye kjernekraften
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 11.2.2021*
Ti år etter Fukushima – farvel til atomkraft!
4. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 20.10.2021*
Ingenting, Heggdal?
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 22.10.2021*
Den gamle mannen og atomkraftverket
6. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 22.11.2021*
Useriøst
7. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 26.10.2021.*
Russisk rulett med Heggdal
8. *Letter to the newspaper m Klassekampen 27.12.2021*
Det lekker
9. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 3.7.2021*
Hør litt nå, unge mann

Offshore windfarms

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 26.8.2021*
Verdifull kartleggingstid har alt gått tapt • Fuglar kan lida under vindkraft-satsing
Fryktar at naturomsyn tapar
2. *News article Klassekampen 3.9.2021*
Sp og SV utelukker ikke hybride løsninger for havvind:
Kan selge krafta

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 12.6.2021*
Havvind kan bli stort, veldig stort
2. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 7.5.2021*
Det finnes ingen gratis lunsj.
Luftslott til havs

3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 5.3.2021*
Nei til salg av kysten
4. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 3.3.2021*
Mot all havvind?
5. *Letter to the newspaper 577 ord Klassekampen 22.4.2021*
Havvind, et farlig blindspor
6. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 31.3.2021*
Strutsen og sokkelen
7. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 22.4.2021*
Klimakutt og havvind
8. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 19.6.2021*
Ingen motforestillinger?

Solar energy

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 21.7.2021*
**SV tror solkraft kan dekke en tredel av energiproduksjonen i 2030:
Slik skal næringen skinne**

Windmills

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 21.4.2021*
Blåser opp til vind-strid
2. *News article Klassekampen 27.9.2021*
**• Raudgrøn semje om fleire delar av energipolitikken • Landbasert vindkraft splittar
Kjølig til LOs kraftkrav**
3. *News article Klassekampen 19.2.2021*
**Krav om vindkraft på land skytes ned av venstresida og industritillitsvalgte:
Advarer mot vindkraft**
4. *News article Klassekampen 24.12.2021*
**Mens regjeringa ser etter ei løysing for at vindkraftanlegga kan stå, er juristar klare:
Ser ingen veg om fjerning**
5. *News article Klassekampen 31.12.2021*
**Vindkraftmotstanden øker i befolkningen:
Sier nei til ny vindkraft**
6. *News article Klassekampen 14.11.2021*
**Europas største vindkraftorganisasjon ber Norge bygge ny vindkraft raskt for klimaets
skyld:
Vil ha ti ganger så mye vind**

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 15.10.2021*
Kva betyr vindkraftdommen for grøn industri og miljøpolitikk? Jag etter vind

2. *Op-ed Klassekampen 24.8.2021*
Striden mellom Fosen Vind og Fosen reinbeitedistrikt kan gi avklaringer om urfolks rettigheter.
Retten til livsgrunnlaget
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 27.9.2021*
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Perspectives on re-thinking the economy

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1. *Background article Klassekampen 26.4.2021*
Fra kanten av krateret
2. *Background Klassekampen 13. 8.2021*
Håndbok i antikapitalisme
3. *Interview Klassekampen 31.12.2021*
Hvor går vi nå? Vi har spurt Nina Björk, George Monbiot og Francesca Borri til råds: KLIMA, KRIG OG KAPITALISME
4. *Portrait interview Klassekampen 14.8.2021*
Erik Dammann er ikke bitter. Men han får ofte lyst til å si «hva var det jeg sa?».
Den evige idealist
5. *Portrait interview Klassekampen 6.11.2021*
Livskrisa og verdenskrisa traff Linn Stalsberg samtidig. Da måtte hun bare rydde litt i samfunnsdebatten.
Snille Linn

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 10.8.2021*
Kostnader
2. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 3.3.2021*
Fetisjen vi ikke snakker om.
Tix og Marx
3. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 6.11.2021*
Fossiler og milliardærer.
Rødt kort?
4. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 13.8.2021*
Evig vekst er ikke forenelig med å redde verdens klima.
Mer, mer og MER?
5. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 30.3.2021*
«Ja takk, begge deler»-holdningen til klima er himmelropende naiv.
Magisk tenkning
6. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 14.12.2021*
Det er god grunn til å spørre om kapitalismen vil overleve.
Et vakkelt system

7. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 29.6.2021*
Folkhemmet var ikke et antikapitalistisk, men anstendig velferd samfunn. Sverige må tilbake til den demokratiske sosialismen.
Hva ville Tage Erlander ha gjort?
8. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 14.8.2021*
Det er langt igjen til null.
Myten om fremskrittet
9. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 30.10.2021*
Appell til våre politikere.
Snakk sant!
10. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 12.8.2021*
Ikke hør på glade næringsnihilister som vil rasere naturen.
Solidaritet i nord?
11. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 26.10.2021*
Det som er dårlig nytt økonomisk, er godt nytt økologisk.
Tilbake til krisen.
12. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 14.8.2021*
Miljøutfordringene er like uløste som før. Til gjengjeld har de sosiale forskjellene økt.
Indre marked i miljøkamp
13. *Op-ed Klassekampen 9.11.2021*
Teknologioptimisme og stadig nye «grønne» satsninger tilslører problemet med at vi lever over evne.
Gratis lunsj i Glasgow?
14. *Op-ed Klassekampen 11.8.2021*
Hvis ikke ekstremværet setter klimadebatten på høygir i valgkampen, hva kan da gjøre det?
I skyggen av flammene.
15. *Op-ed Klassekampen 8.7.2021*
Chiles nye grunnlov må svare til globale utfordringer. Det kan sette presedens.
En ny grunnlov for Chile
16. *Op-ed Klassekampen 10.7.2021*
Framleis vekst er ein forferdeleg tanke – også om han er sirkulær, skriv Torbjørn Selseng og Carlo Aall.
Farleg freisting
17. *Op-ed Klassekampen 21.10.2021*
Koronapandemien har vist at en annen levemåte er mulig. Men reell endring krever at vi utfordrer selve kapitalismen.
Hva om normalen er krisen?
18. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 10.6.2021*
Verdens skrotnisser
19. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 11.12.2021*
Høyres klimaraddis
20. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 30.6.2021*
Praten om veksten

21. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 24.6.2021*

Vekst, overforbruk og økologisk kollaps

22. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 9.12.2021*

Evig vekst er umulig

23. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 9.8.2021*

Om å stå stille på brennende grunn

Climate funding

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1. *News notice Klassekampen 30.10.2021*

Dobler klimastøtte til u-land

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Klassekampen 25.10.2021*

Hvordan kan norsk bistand bidra til å begrense global oppvarming – og samtidig bekjempe fattigdom?

Grønn bistand

2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 11.11.2021*

Vanlige folk bor helst i Norge

3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 24.12.2021*

Ta debatten, Tvinnereim

Climate taxes

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 19.1.2021*

Mener SV tar feil om oljeskatt

2. *News article Klassekampen 3.9.2021*

Ap-nestleder Anne Beathe Tvinnereim vil ha bredt forlik om endringer i oljeskatten: Vil ha folk flest bak oljeskatt

3. *News article Klassekampen 17.11.2021*

Klimatoppmøtet i Glasgow vil påvirke norsk politikk, mener klimaforsker. SV ser mot oljeskatten: Peker på oljeskatt

4. *News article Klassekampen 2.9.2021*

Samfunnsøkonomer støtter regjeringens nye oljeskatt: Oljealderen er ikke over

5. *News notice Klassekampen 6. 9.2021*

Snur om oljeskatten

6. *News article Klassekampen 12.8.2021*

Fellesforbundets leder Jørn Eggum ber de rødgrønne la olja slippe mer skatt: Krever at oljeskatten fredes

The role of investments

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 13.4.2021*
**SV, MDG, Rødt og Sp er positive til Aps forslag om et mer klimavennlig oljefond:
Mot et grønnere fond**
2. *News article Klassekampen 28. 8.2021*
**Ap, Sp og SV marsjerer i utakt, men begynner for alvor å finne samme retning i
klimapolitikken:
Ap frir med nye klimaforslag**

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1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 24.6.2021*
Det politiske ved oljefondet
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 13.2.2021*
En tafatt aksjonær
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 19.4.2021*
Oljeavhengigheten

The role of the state

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1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 18.5.2021*
Grøftekjøring
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 10.9.2021*
Ja takk, begge deler
3. *Letter to the newspaper 26.5.2021 Klassekampen*
Staten og markedet
4. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 16.11.2021*
Civitas barnetro
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 25.05.2021*
Agenda er pragmatisk

Industry and Business

Industry

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 11.11.2021*
Vil ha med miljøfolk
2. *News article Klassekampen 24.3.2021*
**Arbeiderpartiet mener regjeringen spenner bein på det grønne industriskiftet:
Advarer om strømkrise.**
3. *News article Klassekampen 14.7.2021*
**Industriaktører frykter at toll på karbon kan gi Norge dårligere konkurransevilkår:
Kan koste for industrien.**
4. *News article Klassekampen 29.1.2021*
**Mener Norge somler med utvikling av grønn industri:
Vil lære av Kina.**

5. *News article Klassekampen 5.5.2021*
**Naturvernorganisasjoner er dypt bekymret for LO og NHOs kraft og industriplan:
En krigserklæring**
6. *News notice Klassekampen 16.8.2021.*
Skal kutte utslipp med ny industri

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 26.5.2021*
**Om ni år skal norske utslipp være halvert. Da trengs en koordinert omstilling.
Det er alvor nå**
2. *Op-ed Klassekampen 21.2.2021*
**Det trengs en ny retning i klimapolitikken, slik at vi slipper å velge mellom industridød eller
naturdød.
Natur + industri = sant**
3. *Op-ed Klassekampen 21.6.2021*
**En rødgrønn regjering må ha planen klar: Skrinlegg elektrifiseringen – og etabler havvind
på sokkelen.
Framtidas industripolitikk**
4. *Op-ed Klassekampen 9.9.2021*
**Det norske oljeeventyret kom ikkje av seg sjølv. Ei ny regjering må ta grep om
fornybarsatsinga.
Ny industri, ny politikk**
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 20.5.2021*
En ny superlobby?
6. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 31.8.2021*
Eit grønt eksempel
7. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 16.9.2021*
Omstillingen er for lengst i gang, Moen
8. *Letter to the newspaper 377 ord Klassekampen 6.3.2021*
Fortsatt industri?
9. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 10.6.2021*
Superlobbyens gode grep?
10. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 3.6.2021*
Hva med de unge?
11. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 16.11.2021*
Vi må samarbeide, Følsvik

Business

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 20.11.2021*
**Levemåter og næringsliv de neste tiåra endres i et tempo mennesker aldri har opplevd.
Etter Glasgow, hva så?**

2. *Op-ed Klassekampen 19.6.2021*
Fisken og folket
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 26.11.2021*
En vei ut av tunnelen

Texts green shift Klassekampen 2021

Energy and technology

Fossil energy

Oil

News

1. *Background article Klassekampen 18.9.2021*
**En ny utstilling om oljealderens slutt byr på uforsont nostalgi.
Gravøl over oljeeventyret**

Opinions

1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 14.4.2021*
Følg forskerne, Ap!
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 14.8.2021*
Den vanskelige interessekampen
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 9.3.2021*
Rettferdighet for hvem, Kristjánsson?

Oil and gas

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 25.3.2021*
**Det grønne skiftet er mer komplisert enn debatten har tatt innover seg, hevder oljegigant:
Equinor skjerper klimamål.**
2. *News article Klassekampen 12.7.2021*
**59 prosent av befolkningen vil at Norge skal fortsette å lete etter mer olje og gass:
Folket vil hente mer olje**
3. *News article Klassekampen 24.6.2021*
**SV vil legge ned Olje- og energidepartementet og fokusere på grønn omstilling:
Farvel, oljeminister.**
4. *News article Klassekampen 4.6.2021*
**AP mener Equinor må skjerpe klimaplanene. Hevder egen oljepolitikk er i tråd med
Parisavtalen.
Må tilpasse seg 1,5 grader**
5. *News article Klassekampen 17.11.2021*
**Kirkemøte har vedtatt en radikal klima og miljøplan:
Ber om oljestans**
6. *News article Klassekampen 23.11.2021*
LO-topp Frode Alfheim i Industri Energi forventer oppgang både i olje og i

prosessindustrien:

Ser lyst på oljeframtid.

7. *News notice Klassekampen 14.11.2021*

Krever ny avgift for oljenæringen

8. *News article Klassekampen 30.11.2021*

**Fram til 2050 skal det investeres over 6000 milliarder i olje og gass, i følge analysebyrå:
Bånn gass på sokkelen.**

9. *News article Klassekampen 14.9.2021*

**LO-toppene har en klar beskjed til de rødgrønne regjeringsforhandlerne:
Krever SV med på laget**

10. *News article Klassekampen 25.8.2021*

**SV ønsker en konkret plan for å flytte olje og gassjobber over til ny, grønn industri:
Vil flytte folkene fra olja**

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 17.11.2021*

**Ja, dere. Hjelper det egentlig om Norge kutter oljeproduksjonen?
Grå logikkbrister.**

2. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 31.8.2021*

**Selv for oljeindustrien er det blitt vanskelig å rømme fra klimaaltvoret.
Justerte verstinger**

Renewable energy

Electrification of the oil platform

News

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**LO lanserte felles plan for industrien med NHO uten behandling i forbundene. Nå krever flere ny behandling.
Varsler omkamp om vindkrafta**

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 3.12.2021*

**Elektrifisering av norsk sokkel er først og fremst en investering i olja.
Tre ulike løsninger**

Renewable energy and technology in general

News

1. *Essay Klassekampen 11.9.2021*

**Hast: Bjørn Samset skriver fra innsiden av verdens fremste klimaforskning. Konklusjonen er klar: CO2-utslippene må gå i null om få tiår.
DET HASTER**

2. *News article Klassekampen 6. 3.2021*
**Hydro selger norske valseverk som har hatt rekordavkastning tross korona:
Selger til oppkjøpsfond**
3. *News article Klassekampen 1283 ord 24.2.2021*
**Afrikanske stater risikerer å bli gisler for investorer om de underskriver omstridt
energipakt:
Verver verdens fattige land**

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Klassekampen 29.7.2021*
**Det kan virke som Heidi Nordby ikke har fulgt med på hva regjeringa skriver i
stortingsmeldinga.
To pluss to er fortsatt fire**
2. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 11. 3.2021*
**Hvorfor må vindmøller ha så mye blinkende lys? Fordi de har blitt så store.
For mye av en god ting**
3. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 02.10.2021*
**Forsyningshavariet for det grønne skiftet i Europa stiller Norge ovenfor tøffe valg
framover.
Full energikollaps**
4. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 25. 1.2021*
Står det på viljen?
(Per Arne Bjørkum, sakprosaforfatter)
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 24.6.2021*
Søk brede løsninger i valgåret
6. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 10.11.2021*
**«Krisen er ikke en forretningsmulighet.»
Hvor er solidariteten, Støre?**
7. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 15.4.2021*
Farleg?

Hydrogen

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 18.12.2021*
**Staten går inn i hydrogenprosjekter med en milliard kroner:
Blågrønt skifte**

Mineral and metal extraction

News

1. *News reportage Klassekampen 18.9.2021*
**Den største gruveutbyggingen i Norge på 30 år står i stampe:
KOBBERMYGGEN**

2. *News reportage Klassekampen 9.11.2021*
**Litium blir avgjørende i et globalt grønt skifte. Verdens største forekomst ligger i Bolivia.
JAKTA PÅ DET HVITE GULLET.**
3. *News article Klassekampen 26.7.2021*
**Reinbeitedistrikt mener gravearbeid er ulovlig:
Har anmeldt gruveselskap**

Opinions

1. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 8.11.2021*
Vi må grave etter kunnskap
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 15.10.2021*
Snipp-snapp-snute, så er eventyret ute?

Nuclear energy

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Klassekampen 16.10.2021*
**Problemet med CO2-utslipp er livsviktig og altomfattende. Venstresida utelukker den eneste løsningen som kan funke.
Hvorfor skjer det ingenting?**
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 23.10.2021*
Er jorda flat også?
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 30.10.2021*
Flat jord – et svar til Urban

Offshore windmills

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 31.8.2021*
**Fra null til 30 gigawatt: Det spriker enormt mellom havvindsatsingene til de store partiene:
Blåser i hver sin retning**
2. *News article Klassekampen 27.3.2021*
**Fiskere frykter at havvind vil sabotere fisket. Rødt foreslår kjøreregler.
Spår opprør til havs**
3. *News article Klassekampen 30. 3.2021*
**SV vil ha makthierarki for fordeling av ressurser i havet:
Fiskerne først**
4. *News article Klassekampen 26. 3.2021*
**Fiskerne ber om egen stortingsmelding for sameksistens og utnyttelse av havet:
Havvind truer fiskerne**
5. *News article Klassekampen 12.4.2021*
**Slår NVEs analyser til, ryker de rødgrønnes havvindmål med et smell:
Ingen ny havvind før 2030**

6. *News article Klassekampen 12.6.2021*

**Regjeringen mener havvind vil spille liten rolle i elektrifiseringen av sokkelen:
Kraftplanen møter motbør**

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 24.4.2021*

**Norge har alle forutsetninger til å bli verdensledende på havvind.
En ny forspilt sjanse?**

2. *Op-ed Klassekampen 23 4.2021*

**Elektrifisering av sokkelen må tjene både industri, natur og klima. SVs landsmøte må sikre
at det skjer.**

Havvind er premisset

Windmills

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 9.3.2021*

**Rødts nei til all vindkraft på land og til havs skaper blest fra i fagbevegelsen:
Advarer mot nei til vind.**

2. *News article Klassekampen 13. 2.2021*

**Ekspertutvalg for industrien mener et grønt skifte er avhengig av flere tusen nye
vindturbiner:**

Blåser opp vindkraftbehov.

3. *News article Klassekampen 11.11.2021*

**Kirkerådsleder gir støtte til samene i vindkraftkonflikt på Fosen. Tar parti med urfolk mot
grønt skifte.**

Ut mot «grønn kolonialisme».

4. *News article Klassekampen 21.6.2021*

**Ny rapport viser dystre utsikter for vindkraft på land:
Kan gå på smell**

5. *News article Klassekampen 636 ord 26.2.2021*

**Boka «Vindmøllekampen» gjør opp status for den folkelige motstanden mot vindkraft:
Spår motvind for opprøret**

6. *News article Klassekampen 22.10.2021*

**Historisk høyesterettsdom kan stoppe utbyggingsplaner i samiske reinbeiter:
Her skaper dommen trøbbel**

7. *News article 10.6.2021*

**Med vannkraft, sol, energisparing og null kraft til olja fra land skal Rødt sikre nok strøm:
Lover ny kraft uten vind**

8. *News article Klassekampen 16.2.2021*

**Ådne Naper (SV) mener venstresida må sørge for at Norge har kraft til det grønne skiftet:
Rød omkamp om vind**

Economy

Perspectives on rethinking the economy

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Klassekampen 2.3.2021*
Det er på tide at «motvekst», som innsats mot klimakrisen og alternativ til kapitalismen, blir diskutert også i Norge.
Norsk motvekst
2. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 23.6.2021*
Det finst ingen grøn, rein eller fornybar energi. Me treng gjennomgripande endringar i samfunnet, ikkje meir nytale.
Grønt skifte?
3. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 23.10.2021*
Vi som vil ha radikal klimapolitikk, er ikke mange nok ennå.
Trenger vi egentlig mindre moralisering i klimapolitikken?
4. *Op-ed Klassekampen 28.1.2021*
Når vi ikke kan utvide ressursgrunnlaget vårt, må kaken deles på ny.
Utjevningens tid?
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 3.5.2021*
Samfunnets mørke bakside
6. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 5.10.2021*
Må vi?
7. *Letter to the newspaper 170 ord Klassekampen 30.09.2021*
Vekst inn i himmelen
8. *Letter to the newspaper 110 ord Klassekampen 13.11.2021*
Det grønne slipset

The role of investments

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 9. 9.2021*
SV-nestleder Torgeir Knag Fylkesnes ber de tre rødgrønne partiene samle seg om eierskapsstrategi:
Vil ha rødgrønt gigantfond.
2. *News article Klassekampen 16.6.2021*
Equinor skal investere over 400 milliarder kroner i fornybar energi innen 2030:
Satser på grønnere portefølje.
3. *News article Klassekampen 22. 6.2021*
Oljefondssjefen sier man har begrenset makt når man eier 1,5 prosent av verdens selskaper: Snakker ned egen makt.
4. *News article Klassekampen 23.2.2021*
En lite kjent traktat laget etter Sovjets sammenbrudd, beskytter fossilinvesteringer for 3500 milliarder kroner. Et våpen mot det grønne skiftet.

5. *News article 646 ord Klassekampen 01.03.2021*
**Attack-lederen mener Norge må tre ut av ISDS-avtalene:
Vil lage vansker.**
6. *News notice Klassekampen 11.10.2021*
Vil satse 350 milliarder

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 5.1.2021*
**Hvor i all verden skal Norge ta 1000 milliarder fra?
Handlingsregel 2.0**
2. *Commentary external contributor 651 ord Klassekampen 10.11.2021*
**Den grønne pengepolitiske verktøykassa er mer innholdsrik enn noen tror.
Norsk grønn bank?**
3. *Op-ed Klassekampen 16.10.2021*
**Ennå mangler det viktigste for at venstresiden kan bli til en kraft i det europeiske unionsprosjektet.
Unionen i venstre spill**

The role of the state

News

1. *Interview Klassekampen 3.5.2021*
**Intervju med stjerne økonom Mariana Mazzucato om dristige mål og hvordan nå dem:
2021: EN NY ROMODYSSÉ**

Opinions

1. *Commentary editorial office Klassekampen 11.3.2021*
**Norge har klart det før, med vannkraft og olje. Kan vi klare det igjen?
Det tredje vendepunktet**
2. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 24. 3.2021*
**Det skjer noe i økonomisk teori som kan bryte med den politiske likevekten.
Mazzucatos mission**
3. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 19.10.2021*
**Hvem skal bygge Støres grønne industrieventyr?
Eventyrblanding**
4. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 09.11.2021*
**Kapitalen roper på hjelp fra staten. Hva svarer venstresida?
Røkke-staten**
5. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 11.11.2021*
Marsdals eventyr

Climate taxes

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 13.9.2021*
Lavere skatt for å bøte på økt klimaavgifter er ett av YS' krav fire grønne krav til en ny regjering: Søker senket skatt
2. *News article Klassekampen 2.9.2021*
Blandede reaksjoner etter regjeringens overraskende forslag om endringer i oljeskatten: Tok Olje-Høyre på senga.

Opinions

1. *Op-ed Klassekampen 6.8.2021*
Formuesskatten er et effektivt redskap i det grønne skiftet, skriver Kim André Nielsen. Grønn formuesskatt

Industry and Business

Industry

News

1. *News article Klassekampen 28.4.2021*
Mektig allianse tar stilling i betente energikonflikter: Superlobby vil forme Norge
2. *News article innenriks Klassekampen 11.9.2021*
INDUSTRIAKSJONEN
3. *News article Klassekampen 4.5.2023*
Den nye kraft og industriplattformen fra partene i arbeidslivet får viktig støtte: Tommel opp for superlobby.
4. *News article Klassekampen 10.11.2021*
LO-leder Peggy Hessen Følsvik vil sikre at arbeidsfolk har en hånd på rattet i det grønne skiftet: Krever plass rundt bordet.
5. *News article Klassekampen 24.3.2021*
Tidligere SV-topp gir ut bok om klimagrep for Norge: Frir til fagbevegelsen.
6. *News notice Klassekampen 5.10.2021*
NHO vil at Støre hopper på toget

Opinions

1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 5.3.2021*
Hvorfor vil ikke regjeringen bruke Statoil-oppskriften? Statsallergikerne
2. *Op-ed Klassekampen 2.3.2021*
Stryker Hydro-Aasheim til fagprøven? Vals med Hydro
3. *Letter to the newspaper 453 ord Klassekampen 11.11.2021*
Hvor skal fagbevegelsen gå?

Business

News

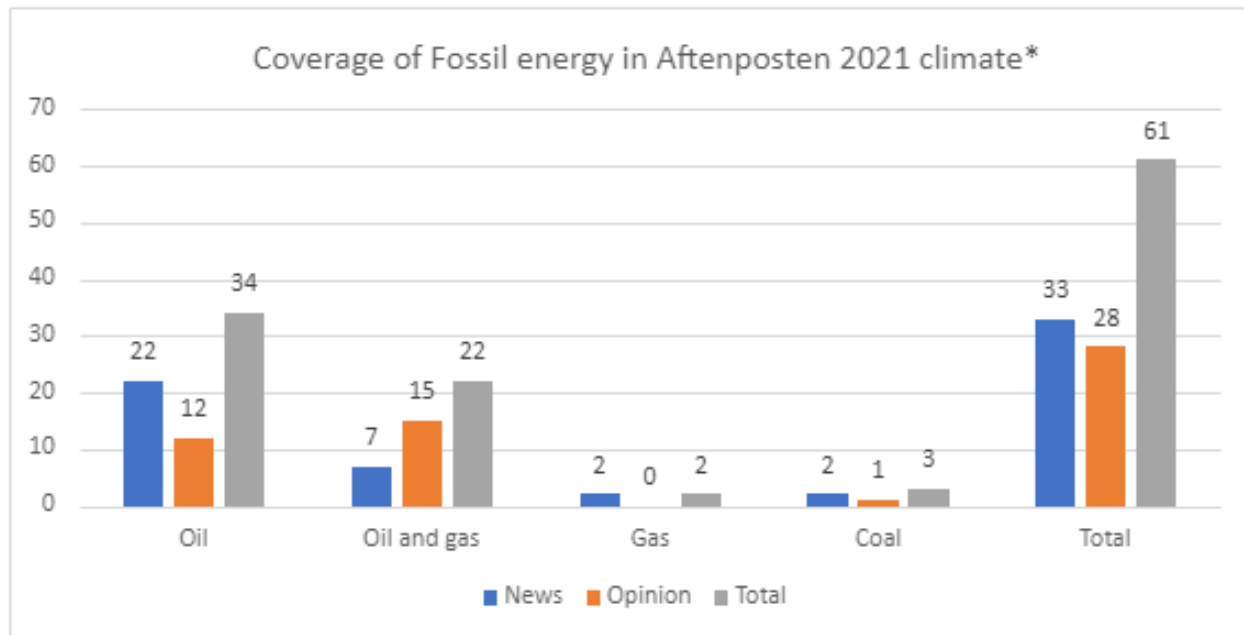
1. *News article Klassekampen 22.10.2021*
**Innovasjon Norge må kutte 350 millioner. Kan få konsekvenser for næringslivet.
120 årsverk kan ryke**
2. *News article Klassekampen 6.11.2021*
**NHO har forventinger til næringspolitikken. Vil ha utdanningsløft for fagarbeiderne.
Ønsker staten velkommen**

Opinions

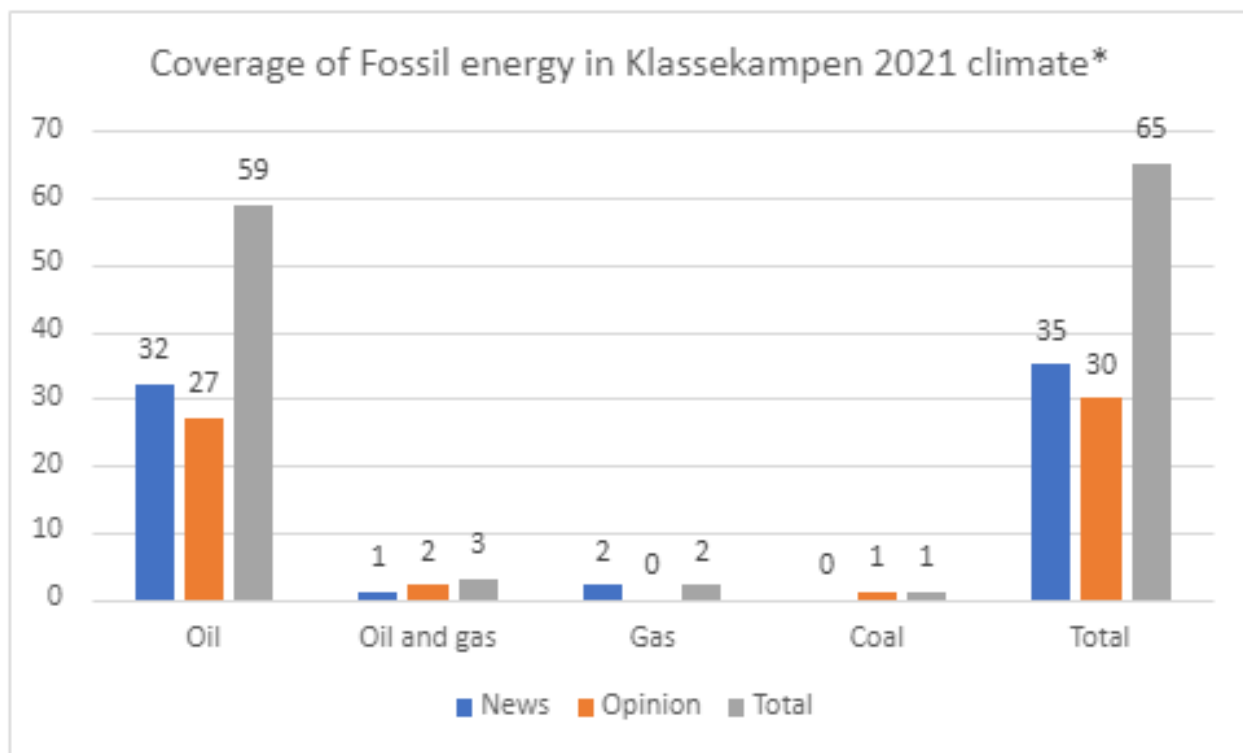
1. *Commentary external contributor Klassekampen 6.10.2021*
**En aktiv næringspolitikk er nødvendig, men det er ikke nok
Klima for arbeid**
2. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 19.8.2021*
Problemet med å ta 'rikingene'
3. *Letter to the newspaper Klassekampen 19.8.2021*
Forstår vi mulighetene våre?

Graphs findings

Climate* Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021

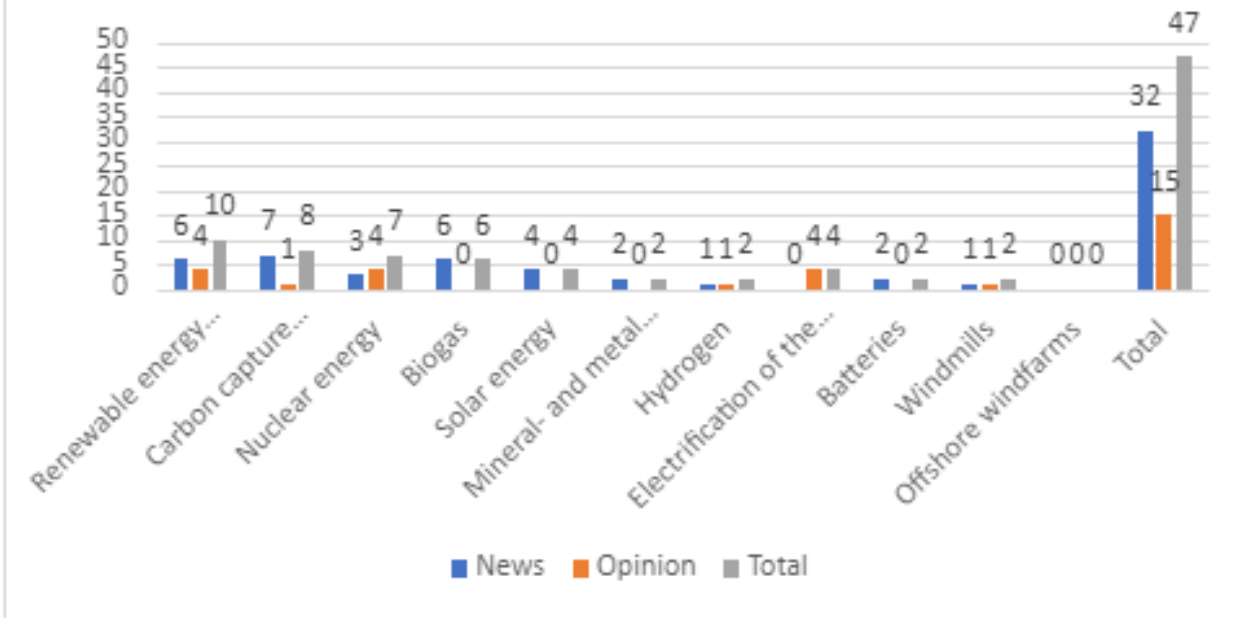


Genre	Oil	Oil and gas	Gas	Coal	Total
News article	19	6	2	1	28
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0
News notice	2	1	0	1	4
Background story	0	0	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	1	0	0	0	1
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0
Total	22	7	2	2	33
Editorial	2	0	0	1	3
Commentary editorial office	3	2	0	0	5
Commentary external contributor	0	0	0	0	0
Op-ed	2	3	0	0	5
Letter to the newspaper	5	10	0	0	15
Total	12	15	0	1	28
Sum news and opinion content	34	22	2	3	61



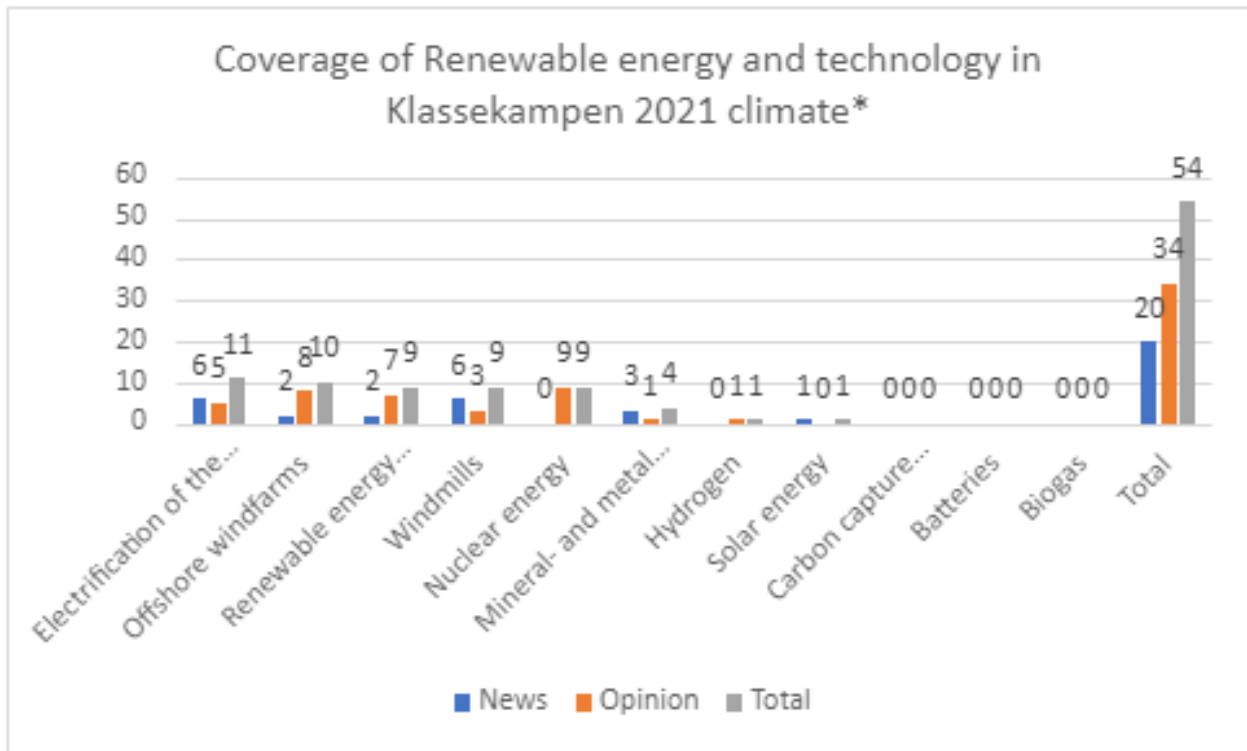
Genre	Oil	Oil and gas	Gas	Coal	Total
News article	23	0	0	0	23
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0
News notice	5	1	2	0	8
Background article	1	0	0	0	1
Feature	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	3	0	0	0	3
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0
Total	32	1	2	0	35
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	2	0	0	0	2
Commentary external contributor	6	0	0	0	6
Op-ed	2	0	0	0	2
Letter to the newspaper	17	2	0	1	20
Total	27	2	0	1	30
Sum news and opinion content	59	3	2	1	65

Coverage of Renewable energy and technology in Aftenposten 2021 climate*



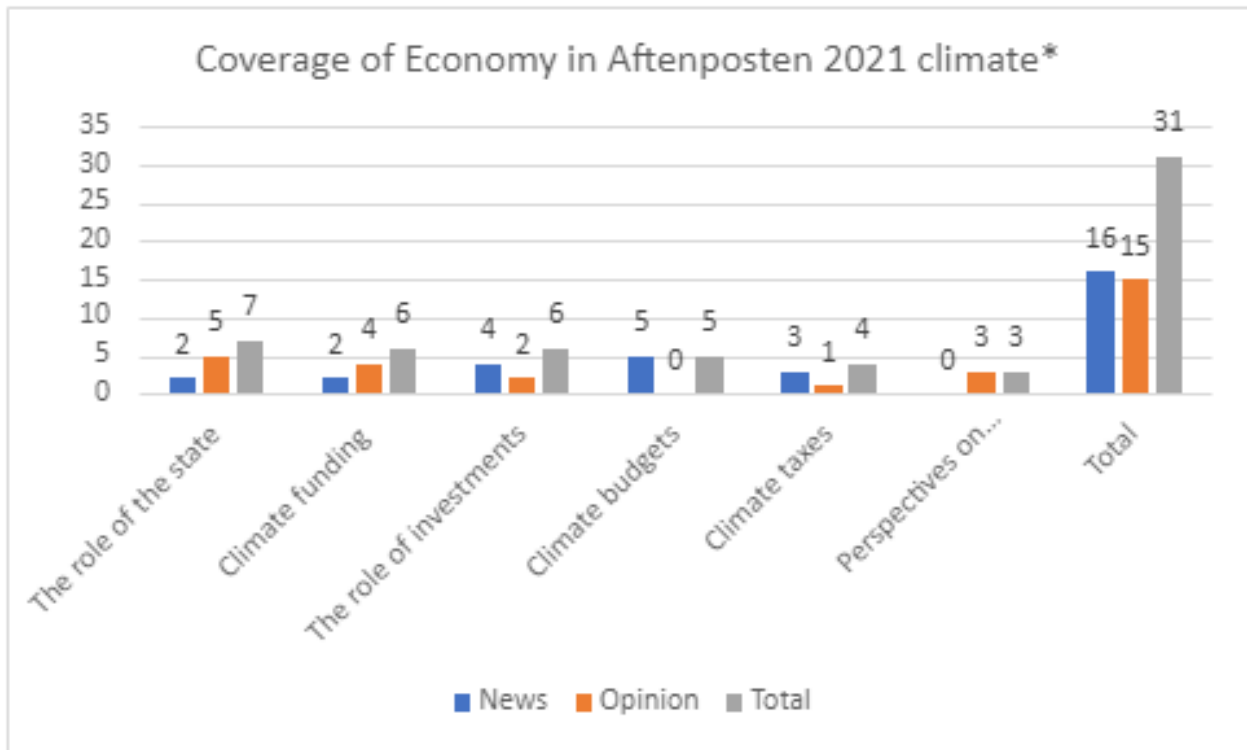
Genre	Renewable energy and technology in general	Carbon capture storage (CCS)	Nuclear energy	Biogas	Solar energy	Mineral- and metal extraction	Hydrogen	Electrification of the oil platforms	Wind mills	Batteries	Offshore-windfarms	Total
News article	2	6	3	6	4	1	1	0	1	1	0	25
News reportage	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
News notice	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Background article	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait interview	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	6	7	3	6	4	2	1	0	1	2	0	32
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	5
Commentary external contributor	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Op-ed	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Letter to the newspaper	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	7
Total	4	1	4	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	15
Sum news and opinion content	10	8	7	6	4	2	2	4	2	2	0	47



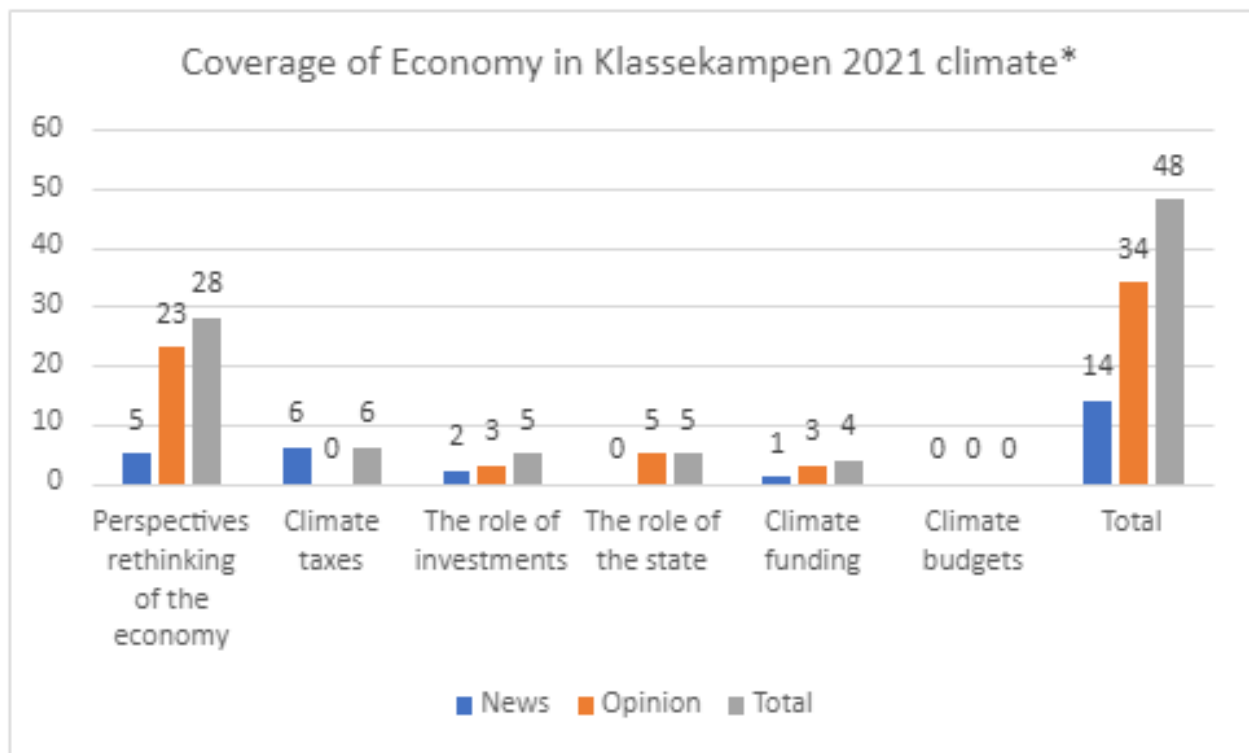
Genre	Renewable energy and technology in general	Carbon capture storage (CCS)	Nuclear energy	Biogas	Solar energy	Mineral- and metal extraction	Hydrogen	Electrification of the oil platforms	Wind mills	Batteries	Offshore-windfarms	Total
News article	0	0	0	6	2	0	1	0	2	1	6	18
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
News notice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Background article	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	6	2	0	3	0	2	1	6	20

Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0		2			1	1	0	1	5
Commentary external contributor	0	0	0	1				1	1	0	0	3
Op-ed	0	0	0	2	1		1		0	0	1	5
Letter to the newspaper	0	0	0	2	4	1		7	6	0	1	21
Total	0	0	0	5	7	1	1	9	8	1	3	34
Sum news and opinion content	0	0	0	11	9	1	4	9	10	1	9	54



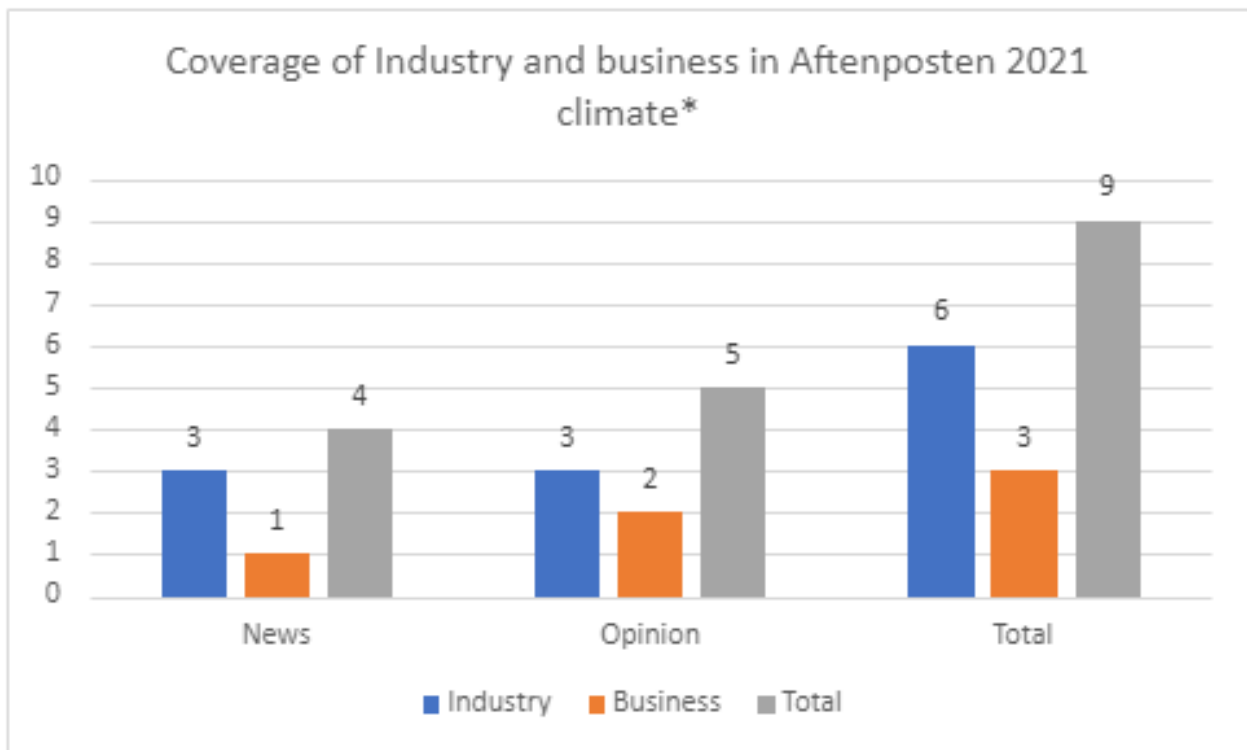
Genre	Climate budgets	Climate funding	The role of investments	The role of the state	Climate taxes	Perspectives on rethinking the economy	Total
News article		5	2	3	2	3	15
News reportage		0	0	0	0	0	0
News notice		0	0	0	0	0	0
Background article		0	0	1	0	0	1
Feature		0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview		0	0	0	0	0	0

Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	2	4	2	3	0	16
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
Commentary external contributor	0		0	2	0	0	2
Op-ed	0	2	0	1	0	2	5
Letter to the newspaper	0	2	0	2	0	1	5
Total	0	4	2	5	1	3	15
Sum news and opinion content	5	6	6	7	4	3	31



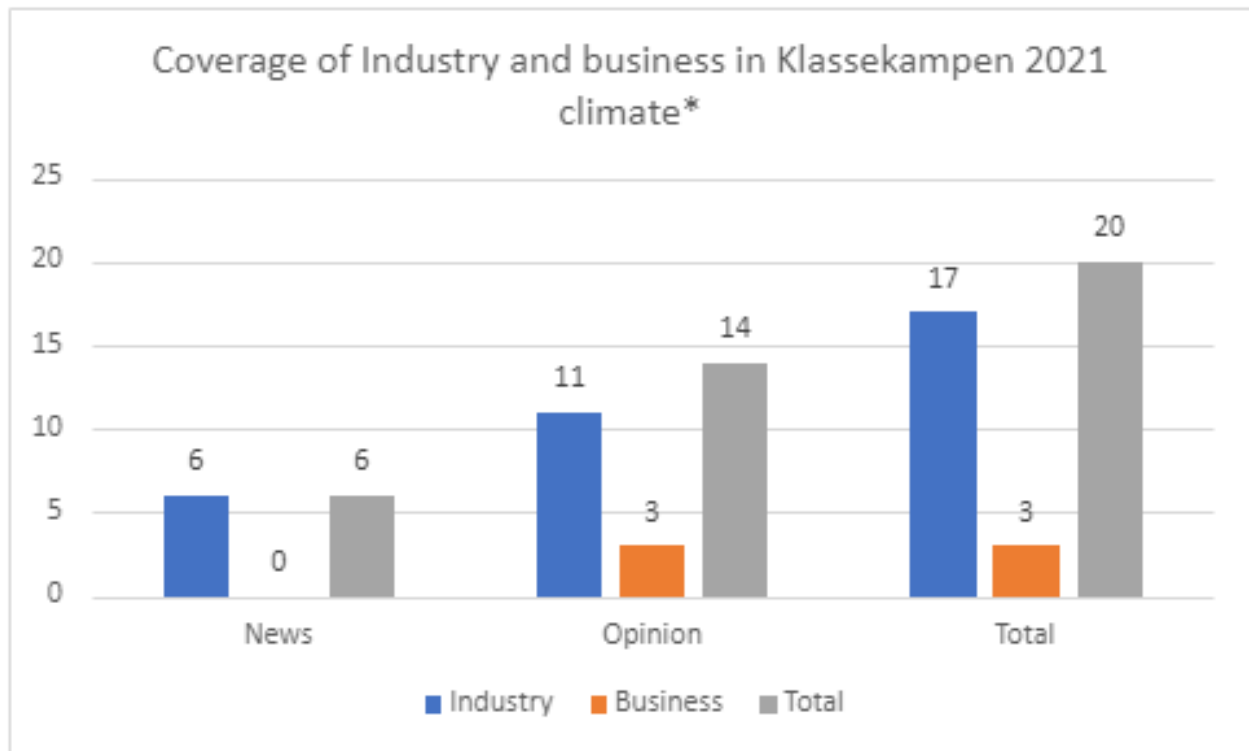
Genre	Climate budgets	Climate funding	Perspectives rethinking of the economy	The role of investments	The role of the state	Climate taxes	Total
News article	0	0	0	2	0	6	8
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News notice	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Background article	0		2	0	0	0	2
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Portrait	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Total	0	1	5	2	0	6	14
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Commentary external contributor	0		10	0	0	0	10
Op-ed	0	1	5	0	0	0	6
Letter to the newspaper	0	2	6	3	5	0	16
Total	0	3	23	3	5	0	34
Sum news and opinion content	0	4	28	5	5	6	48



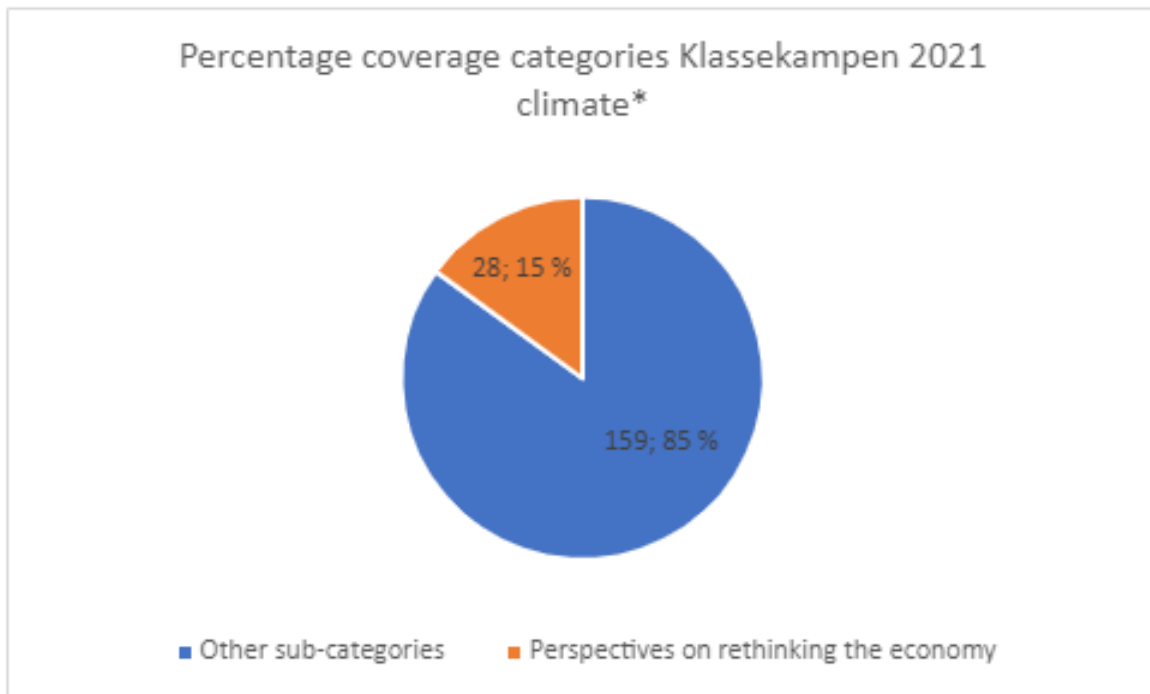
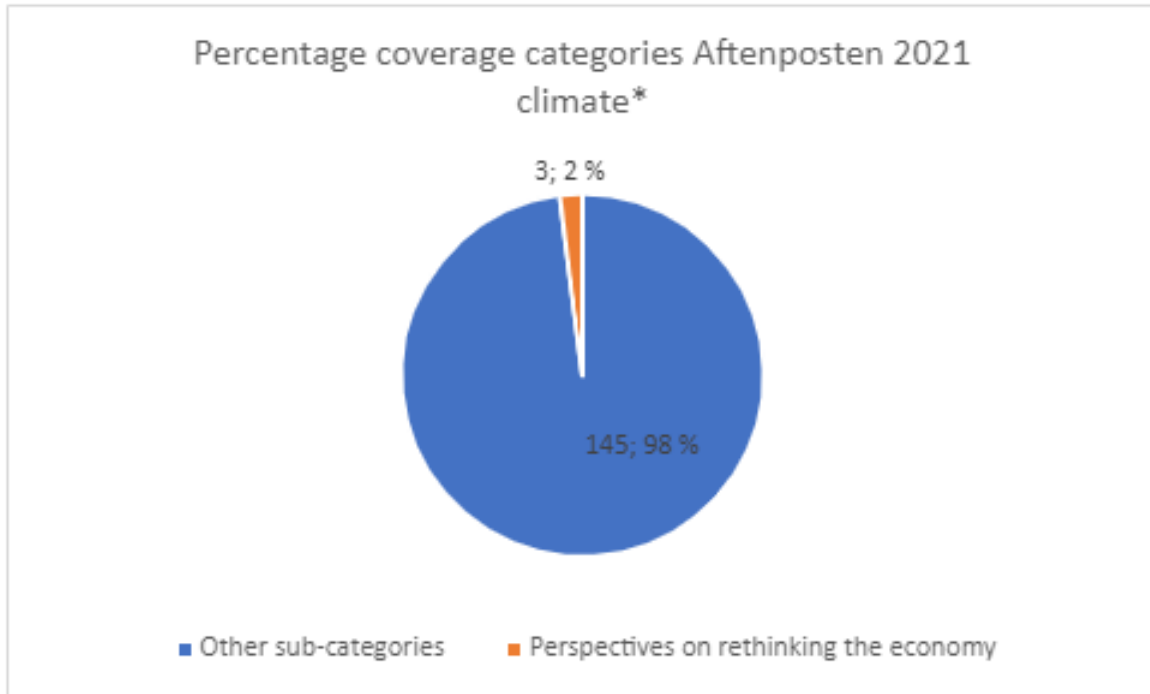
Genre	Industry	Business	Total
News article	3	1	4
News reportage	0	0	0
News notice	0	0	0
Background article	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0
Total	3	1	4
Editorial	0	0	0

Commentary editorial office	1	1	2
Commentary external contributor	0		0
Op-ed	0	0	0
Letter to the newspaper	2	1	3
Total	3	2	5
Sum news and opinion content	6	3	9

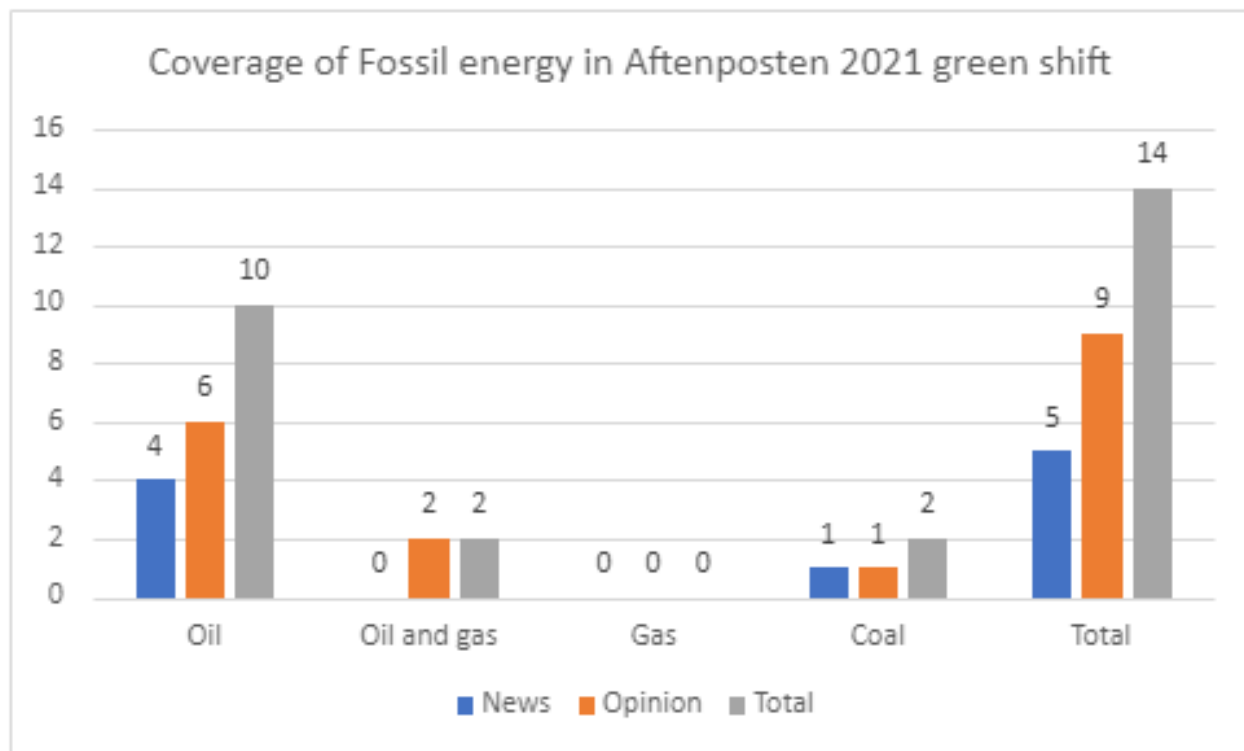


Genre	Industry	Business	Total
News article	5	0	5
News reportage	0	0	0
News notice	1	0	1
Background article	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0
Total	6	0	6
Editorial	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0
Commentary external contributor	1	1	2

Op-ed	3	1	4
Letter to the newspaper	7	1	8
Total	11	3	14
Sum news and opinion content	17	3	20

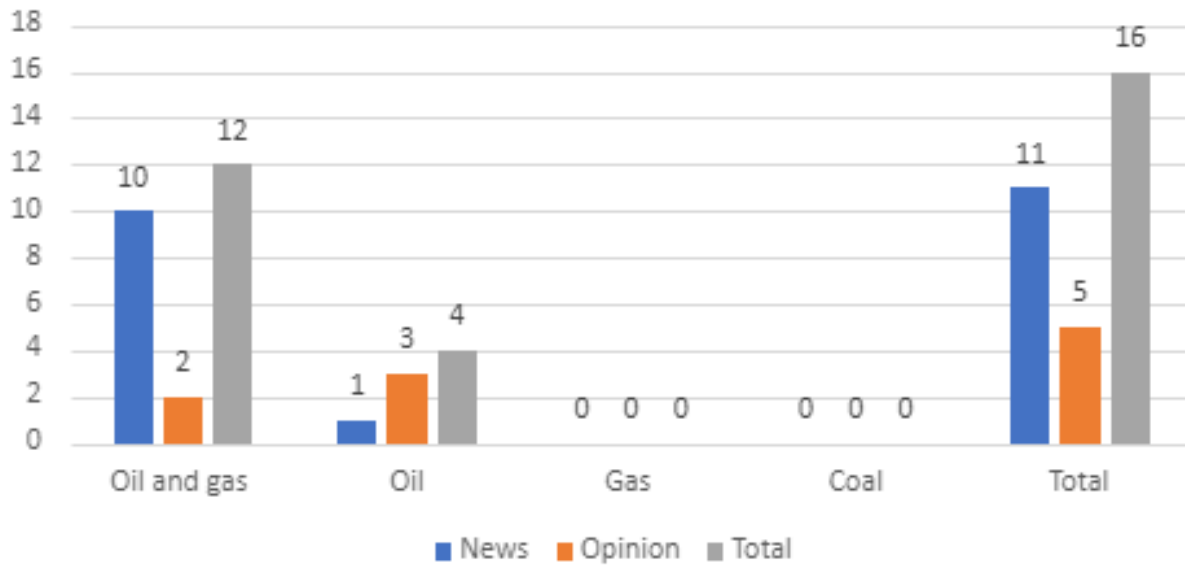


Green shift Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021

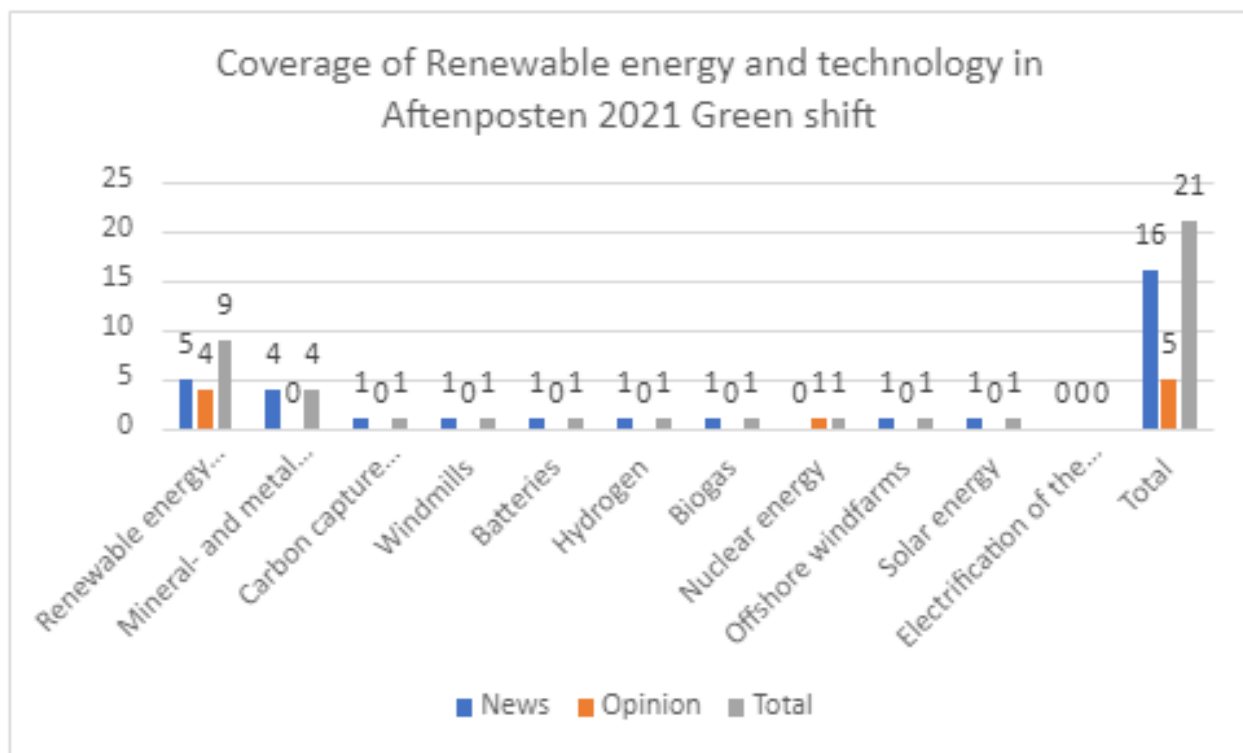


Genre	Oil	Oil and gas	Gas	Coal	Total
News article	3	0	0	0	3
News reportage	0	0	0	1	1
News notice	0	0	0	0	0
Background story	0	0	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	1	0	0	0	1
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	0	0	1	5
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	3	1	0	0	4
Commentary external contributor	0	0	0	0	0
Op-ed	1	0	0	1	2
Letter to the newspaper	2	1	0	0	3
Total	6	2	0	1	9
Sum news and opinion content	10	2	0	2	14

Coverage of Fossil energy in Klassekampen 2021 green shift

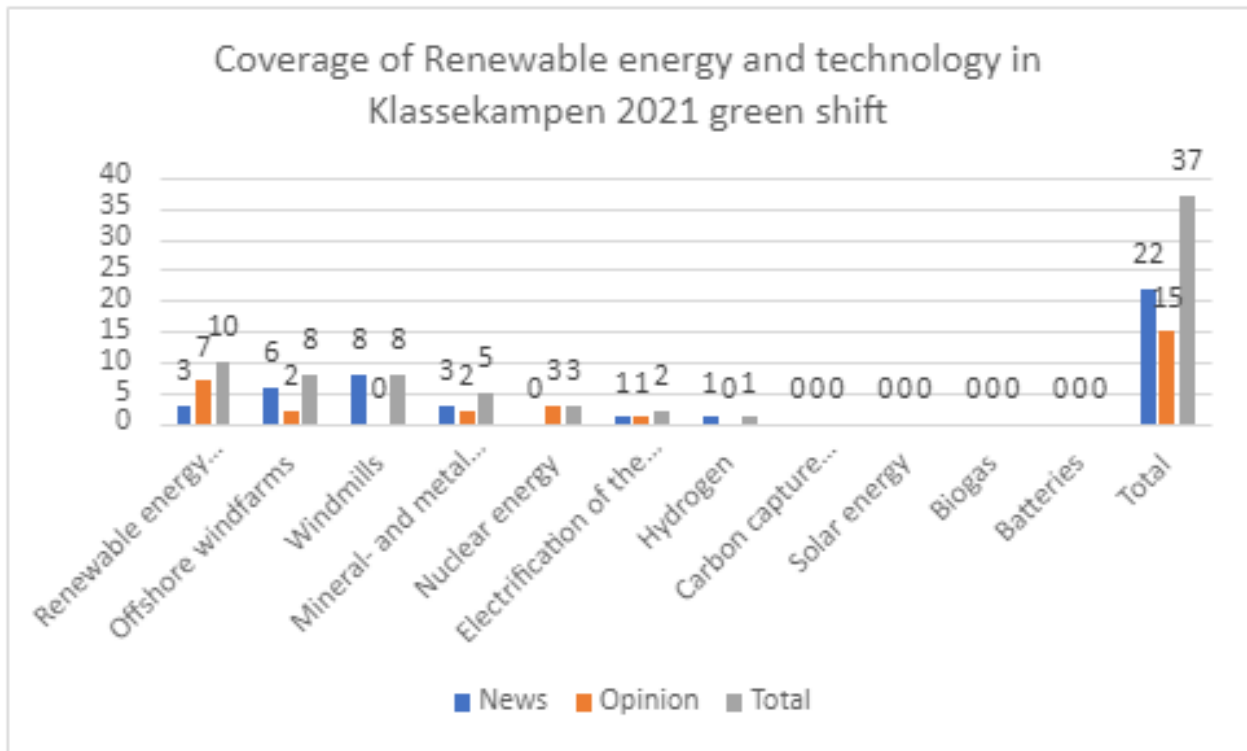


Genre	Oil	Oil and gas	Gas	Coal	Total
News article	0	9	0	0	9
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0
News notice	0	1	0	0	1
Background article	1	0	0		1
Feature	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	10	0	0	11
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary external contributor	0	2	0	0	2
Op-ed	0	0	0	0	0
Letter to the newspaper	3	0	0	0	3
Total	3	2	0	0	5
Sum news and opinion content	4	12	0	0	16



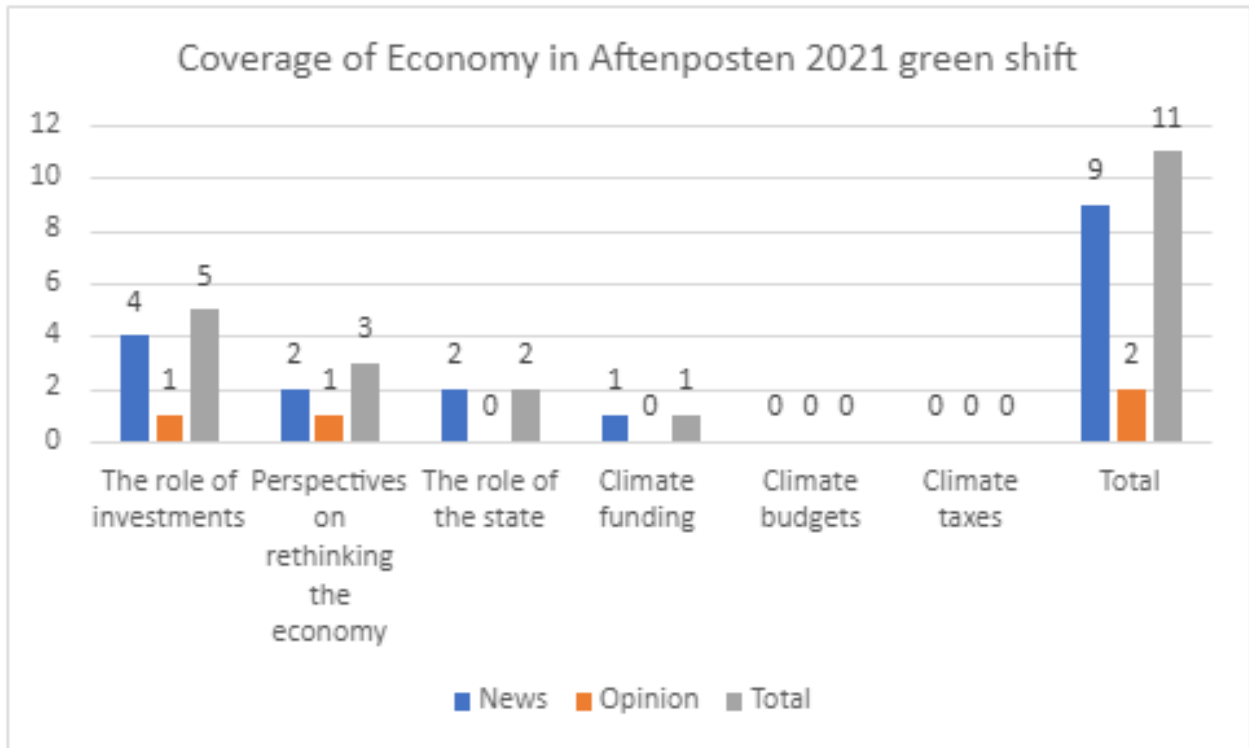
Genre	Renewable energy and technology in general	Carbon capture storage (CCS)	Nuclear energy	Biogas	Solar energy	Mineral- and metal extraction	Hydrogen	Electrification of the oil platforms	Wind mills	Batteries	Offshore-windfarms	Total
News article	4	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	12
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
News notice	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Background article	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	1	0	1	1	4	1	0	1	1	1	16
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary external contributor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Op-ed	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Letter to the newspaper	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Total	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Sum news and opinion content	9	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	1	1	1	1	21



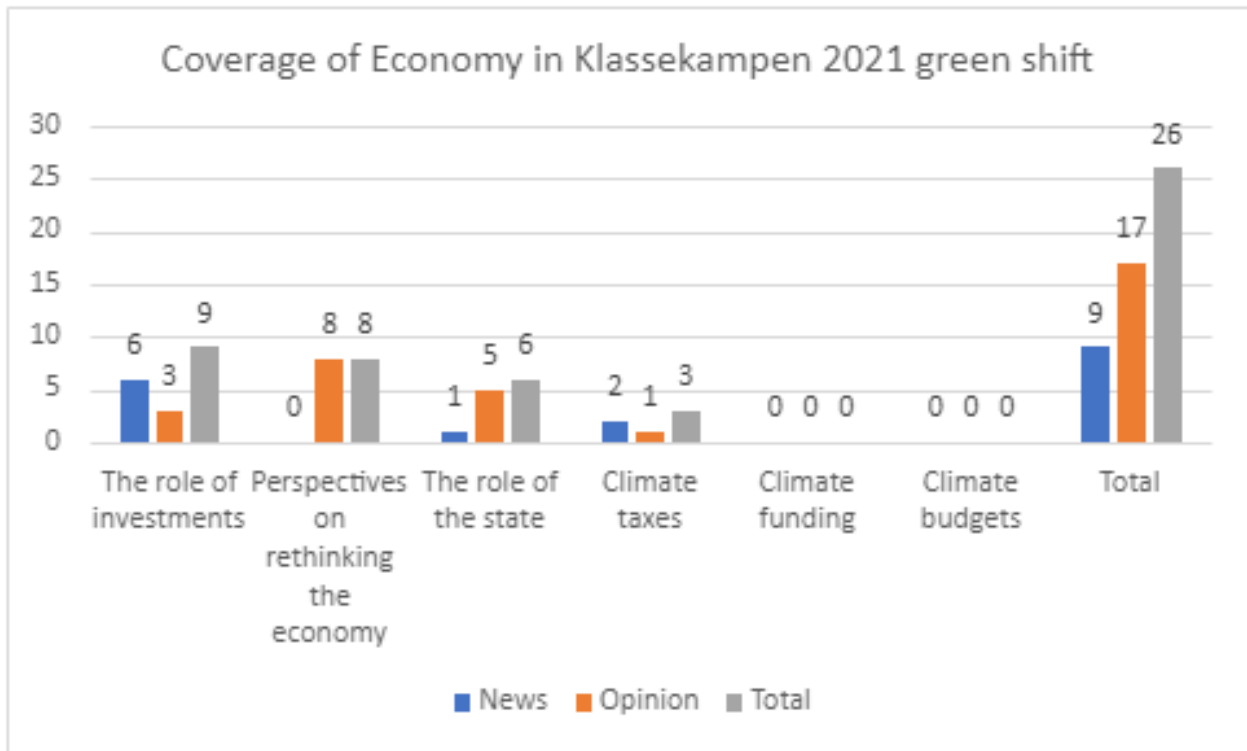
Genre	Renewable energy and technology in general	Carbon capture storage (CCS)	Nuclear energy	Biogas	Solar energy	Mineral- and metal extraction	Hydrogen	Electrification of the oil platforms	Wind mills	Batteries	Offshore-windfarms	Total
News article	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	8	0	6	19
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
News notice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Background article	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	8	0	6	22

Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Commentary external contributor	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Op-ed	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Letter to the newspaper	4	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Total	7	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	15
Sum news and opinion content	10	0	3	0	0	5	1	2	8	0	0	8	37



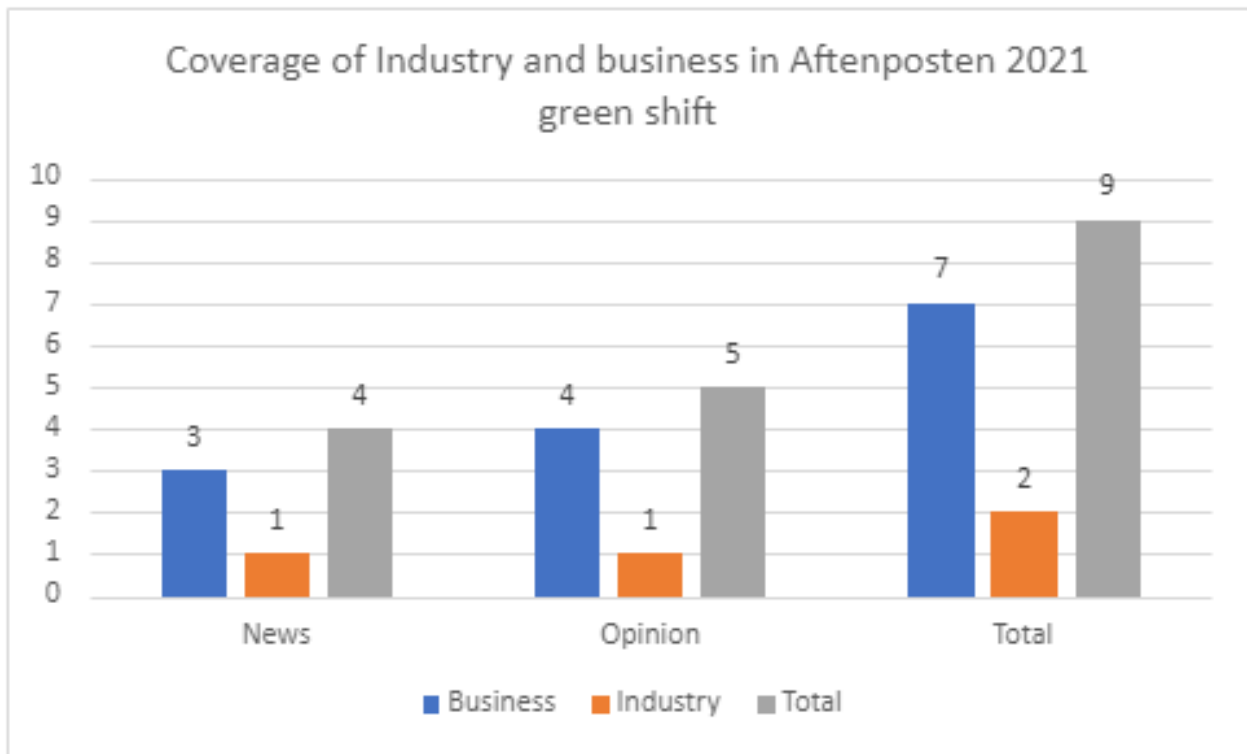
Genre	Climate budgets	Climate funding	The role of investments	The role of the state	Climate taxes	Perspectives on rethinking the economy	Total
News article	0	1	4	2	0	0	8
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
News notice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Background article	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Interview	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	1	4	2	0	2	9
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary external contributor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Op-ed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Letter to the newspaper	0		1	0	0	1	
Total	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Sum news and opinion content	0	1	5	2	0	3	11



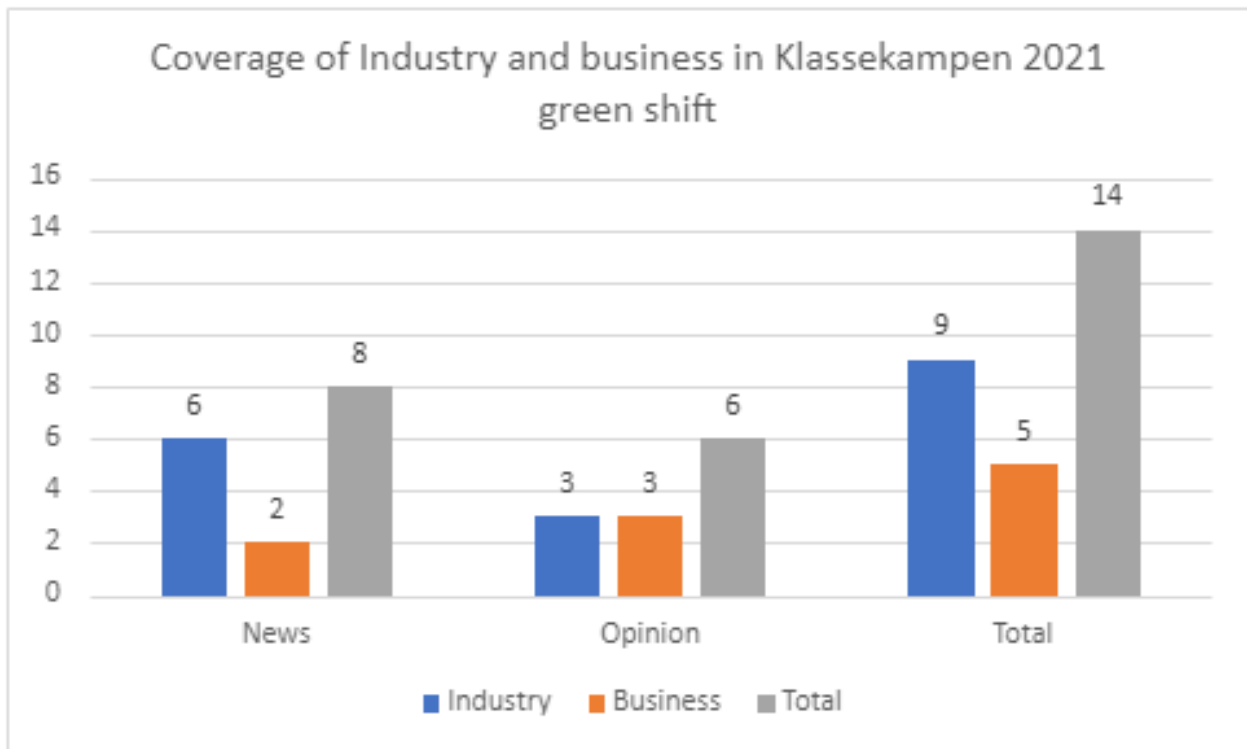
Genre	Climate budgets	Climate funding	The role of investments	The role of the state	Climate taxes	Perspectives on rethinking the economy	Total
News article	0	0	5	0	2	0	7
News reportage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News notice	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Background article	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Feature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	1	0		1
Portrait interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	6	1	2	0	9
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Commentary external contributor	0	0	2	3	0	2	7
Op-ed	0	0	1	0	1	2	4
Letter to the newspaper	0	0	0	1		4	5
Total	0	0	3	5	1	8	17
Sum news and opinion content	0	0	9	6	3	8	26



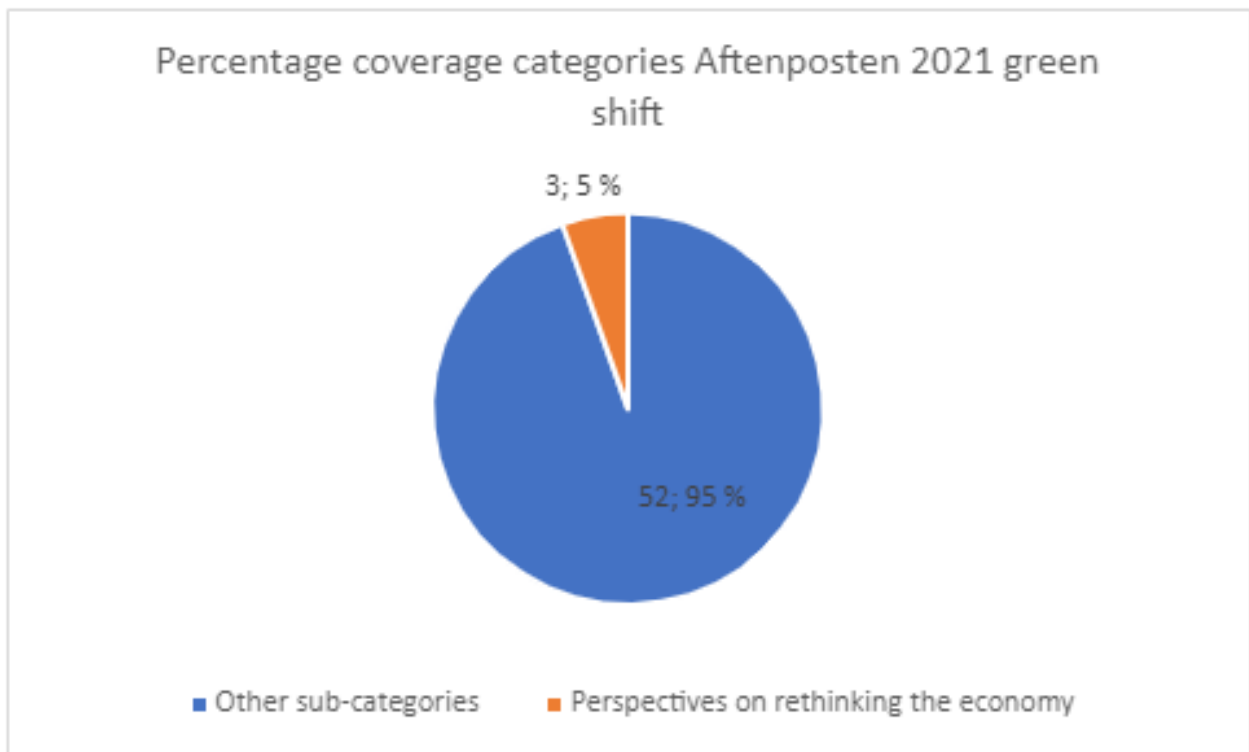
Genre	Industry	Business	Total
News article	1	1	2
News reportage	0	0	0
News notice	0	2	2
Background article	0	0	0
Feature	0	0	0

Interview	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	
Total	1	3	4
Editorial	0	1	1
Commentary editorial office	0	1	1
Commentary external contributor	0	0	0
Op-ed	1	0	1
Letter to the newspaper	0	2	2
Total	1	4	5
Sum news and opinion content	2	7	9

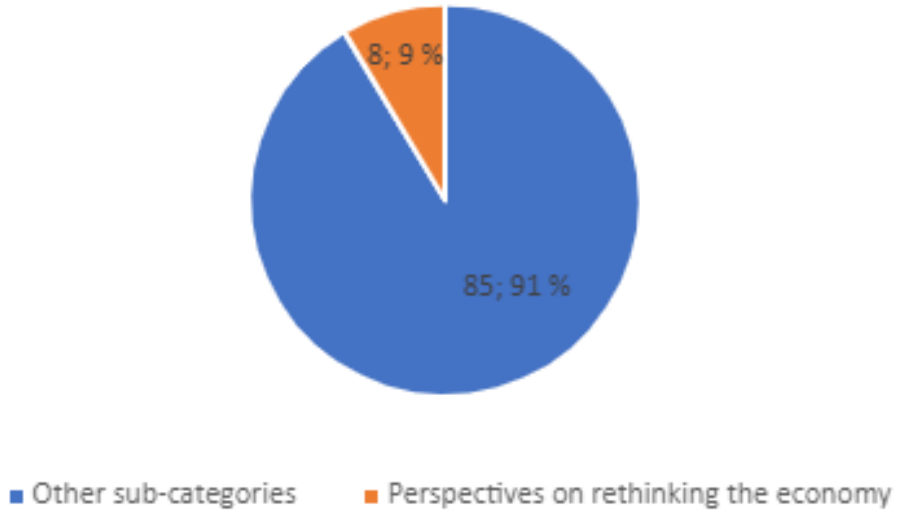


Genre	Industry	Business	Total
News article	5	2	7
News reportage	0	0	0
News notice	1	0	0
Background article	0	0	0

Feature	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0
Portrait interview	0	0	0
Total	6	2	8
Editorial	0	0	0
Commentary editorial office	0	0	0
Commentary external contributor	1	1	2
Op-ed	1	0	1
Letter to the newspaper	1	2	3
Total	3	3	6
Sum news and opinion content	9	5	14

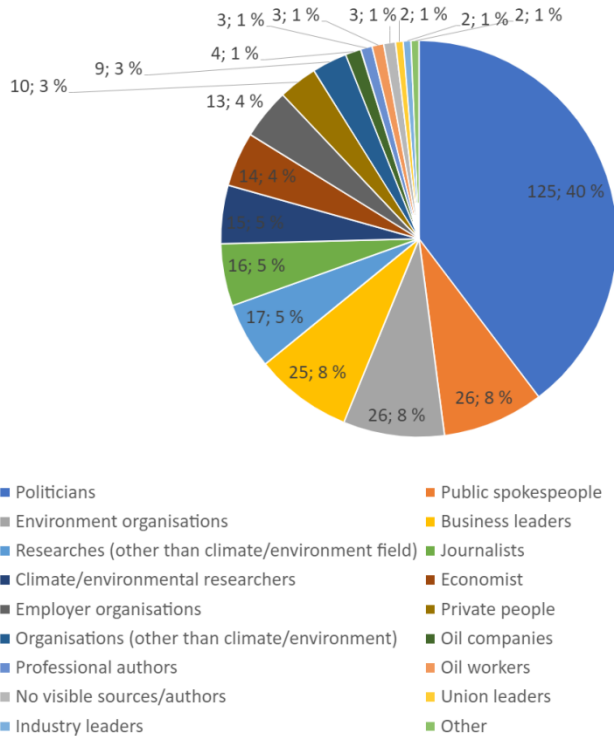


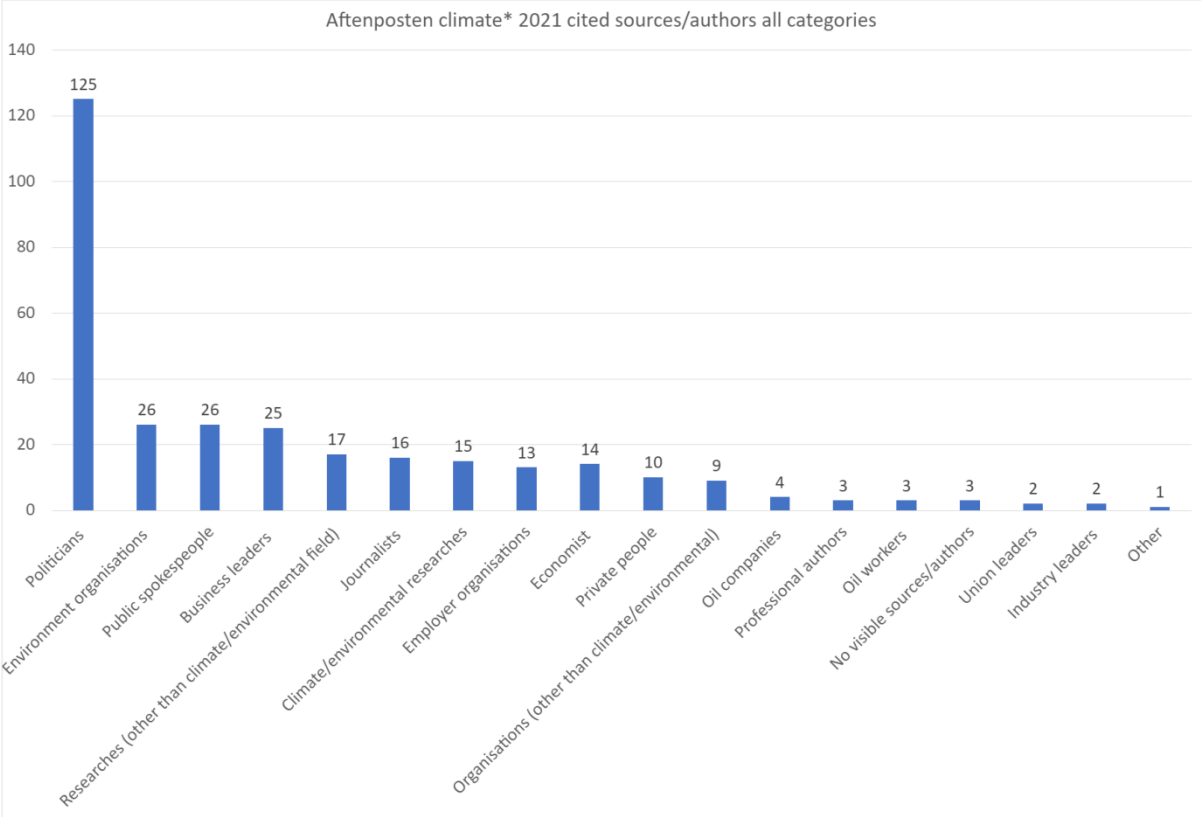
Percentage coverage categories Klassekampen 2021 green shift

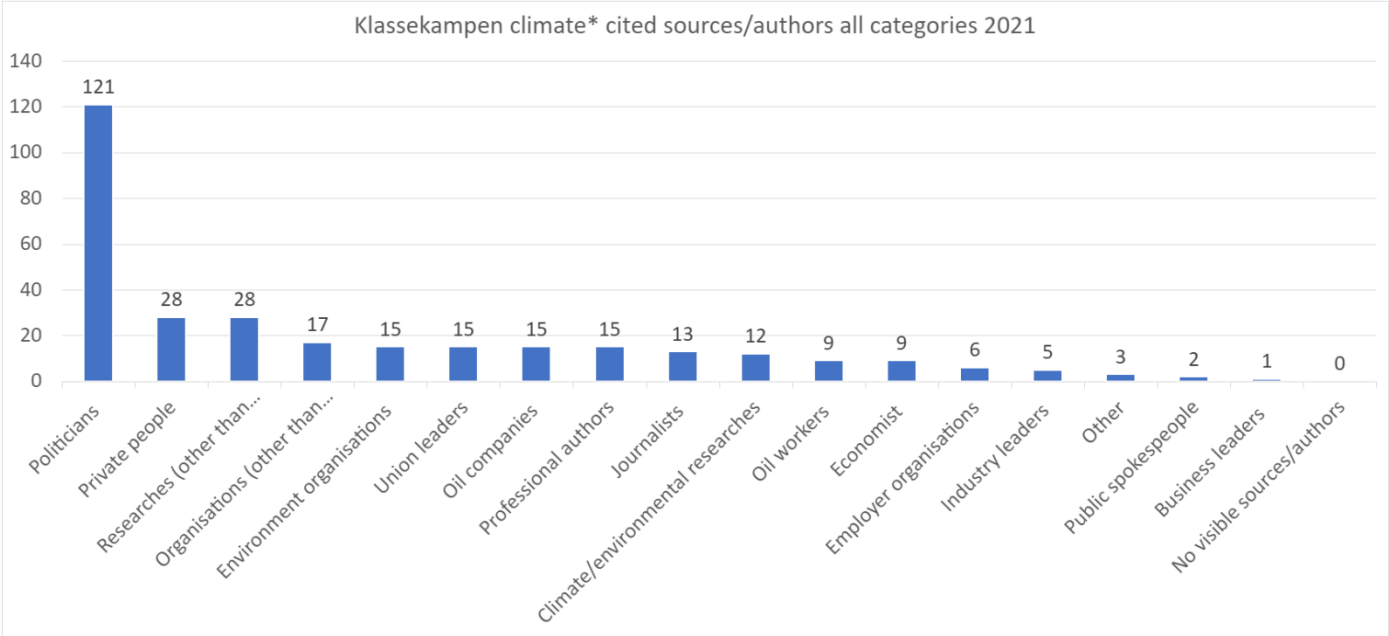
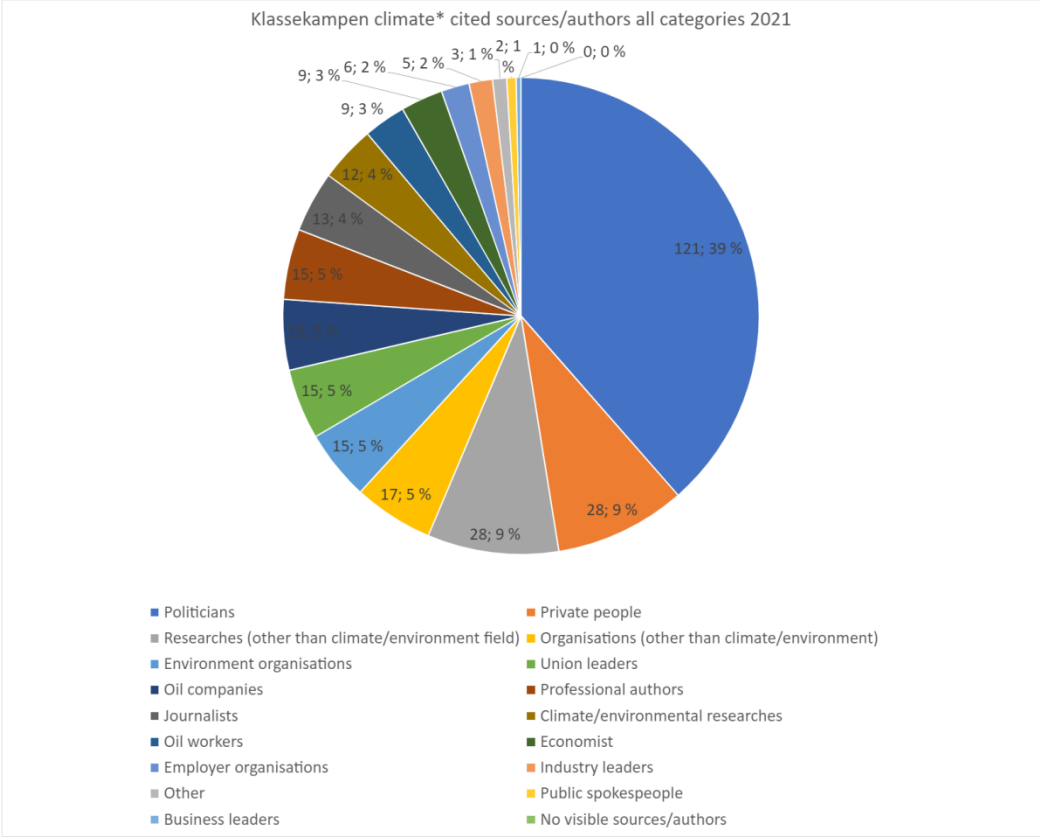


Cited sources/authors all categories climate* Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021

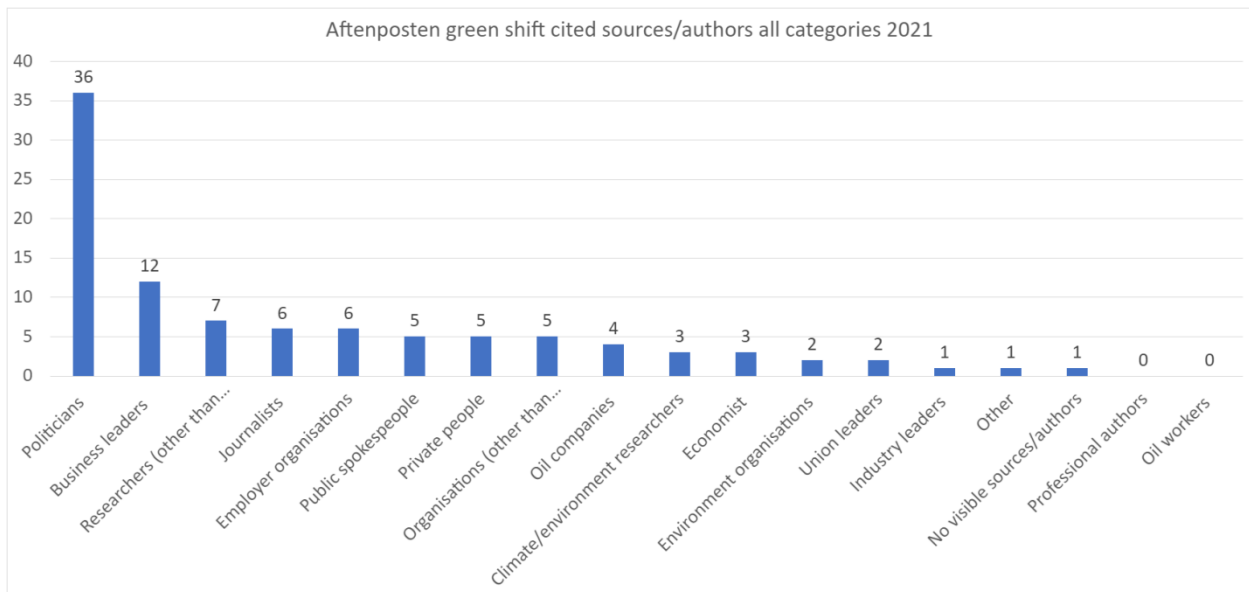
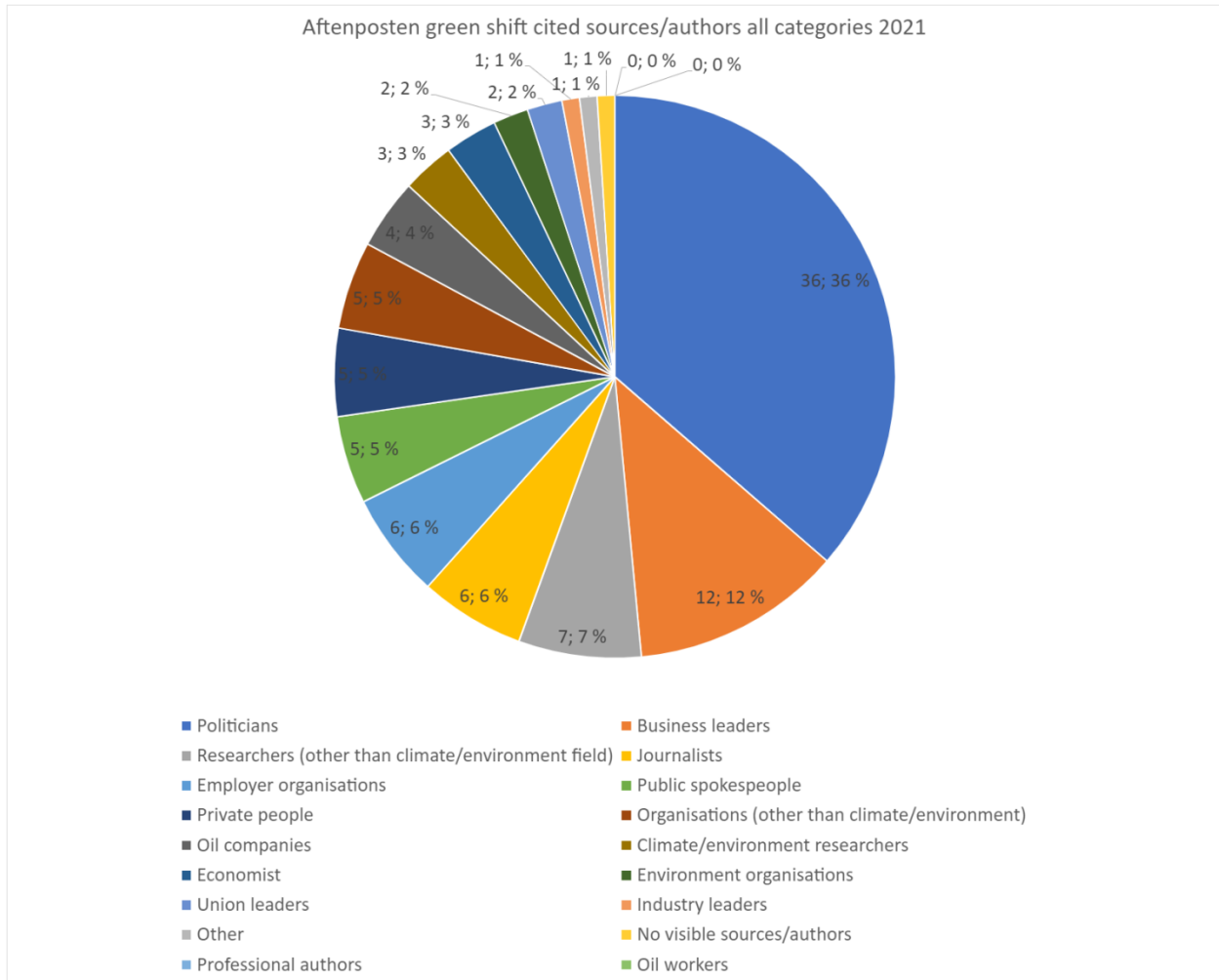
Aftenposten climate* cited sources/authors all categories 2021



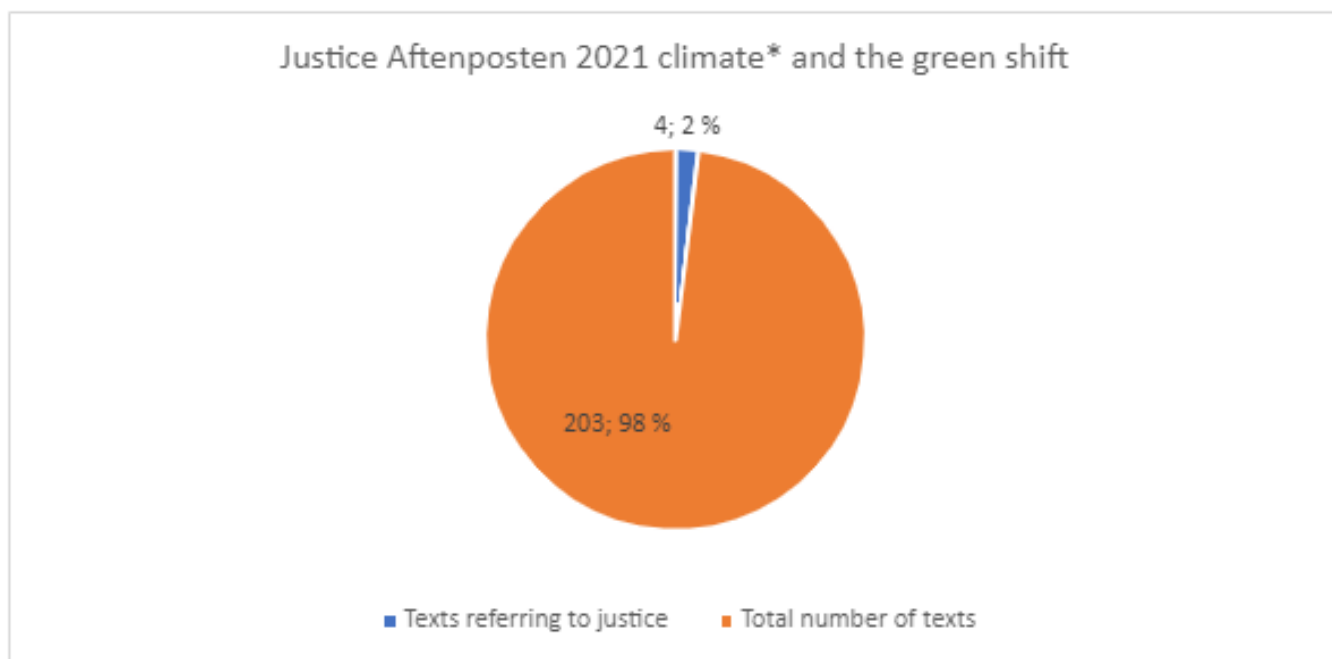
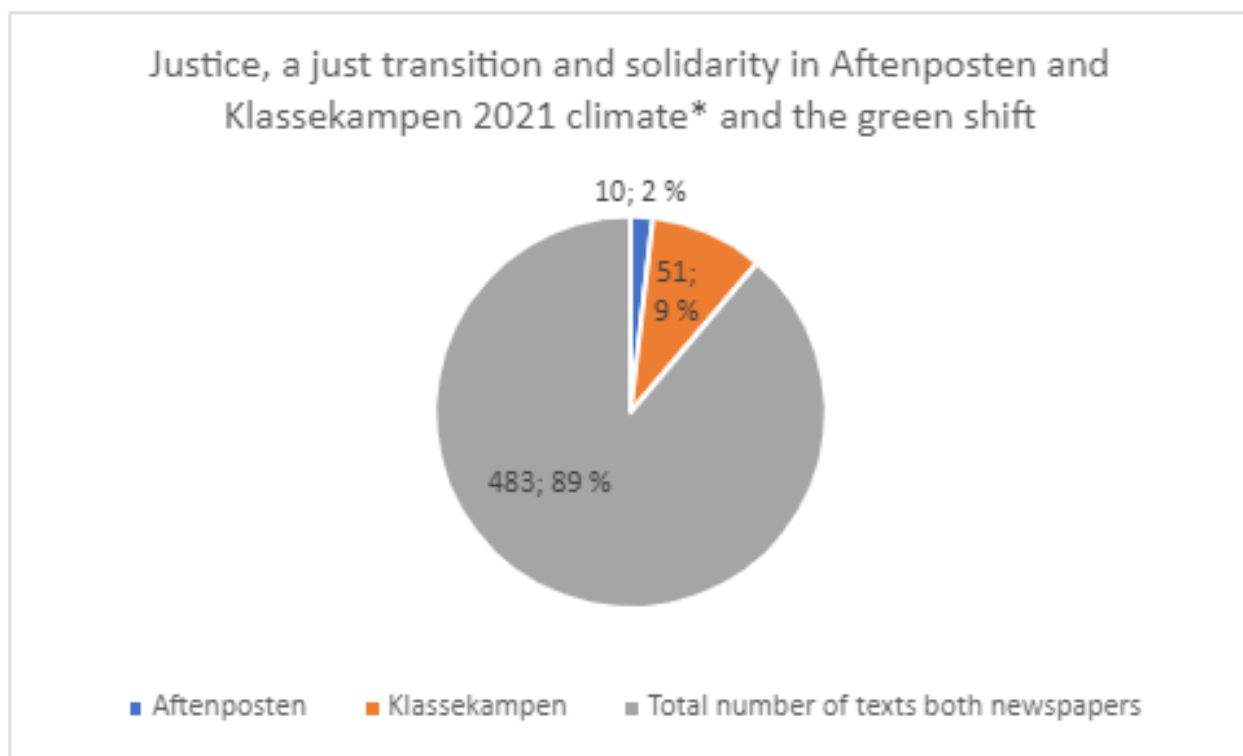




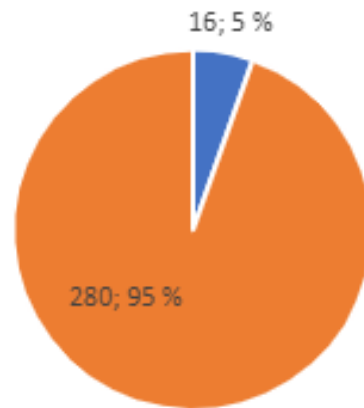
Cited sources/authors all categories green shift Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021



Justice, a just transition and solidarity climate* and the green shift in Aftenposten and Klassekampen 2021

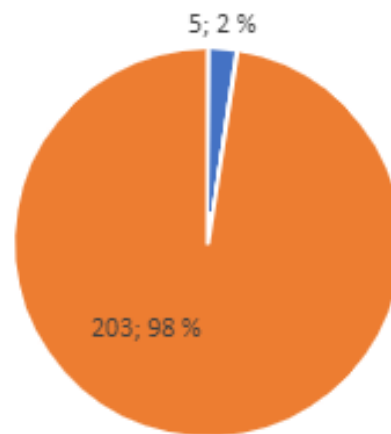


Just transition Klassekampen 2021 climate* and the green shift



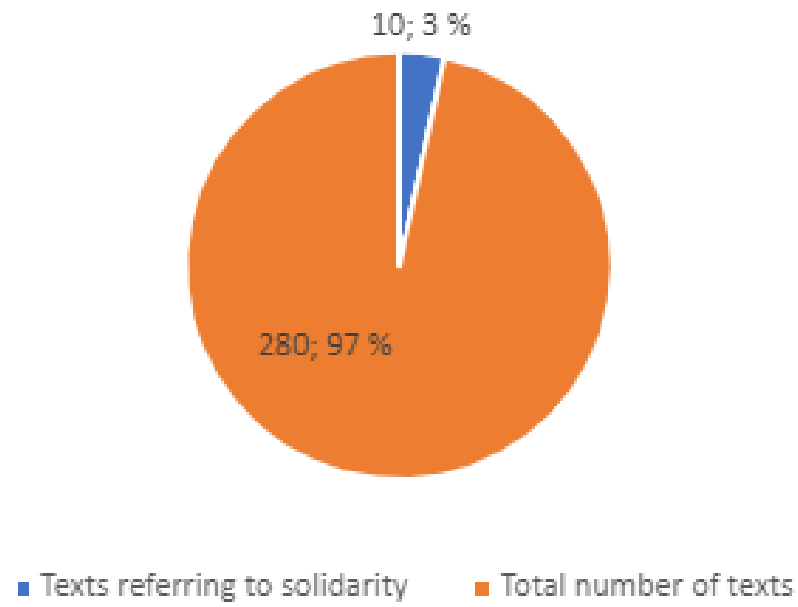
■ Texts referring to just transition ■ Total number of texts

Solidarity Aftenposten 2021 climate* and the green shift



■ Texts referring to solidarity ■ Total number of texts

Solidarity Klassekampen 2021 climate* and the green shift



Coding sheet categories: Categories, definitions, examples and decision rules

Categories genres texts

1. Category name: News

Definition: Texts regarding current affairs with an emphasis on facts and not personal opinion.

Sub-categories:

1.1 News article

Definition: News story presenting facts; who, what, where and when.

1.2 News reportage

Definition: News story presenting current affairs – covered by a clearly present journalist. The reportage goes into depth; background and consequences are commented.

1.3 News notice

Definition: Short news notice in telegram style.

1.4 Interview

Definition: One person or more speak out about a topic or point of view.

1.5 Background article:

Definition: Presenting a topic, going into background and consequences.

1.6 Feature

Definition: Cases where the journalist has been clearly present and observations are one of several methods. The reportage depicts events and topics that do not have to be tied into current affairs. A typical example is human interest stories.

1.7 Portrait interview:

Definition: Presenting a person. Interview or conversation can be part of the methods, but does not have to be presented as such.

2. Category name: Opinions

Definition: Texts where the personal opinion and point of view is clearly established.

Sub-categories:

2.1 Editorial

Definition: The opinion of the newspaper (editor).

2.2 Commentary editorial office

Definition: A background article where the journalist is clear about their point of view and opinion.

2.3 Commentary external contributor

Definition: A background article where the writer is clear about their point of view and opinion.

2.4 Op-ed

Definition: An article where the writer treats a topic professionally and analytically.

2.5 Letter to the newspaper

Definition: An opinion piece sent to the debate pages of the newspaper where the writer is clear about their point of view and opinion.

Categories climate mitigation measures

1. Category name: Energy (concept-driven) and technology (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to energy and technology, either fossil energy or renewable energy and technology see sub-categories.

Sub-categories:

1.1 Fossil energy (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to oil, gas and coal. The main focus of the text refers to the message conveyed through title, preamble and/or the body of the text.

Sub-categories:

1.1.1 Oil (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to oil, whether in favor or not of oil in the green transition, or ambivalent.

Examples:

“- **Equinor carries wood for the climate fire.** Neither SV, Bellona nor Storebrand are satisfied that Equinor's new climate targets allow for higher emissions. - A good goal, says the Equinor boss. At Equinor's capital market day on Tuesday, the message was that the company will speed up its restructuring, which the management and board also promised in the autumn. Now the

company has set itself new climate goals in the short and medium term, in addition to the goal of carbon neutrality in 2050.” *News article, Aftenposten, 16.6.2021, my translation.*

“ **Norwegian oil rhetoric rests on an ethic of consequences that obscures responsibility.** Solid self-deception. Many pretend to think that the phrase Erna Solberg will be remembered for is "I wouldn't use those words", in connection with Sylvi Listhaug's resignation as Minister of Justice. However, there is much evidence that another statement will go down in the history books as far more significant: "The person who extinguishes the light on the Norwegian continental shelf has not yet been born." If we use life expectancy as a basis, this means that Solberg envisages Norwegian oil and gas extraction until at least the year 2100.” *Commentary external contributor, Klassekampen, 21.9.202, my translation.*

Definition rules: If texts refer to the oil taxes, it should be categorised underneath Economy.

1.1.2 Oil and gas (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to oil and gas (when mentioned in the same piece), whether in favor or not of oil and gas in the green transition, or ambivalent.

Examples:

“**Oil, gas and IEA.** The world economy is gradually on the way back, driven by vaccination in industrialized countries, reopening and massive support packages. With increased activity comes increased energy consumption and increased CO2 emissions. Emission-free options are not yet available on a large scale. In the emerging economies, people are still struggling to get the pandemic under control. This also illustrates the major challenges of ensuring sustainable development, characterized by increased prosperity, access to energy and reduced greenhouse gas emissions.” *Letter to the newspaper, Klassekampen, 05.6.2021, my translation.*

“**The MDG asks Ap to do as Labour.** British Labor is open to setting an end date for oil and gas exploration. MDG asks the Norwegian sister party to do the same. The parliamentary candidate from MDG is satisfied that Labor leader Keir Starmer this week announced opposition to the Cambo oil field and at the same time advocated an end date for oil and gas exploration, according to The Guardian. Labor is not setting a concrete end date now, but Starmer says that it is important to create a timetable, so that they can start to adapt the areas that will be severely affected by climate change.” *News article, Aftenposten, 07.8.2021, my translation.*

1.1.3 Gas (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to gas, whether in favor or not of oil in the green transition, or ambivalent.

Example:

“**Chokes the gas.** The European Commission advocates that long-term contracts for fossil gas should not be extended beyond 2049. - Europe must do away with fossil fuels and move on to cleaner energy sources. It also means that fossil gas must be replaced with renewable gas and

low-carbon gas, says the EU's climate chief Frans Timmermans.” *News notice, Klassekampen, 16.12.2021, my translation.*

“**Støre spoke against the UN: believes gas is part of the solution.** The UN has advocated that the world must stop looking for more coal, oil and gas. There is also great scepticism in the EU. But Norway's prime minister is not swayed. Jonas Gahr Støre saw no reason to assume a humble attitude on behalf of the oil and gas nation of Norway on his first major trip abroad as new prime minister. He went right down the throat of the UN, and he will also face considerable opposition to this view in the EU.” *News article, Aftenposten, 2.11.2021, my translation.*

1.1.4 Coal (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to coal, whether in favor or not of coal in the green transition, or ambivalent.

Examples:

“**The coal-fired power plant on Svalbard is closed down.** The coal-fired power plant in Longyearbyen is to be phased out and replaced by a safer energy solution with lower climate emissions.” *News notice, Aftenposten, 12.1.2022, my translation.*

“**China is taking an important step in the right direction.** China must stop financing the development of coal power abroad. Chinese President Xi Jinping announced this in his speech to the UN General Assembly this week. This was a very welcome development in the work against climate change. Chinese money has been absolutely crucial for the development of coal-fired power in many developing countries. When funding dries up, the hope is that it will force a green transition.” *Editorial, Aftenposten, 24.9.2021, my translation.*

Definition rules: The text are categorised by the main focus on coal. In the example below, taken from Klassekampen, oil and gas are mentioned further down, but the main focus is on coal and should therefore be categorised as such. Same applies if similar cases.

“**Stepping down: a political responsibility.** There was a dispute in overtime about the text of the final document after the Glasgow negotiations. Much to the dismay of the vast majority, India and China surprised COP26 with a new wording of an important sentence in the final document. Instead of phasing out coal, they pushed in the word phase down.” *Letter to the newspaper, Klassekampen, 16.11.2021, my translation.*

1.2 **Renewable energy (concept-driven) and technology (data-driven)**

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to energy and technology. The main focus of the text refers to the message conveyed through title, preamble and/or the body of the text.

Sub-categories:

1.2.1 Batteries (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on production of batteries in connection to renewable energy technology.

Examples:

“Elkem is considering investing 10 billion in battery production. The company Vianode will look at growth opportunities for advanced battery materials. Elkem plans to build a factory in Porsgrunn that will produce graphite anode material. A final investment decision will be made this year. (...) A lot of battery material is needed to meet the demand for batteries and electric cars, which is expected to accelerate as Europe and the world meet the climate targets laid down in the Paris Agreement from 2015.” *News article, Aftenposten, 12.5.202, my translation.*

“Norway missed out on the EU's billion-dollar packages for batteries. Around NOK 60 billion goes to battery innovation through an EU programme, but Norway is not included. Battery operator calls for more active policy from the government. - If Norway is to take part in the green transitions, then we have to keep a better eye on what is happening in Brussels, says Director of Finance and Sustainability at Morrow Batteries, Pål Brun, to *Energi og klima.*” *News notice, Aftenposten, 14.9.2021, my translation.*

1.2.2 Biogas (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on biogas or biogas-facilities.

Examples:

“The end stop for Oslo's food waste has become a money sink. Romerike biogas plants were to be Oslo's environmental lighthouse. Now the municipality is considering getting rid of the entire facility.” *News article, Aftenposten, 10.10.2021, my translation.*

“Oslo and Viken believe the government is training an important biogas investment. Lorries running on biogas were to be exempt from tax in the toll ring in Oslo. But they still pay full price. Now Oslo city council Siren Stav is fed up. It is two and a half years since Oslo and Viken adopted free passages in the toll ring for lorries running on biogas. The government has still not implemented the scheme.” *News article, Aftenposten, 9.10.202, my translation.*

Decision rules: The main focus is to be on biogas or bio-gas facilities. In the case above, tolls are mentioned as a hindrance for gaining a proper momentum for biogas, but as the main focus is on biogas it should still be classified underneath the sub-category biogas underneath the category Energy and technology. If similar cases, the main focus decides the category and sub-category.

1.2.3 Carbon capture storage (CCS) (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on CCS.

Examples:

“Here lies the key to Oslo's climate goals. **The carbon capture plant at Klemetsrud in Oslo depends on EU billions.** Soon we will have the answer. Then the battle about who pays the rest also begins.” *News article, Aftenposten, 12.11.2021, my translation.*

“**Removing greenhouse gases from the atmosphere is possible - and absolutely necessary.** No, it's not science fiction. If we are to succeed in halting man-made climate change in line with the Paris Agreement, it is no longer enough to simply cut emissions. (...) At the waste and energy recovery facility at Klemetsrud in Oslo, the company Fortum has shown that CO₂ from waste incineration can be captured with chemicals and then placed in porous rocks on the shelf. We know this as CCS (carbon dioxide capture and storage).” *Background article (Viten), Aftenposten, 15.6.2021, my translation.*

1.2.4 Electrification of the oil platform (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on electrification of the oil platform.

Examples:

“**Yes, electrification has a global climate effect.** The claim that the electrification of oil platforms has no global climate effect is a recurring one.” *Letter to the newspaper, Aftenposten, 25.2.20, my translation.*

“**In the Energy Report, the government casts doubt on the effect of electrifying the oil industry: The climate benefits are uncertain.** CUT: The climate effect of electrifying oil must be expected to be limited, says the Energy Report. - Cuts are cuts, says State Secretary Tony Tiller (H). In the Energy Report, the government casts doubt on the climate effect of its own policy - to electrify the continental shelf. Nevertheless, they are in favor of spending billions on the measure.” *News article, Klassekampen, 18.6.2021, my translation.*

1.2.5 Hydrogen (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on hydrogen as a part of climate mitigation measures.

Examples:

“**Blue-eyed faith in blue hydrogen.** (...) Blue hydrogen is an energy carrier that is produced by using gas, but where the greenhouse gases from production have been captured and stored, rather than going out into the atmosphere, as they do with most of the hydrogen that is produced today. (...) The IEA report finds that oil and gas prices in 2050 will be about half of what the government is proposing in the Outlook report. The report also finds, like other research, that blue hydrogen is no winner in a world that succeeds in climate policy. Perhaps it is simply easier with a proper green transition?” *Letter to the newspaper, Klassekampen, 22.5.202, my translation.*

“**The hydrogen road is the fastest way to Paris.** The world will need large quantities of pure hydrogen to reach the goals of the Paris Agreement. Norway has every opportunity to take a

leading position in what will be a new era in the international energy and climate context.” *Letter to the newspaper, Aftenposten, 13.8.2021, my translation.*

1.2.6 Mineral- and metal extraction (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mineral- and metal extraction as part of climate mitigation measures or the green shift.

Examples:

“**Chains themselves firmly against mining.** The mining company Nussir has no plans to report the shareholders. Construction work for the mining company Nussir's processing plant at Repparfjorden in Finnmark was due to start on Wednesday. (...) - The mining project will strengthen the business base in the north. It will be a positive contribution to the development of the local community, said the then Minister of Industry Torbjørn Røe Isaksen (H) when the concession was granted. He believes that the green shift depends on increased extraction of such metals that are used in the production of solar cells, wind turbines, electric cars and batteries.” *News article, Aftenposten, 23.7.2021, my translation.*

“**Locals have high hopes for Bolivia's lithium adventure, but are worried about access to water and jobs: THEY WANT TO JOIN THE DANCE. THE NEIGHBORS:** The Uyuni salt desert could become a green gold mine for Bolivia. People here hope they don't get run over in the lithium rush. (...) The salt desert contains the world's largest deposit of lithium – the metal that has been given a central place in the attempt to realize a global green shift.” *News reportage, Klassekampen, 11.11.2021, my translation.*

1.2.7 Nuclear energy (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on nuclear energy.

Examples:

“**One in three wants Norway to invest in nuclear power.** Those who remember Chernobyl are sceptical, while many young people want it. Now international reports point to nuclear power as the future. Should we focus on nuclear power as an energy source? This debate has only appeared sporadically in Norway. Norway has shut down both of its nuclear reactors. Several international research groups are now pointing out that nuclear power is an important part of the future if the climate goals are to be met.” *News article, Aftenposten, 07.6.2021, my translation.*

“**Why is the left so sceptical about nuclear power?** The Tragedy of Power. On April 30, the Indian Point nuclear power plant - located four miles north of New York City - was shut down. In the first full month without the nuclear plant, CO2 emissions from power generation rose by 35 percent. The energy supply we lost when Indian Point was closed is not covered by renewable technology, but by fossil energy sources, such as natural gas. This is a nightmare we should have foreseen.” *Commentary external contributor, Klassekampen, 22.6.2021, my translation.*

1.2.8 Offshore windfarms (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on offshore windfarms.

Example:

“There is no such thing as a free lunch. Castle in the air at sea. In 2010, NVE presented a report on 15 areas that were relevant to be investigated for offshore wind power. This report is still the basis for further work with offshore wind in Norway. Eleven of the areas are suitable for bottom-fixed offshore wind, four for floating. Two of the areas are out for a license, Sørlige Nordsjø II and Utsira Nord. The vast majority of these areas are in conflict with fishing resources or have a rich biological diversity that will be disturbed by an offshore wind farm.” *Commentary external contributor, Klassekampen, 07.5.2021, my translation.*

“The slow one is getting the mills turning. Western Europe has 5,400 offshore wind turbines. The USA has 7. Now Norway will help the Americans.” *News article, Aftenposten, 24.12.2021, my translation.*

1.2.9 Renewable energy and technology in general (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on energy and technology in more general terms in connection to climate mitigation measures or mitigation measures connected to the green shift, or texts with multiple mitigation measures in connection to energy and technology.

Examples:

“The renegade. Oil engineer Winifred Patricia Johansen (44) was out jogging when she saw something she will never forget. Since then, she has been hooked by green technology.” *Portait, A-magasinet, Aftenposten, 23.4.2021, my translation.*

“Technology optimism and people with links to the fossil industry dominate the pavilions in Glasgow: Advertising for themselves. BLUE ZONE: Direct air capture of CO₂, a carbon-neutral World Cup and a Saudi Arabian zero-emissions city. This promotes countries and companies at the climate conference.” *News article, Klassekampen, 11.11.2021, my translation.*

1.2.10 Solar energy (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on sun energy in connection to climate mitigation measures or mitigation measures in connection to the green shift.

Example:

“Orders to remove ‘penalties’ for solar power not followed up. In 2016, the Storting asked the government to arrange that housing associations are not penalized with fees when they invest in solar panels. The matter is still not resolved. - This is meaningless, says SV's Lars Haltbrekken about the government not following up on a five-year-old order from the Storting.” *News article, Aftenposten, 20.03.2021, my translation.*

“SV believes solar power can cover a third of energy production in 2030: This is how the industry should shine. SUN: SV and the solar industry believe that solar power can become one

of the most important sources of energy in Norway. They overestimate the possibilities, says the professor.” *News article, Klassekampen, 21.7.2021, my translation.*

Definition rules: Texts are to be categorised as solar energy where the main focus is on solar energy. In the example above taken from *Aftenposten*, fees on solar panels are the news story, but as the main focus is on politicians wanting people to buy solar panels, texts such as this is to be categorised as Solar energy under Energy and technology.

1.2.11 Windmills (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on windmills in connection to climate mitigation measures or mitigation measures in connection to the green shift.

Example:

“**Gearing up to strife about the wind.** AIRY: SV profiles warn against the party saying no to wind power at the national meeting. Wind power is likely to become one of the major issues at the SV national meeting, which starts on Friday.” *News article, Klassekampen, 21.4.2021, my translation.*

“**SV's victory has become SV's headache. And SV's battery dream can be short-circuited because the British do what SV says.** SV leader Audun Lysbakken stumbled straight into two SV problems when he gave a speech at the party's national meeting on Friday. One an old one. The second a new one. He didn't make any numbers out of any of them. The first was about wind power. In his speech, he highlighted an opponent of wind power.” *Commentary editorial office, Aftenposten, 24.4.2021, my translation.*

2 **Category name: Economy (data-driven)**

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on solutions to the climate crisis in connection to economy. The main focus of the text refers to the message conveyed through title, preamble and/or the body of the text.

Sub-categories:

2.6 The role of the state (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on how the state should involve itself in the economy in connection to climate solutions.

Examples:

“**Total change, total management.** Here in the country, in recent weeks we have had a slice of a broad international debate about the direction of economic policy. Perhaps most acutely, it has been in the question of whether the state should increase its ownership of business activities. A few weeks ago, prominent representatives of the Labor Party, the Center Party, SV and MDG wrote a column promising a more active state, with a warm and explicit endorsement of the ideas

of the new, widely discussed pop-economist Mariana Mazzucato. (...) Her program is most of all a consistent argument for political and state mobilization in the face of the climate crisis, inequality and much else.” *Commentary external, Aftenposten, 06.6.2021, my translation.*

“Interview with star economist Mariana Mazzucato about bold goals and how to reach them: 2021: A NEW ROMODYSSÉ. THE FUTURE: A determined state and innovative companies were behind the moon landing in 1969. A good model for solving the crises of our time, believes Mariana Mazzucato. (...) – What are the biggest obstacles to the green shift? - I think it is the idea of what the state should be for. Even when we talk about a green shift, it's about a CO2 tax or a little investment here and there. I believe we must actively create and shape the markets of the future, on the supply side and on the demand side, says Mazzucato..” *Interview, Klassekampen, 3.5.2021, my translation.*

2.7 The role of investments (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on how investments can become more climate-friendly, sustainable or aid climate solutions, or the lack of such investments.

Examples:

“SV, MDG, Rødt and Sp are positive about APS's proposal for a more climate-friendly oil fund: Towards a greener fund. GREEN: The red-green parties will make the Oil Fund's investments more climate-friendly. Sp are the most reserved.” *News article, Klassekampen, 13.4.2021, my translation.*

“This is one of the most important things Norway is doing for the climate. Namely to protect the Oil Fund. What can NOK 12,000 billion do for the climate? Basically nothing. The assets in the Oil Fund are not a political tool. It must be placed with a suitably high risk and a suitable dash ethic to ensure the highest possible return. No more.” *Commentary editorial office, Aftenposten, 21.8.2020, my translation.*

2.3 Perspectives on rethinking the economy (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on the aspects of the economy and a sustainable planet in more general terms, or critique of economic growth.

Examples:

“Former SV leader Erik Solheim warns: We can get a red-green government without visions. Erik Solheim, adviser to the MDG leadership, warns that a new Støre government risks becoming unpopular from day one. (...) - We have to get out of the old, foolish debate about economics or ecology. Yes, thank you, I say to both. Win-win, he says.” *Interview, Aftenposten, 25.3.2021, my translation.*

“The debate about whether more economic growth is compatible with saving the planet's climate and environment has flared up again. The fact that this is still a topic of discussion where the supporters of growth claim that economic growth can take place without harmful

effects on the physical world shows how the environmental fight is at a standstill.” *Letter to the newspaper, Klassekampen, 30.6.2021, my translation.*

2.4 Climate budgets (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on how budgets can finance or aid climate solutions, or the lack of such budgets.

Examples:

“**The government's most important climate measure is a budget.** Now the ministers will manage as much by tonne of CO₂ as by kroner and øre. We want to set ourselves up so that we force ourselves to succeed in reaching the climate goals. I believe that introducing a climate budget will actually be the government's most important climate project. The woman with the big words stands in a small office in the Ministry of Climate and the Environment. Ragnhild Sjoner Syrstad is state secretary for Espen Barth Eide and has been given the job of designing the tool.” *News article, Aftenposten, 5.11.2021, my translation.*

“**Støre promises to cut more in climate emissions.** SV and the governing parties Ap and Sp agree on the state budget for 2022. After intense weeks of negotiations, the parties were finally able to present the agreement in the Storting's walking hall on Monday afternoon. - This is the most redistributive and greenest budget that has been laid down in many years, says Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre.” *News article, Aftenposten, 30.11.2021, my translation.*

2.5 Climate funding (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on how climate funding can aid climate solutions. The criteria here is the focus on climate solutions, not climate adaptation.

Examples:

“**Støre promises a doubling of climate funds for developing countries.** The main demand during this year's climate summit has been more money on the table for developing countries. Støre Norge's contribution is now doubling over the next five years. (...) Støre emphasizes that the increased support for climate finance should bring with it private capital that can also contribute to developing countries. - We have made a decision that this will be a main investment in the 2020s. I think that is the right thing to do. This means that we are also stepping up our investment in renewable energy in developing countries. This investment has been very up and down under the Conservative government. Now it can increase, and Norway has a lot of experience to build on.” *News article, Aftenposten, 29.10.2021, my translation.*

“**How can Norwegian aid help limit global warming - and at the same time fight poverty? Green aid.** Next week world leaders will meet in Glasgow to discuss how we can limit global warming to 1.5 degrees. How can Norwegian aid contribute? And how to fight poverty at the same time?” *Op-ed, Klassekampen, 25.10.2021, my translation.*

2.6 Climate taxes (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on how taxes can be used to aid climate solutions or compensate for increased CO₂-fees.

Examples:

“Wealth tax is an effective tool in the green shift, writes Kim André Nielsen.

Green wealth tax.” *Op-ed, Klassekampen, 6.8.2021, my translation.*

“Ap says no to broad climate tax cuts for companies

The government's plan is that increased climate taxes for business will finance broad tax cuts for companies. On the contrary, the Labor Party says no.” *News article, Aftenposten, 10.2.2021.*

2 Category name: Industry and business

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on mitigation measures to the climate crisis in connection to industry and business sector. The main focus of the text refers to the message conveyed through title, preamble and/or the body of the text.

Sub-categories:

3.1 Industry (concept-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on climate mitigation measures or mitigation measures in connection to the green shift related to industry, whether in favor or not, or ambivalent, or in conflict with other interests or challenges, how the industry is needed in the green transition, or how industry is working on becoming more climate friendly and sustainable.

Examples:

“Far, far away he saw something green shining and glittering. Hold on to your wallet when someone wants to save the climate and says ‘industrial adventure’. Few things will be more important in Norwegian politics and economics in this decade than the green transition. How it will happen has not been clarified. The climate target for 2030 is more binding than any previous climate target. The job of fulfilling it cannot be pushed to 2029. The obligation also applies to emissions in 2021, 2022 and every year thereafter.” *Commentary editorial office, Aftenposten, 27.3.2021, my translation.*

“Thinks Norway is procrastinating with the development of green industry: Will learn from China. LOOKING EAST: China is becoming a superpower in renewable industry. A new report believes that Norway must learn from the one-party state. While conversion to green industry is progressing slowly in Norway, things are happening at great speed in China. In 2019, 81 percent of the patents for innovations in renewable energy came from China, and estimates show that the country accounted for 43 percent of all new renewable energy installed globally in 2020.” *News article, Klassekampen, 29.1.2021, my translation.*

3.2 Business (data-driven)

Definition: News and/or Opinions where the main focus is on climate mitigation measures or mitigation measures in connection to the green shift related to the business sector, how the

business sector is needed in the green transition, or how the business sector is working on becoming more climate friendly and sustainable.

Examples:

“Norway needs Norwegian private owners. In the future, our time will be measured by how we solve two major tasks: Cutting greenhouse gas emissions and creating jobs. For both tasks, we need companies that create the new solutions and jobs. Their owners need good framework conditions to invest in creative business. Our companies account for three quarters of value creation in Norway. They generate a lot of income for the community. It is the companies that provide the citizens with work, income and services, and that finance our welfare. The companies are the pillars of the Norwegian welfare society. By 2030, we must halve greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, we must create hundreds of thousands of new jobs to secure our welfare. The key to both lies in our companies.” *Letter to the newspaper, Aftenposten, 17.8.2021.*

“NHO has expectations for business policy. Wants an education boost for the skilled workers. Welcome the state. UREDD: NHO chief Ole Erik Almlid welcomes an active state. But does not want it to compete with private companies. - We need an active industrial policy to ensure the green shift, says managing director Ole Erik Almlid in NHO to Klassekampen. He points out that Norway is lagging behind in several of the new, green supply chains such as offshore wind, battery production and hydrogen. It is only in carbon capture and storage that Norway is ahead of Europe.” *News article, Klassekampen, 6.11.2021, my translation.*

Definition rules: Texts are to be categorised according to the main focus being on business. In the example above taken from Klassekampen, both the involvement of the state and different energy technologies are mentioned, but the main focus is on how the business sector ought to adapt to the green shift and how business politics should aid this process. The article was also categorised as Business (*næringsliv*) by the newspaper. Similar cases should also be categorised as Business.

Coding sheet: Cited sources and authors of opinion pieces

Categories:

1. Politicians
2. Environmental/climate organisations
3. Business leaders
4. Climate/environmental researchers
5. Researchers (other than climate or environmental field)
6. Journalists
7. Employer organisations
8. Public spokespeople (representative of government/ municipality, UN or similar)
9. Economist
10. Private people
11. Union leaders
12. Oil companies
13. Professional authors
14. Organisations (other than climate or environmental)
15. Industry leaders
16. Oil workers
17. Other*
18. No visible sources/authors